SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

BEARING ON

INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

VOLUME I

From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.

4444

EDITED BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

SECOND EDITION

(*Revised and Enlarged*)

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1965

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DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.

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SECOND EDITION
Revised and Enlarged

PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1965

Price Rs. 45.
Nett

417.
S S

4144

State Museum Library
Lucknow

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY SIBENDRANATH KANJILAL,
SUPERINTENDENT, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS.
48, HAZRA ROAD, BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 1902 B.—16. 9. 1965

TO
THE LATE
DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

॥ सिद्धम् ॥

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरुज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।
सूरेः श्रीहेमचन्द्रस्य रायचतुर्धरस्य च ॥
भाण्डारकरवंशाब्जदेवदत्तस्य धीमतः ।
प्रत्नलिपिप्रगल्भस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवासिना ॥

ढक्केति विषये वङ्गे फरीदपुरमण्डले ।
कवेर्वैद्याग्रगण्यस्य यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥
मातुश्च कुसुमाद्यायाः कुमार्यास्तनुजन्मना ।
दीनेशेन कृतिश्चेयं कायस्थेन विरच्यते ॥

॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I

The *Select Inscriptions* (Vol. I) is now placed afresh in the hands of the young students of history, for whom it is primarily intended, with the hope that it will continue to stimulate their interest in the early history of India. Its reappearance has been delayed owing principally to the prevailing difficult condition of printing, the same also standing in the way of the publication of Vol. II of the work.

In revising the work for the present edition, the author has spared no pains to make it useful to the students by bringing the explanatory notes up to date. The results of recent researches have been incorporated wherever necessary. The lack of representation of certain areas in the earlier edition has been rectified by the inclusion of a few inscriptions found in those regions. Most of the new epigraphs now included in the volume were, however, brought to light after the publication of the first edition. The discovery of the Sumaṇḍala copper-plate inscription (Bk. III, No. 71-B), showing that the Imperial Guptas did not perish exactly by the middle of the sixth century A.D. as hitherto believed but continued to rule in parts of Eastern India as late as 569 A. D., necessitated the incorporation of a few records that were purposely omitted on the previous occasion.

Office of the Government
Epigraphist for India,
Baikie House, Ootacamund,
October 31, 1954.

D. C. SIRCAR

II

During the long period the book was going through the press, its absence from the market was keenly felt by university students offering the M. A. examination in ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology as well as certain other subjects. Now that we have a large number of universities and that many of them teach the subjects concerned, no less than three teachers—from Delhi, Patna and Jabalpur—were tempted to publish books of this type for the benefit of the students. Unfortunately, in many cases, the compilers have copied the epigraphic texts from the *Select Inscriptions* (sometimes together with our foot-notes) without acknowledgement. They were probably under the impression that epigraphic texts are merely to be copied from some other publication with or without referring to it and without any attempt being made to improve upon the published reading and interpretation of an inscription.

Out of the inscriptions which have been published or re-examined since 1954 when the manuscript for the present edition of the *Select Inscriptions* was submitted to the press, a few have been included in the Supplement at the end. I was eager to add to them an inscription of the Gupta age reported to be published recently in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to secure either any facsimile of the epigraph or a copy of the publication in which it appeared. Of course, my failure to examine the valuable copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Deva and Chandra dynasties of East Bengal, discovered in East Pakistan a few years ago, does not affect the present volume since it deals with the earlier period. It should, however, be pointed out that this is a serious difficulty facing the student of the early history of the Indian subcontinent in these parts since history can hardly be divided between the Indian Union on the one hand and East and West Pakistan on the other.

I am thankful to the Archaeological Survey of India for the loan of a number of blocks for illustrating the work. My thanks are also due to Dr. S. K. Maity of the University of Jadavpur, who has prepared the Index with the help of his pupils.

Finally, I crave the indulgence of the readers for the misprints and other blemishes that have crept into the volume. Some of these have been rectified in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*.

645, New Alipore, Calcutta-53
November 18, 1964.

D. C. SIRCAR

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit constitute an important branch of Indian literature. No study of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit can be complete without a knowledge of the enormous mass of literary material, both in prose and verse, embodied in inscriptions. In epigraphic records, references are quite abundant to various aspects of Indian life and thought. Their study is therefore not only indispensable to the student of political history, but also to all who are interested in India's contribution to the civilization of the world. Students of the history of Indian philosophy, literature, law, society, geography, etc., have all got to supplement their knowledge by a study of epigraphic literature. Attention may, by way of illustration, be invited to (1) the mention of Śaṅkarāchārya in a Cambodian record and (2) of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in a Deccan epigraph of 634 A.D., (3) the reference to a Māheśvara sect in a Mathurā inscription of 380 A. D., (4) to the system of trial by ordeal in a Vishṇukuṇḍin record, (5) to the Brāhmaṇa ancestry of the Kadambas who later on ranked as Kshatriyas, (6) the help offered by epigraphy in the identification of Śrāvasti, etc., etc.

There are many epigraphs which are excellent pieces of *kāvya* and can stand comparison with the best products of the celebrated masters of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. Their superiority to extant literary tradition as sources of political and institutional history has been demonstrated by scholars since the days of Colebrooke and happily needs no further emphasis. Unlike a large number of literary works, most of the inscriptions can be assigned to a definite date or epoch. Unlike most literary works, again, the epigraphic records can be more easily grouped geographically and are thus the best test for the regional classification of the *rītis* of poetical composition as expounded by rhetoricians and also of a similar grouping of the Prakrit dialects preferred by grammarians. A considerable number of epigraphs were composed by poets attached to the courts of kings, and there is no doubt that the merits of their published works secured royal favour for them. But, in the majority

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of cases, all other works of the poets are lost and their claim for a glorious place in the history of Indian literature is eloquently advanced only by particular epigraphic *kāvyas* that have survived. The cause of this fortunate survival is that the royal *praśastis* were usually engraved on stone or metal and not on easily perishable materials such as palm leaves and birch bark, as was the case with literary works. Harisheṇa, Śāba-Vīrasena, Vāsula, Keśava, Vatsabhaṭṭi, Kubja and numerous unnamed authors, whose works have been quoted in the following pages, were poets who claim recognition ; but the only specimens of their composition survive in inscriptions.

The importance of epigraphic studies needs no elaboration. It is therefore in the fitness of things that some of the Indian universities have prescribed a large number of inscriptions in the original for students preparing for the degree examinations in various subjects. It is to be hoped that the time will come sooner or later—sooner rather than later—when educationists who have the welfare of the country in their heart will seriously consider as to whether some of the records, e.g., those of Aśoka rendered into Sanskrit, may be prescribed even for the students of H. E. Schools and Chatushpāṭhīs. Unfortunately, however, the epigraphic literature has so far created no great enthusiasm amongst certain sections of scholars interested in the study of Indian classics. It has been my aspiration since my student days to compile a *Corpus* of inscriptions and place it in the hands of Sanskritists not well-acquainted with this vast field of literature. An opportunity soon presented itself.

In July, 1937, I was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University, and epigraphy was one of the subjects that I was asked to teach. It is well known that the Calcutta University has unique arrangements for the post-graduate teaching of Indian history and culture in all their various aspects. Naturally therefore it has prescribed a number of inscriptions for the M.A. examination particularly in Sanskrit, Pāli, Comparative Philology, and Ancient Indian History and Culture. These records are brought out in different learned publications, most of which are beyond the means and reach of our students. Since, however, an inscription has to be studied from several points of view—historical, philological, geographical and the like, it is absolutely necessary for its proper appreciation that a copy of each record shall be in the hands of every student attending the lectures. Thus I felt the necessity of a handy volume containing the text of inscriptions prescribed for the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University, together with certain other records whose study is essential for a knowledge of the Indian epigraphic literature in all its phases. I approached the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, who readily encouraged the idea and asked me to proceed with the compilation of a selection as quickly as possible. A plan of the work was drawn up in consultation with Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and I set myself seriously to the work about the beginning of 1939. A Selection containing the text in Devanāgarī script of many important inscriptions including those prescribed by some of the Indian Universities, dating from the sixth century B. C. down to the age of the Great Mughals, was then completed by me. The University of Calcutta decided to publish the work in two volumes and appointed Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri, M.A., Pañchatīrtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, to prepare a neat copy for the press and also to help me in the laborious task of proof-correction. The press began its work about the beginning of 1941 and the printing of Volume I of the work containing the records down to the age of the Imperial Guptas was completed by the middle of 1942. The work of printing was greatly facilitated by the kind interest taken by Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University.

Volume I of the *Select Inscriptions* covers the period beginning with the Akhaemenian occupation of North-Western India in the sixth century B. C. and ending with the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A.D. To prepare a comprehensive volume dealing with all the important inscriptions that have been discovered down to the present day is a task which requires several years for its successful completion and cannot be lightly undertaken in the India of to-day. I have therefore thought of a modest scheme. But in order to make the work illustrative of the well-marked epochs and localities of which notice has to be taken by a serious student of the

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subject of Indian epigraphy, the Selection has been made out of the most interesting records, especially those of important ruling families which have left their mark on the history and development of Indian civilization. Special stress has been laid on such dynasties of all-India importance as the Maurya and the Gupta. To illustrate important points of historical interest as well as to indicate the nature of the draft of royal charters in different periods and localities, a large number of inscriptions belonging to dynasties and individuals of minor importance has also been included. Some of the records selected belong to countries outside the geographical limits of India proper. A few records of the Akhaemenian emperors of Persia have been incorporated as they refer to the relations of India with ancient Iran. From very early times—in some cases from the fourth century B.C. at the latest, but in others from about the beginning of the Christian era—Ceylon, Indo-China and the Islands of the Southern Sea were studded with settlements founded by enterprising princes and merchants of India. Naturally therefore some records discovered in those parts of the world have been included just to point to that glorious chapter of ancient Indian history concerning the colonial enterprise of the Indians of old. Similarly, some documents discovered in Central Asia, another tract of land greatly influenced by the activities and culture of the ancient Indians, have been incorporated.

To provide space for as many important records as possible, the plan in the following pages has been principally to publish, for the present, the text of inscriptions without English translation and introductory discussions. Nevertheless, to make the work useful to students, indications have been given as to the find-spot and age of a particular record as well as its linguistic, palaeographic and metrical peculiarities. References to previous writings on a record have also been supplied. As regards the Prakrit records, absence of English translation will, it is hoped, not stand in the way of their proper appreciation as a word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* including explanatory notes has been provided. As regards the Sanskrit inscriptions, an attempt has been made to explain technical expressions and to indicate various points of interest in the foot-notes. Facsimiles of a large number of records belonging to different periods and localities have been inserted in the volume with a view to illustrating the development of ancient Indian scripts. They are expected to be of great help to the students of palaeography. For the sake of convenience some of the big inscriptions had to be illustrated in two or three sections. No pains have been spared to make the volume useful to the class of young learners for whom it is intended, namely, students who are preparing for the degree examinations of Indian universities. Needless to say that a fair knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable to a student who is desirous of studying the volume. If the present work succeed in removing a long-felt want, the author will consider his labour amply repaid.

The book has been prepared and printed within a comparatively short period of time. The author had moreover to work under considerable inconvenience caused by domestic worries and the abnormal situation now prevailing in Eastern India as a result of the recent developments in international situation. Under these circumstances, the author has not been able to avoid errors and misprints for which he craves the indulgence of readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* appended to the volume. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work would be most welcome and will be carefully considered when the author may get an opportunity of revising it for a future edition.

The author does not find words to express his feeling of gratitude for the kind encouragement received from the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, but for whose sympathy the book would have never been prepared and published. To Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author is indebted for many valuable suggestions and help of other kinds. Thanks are also due to Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri for some interesting comments and for his assistance in the preparation of the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of most of the Prakrit records and in correcting some of the proof-sheets. Mr. Sudhakar Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., a Research Scholar in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, has prepared the Indexes and has thus laid the author under a debt of gratitude. The author further thanks the authorities of the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., especially Mr. J. C. Sarkhel and his staff, for the kindness and consideration shown to him. The Archaeological Survey of India has kindly supplied

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blocks on loan for Plates Nos. VIII, XVI-XX, XXVII, XLVIII, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, that for Plate No. XXVIII. The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon has supplied photographic prints for Plates Nos. XLI-XLII, and the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle) the estampages for Nos. XXXIV-XXXV. Photographic prints from the estampages were prepared at the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University. Plates Nos. I-III, IX, XI-IV, XLIX-LI are from old blocks in the Calcutta University Press. Blocks for Nos. XV, XXXVIII-XXXIX have been prepared from Plates in works published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and that for Plate No. XLIII from a publication of the Cambridge University Press. Blocks for the remaining Plates have been prepared from publications of the Archaeological Survey of India. Thanks of the author and the publishers of the *Select Inscriptions* are due to the authorities of all the above bodies.

ग्रन्थस्य यत् प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाशमेति
लेख्याद्बहुश्रुतमुखाधिगमक्रमेण ।
यद्वा मया कुकृतमल्पमिहाकृतं वा
कार्यं तदत्र विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम् ॥

Department of Ancient Indian
History and Culture,
Calcutta University,
25th August, 1942.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A NOTE ON THE TYPOGRAPHIC SCHEME

The text of inscriptions has been given in the Devanāgarī script and, with the exception of a few minor points of difference, the system of transcription followed is practically the same as that of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Hyphen marks, which of course do not occur in the original, have been freely inserted to separate words in compounds as far as it is desirable to divide them. The number of lines in the writing of the original has been indicated by English numerical figures on the left hand side of the transcript and that of verses by thick English numerals put at the end of them on the right hand side When such numbers of verses are found in the original, they have been printed in Devanāgarī numerals at the proper places. Verses have been printed in stanza form, so that they may be easily distinguished from the prose lines at a glance. Ordinary brackets are used, though rarely, to suggest a correction (often with a query) or to indicate the reading apparently intended by the scribe. Square brackets without query are used to indicate the fact that the *aksharas* or signs are damaged but not undecipherable. An asterisk attached to *aksharas* or signs in square brackets indicates that the *aksharas* and signs are completely damaged and undecipherable and that the restoration suggested, though in some cases very probable, is not always quite beyond doubt. *Aksharas* which are carelessly left out by the scribe or engraver and are wanting in the original are restored in the *Epigraphia Indica* in square brackets with an asterisk. To avoid a confusion between the restoration of a completely damaged *akshara* and that of another which is wanting in the original, the latter has been put in ordinary brackets with an asterisk. The difference between an *akshara* with asterisk in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that in the former case the *akshara* was engraved but is now lost, while in the latter it was not engraved in the original at all. Similarly, the difference between an *akshara* with a query in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that the former indicates a possible or suggested reading of a doubtful or lost *akshara*, while the latter is only to suggest a substitute for the *akshara* printed in the transcript.

Illustration :—

8[1] अस्मद्वंशागामि-[2]राजभिरन्यैश्च [साम][3]ान्यं भूमिदान(य?)[4]मवेत्य(ा*)-[5]

9 स्मद्दायो(ऽ*)नुमन्तव्यः (।*)[6] अपि चात्र व्यास-[2]गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति ।

10 षष्टि-वर्ष-सहस्राणि [स्वर्गे मोदति*][7] भूमिदः (।*)

आक्षेप्ता

11 [8]चानुमत्ता(न्ता)[9] च तान्येव न(र*)के वसेत् ॥ 1[10]

The scheme of transliteration into Roman script also follows that of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Vowels :—अ = a ; आ = ā (not *á* used in earlier publications, nor *â* which is sometimes also used to indicate length as a result of *sandhi*) ; इ = i ; ई = ī (not *í* or *î*) ; उ = u ; ऊ = ū (not *ú* or *û*) ; ऋ = ṛi (not *ṛ* generally used in foreign publications) ; ॠ = ṛī (not ṝ) ; ऌ = ḷi (not *ḷ* generally used in foreign publications) ; ॡ = ḷī (not *ḹ*) ; ए = e (not *ē*, as the necessity of distinguishing the vowel from the short *e* used in Dravidian scripts has not been felt) ; ऐ = ai ; ओ = o (no *ō* used when it is to be distinguished from the short *o*) ; औ = au.

Consonants, etc. :—क = k ; ख = kh ; ग = g ; घ = gh ; ङ = ṅ ; च = ch (not *c* generally used in foreign publications) ; छ = chh (not *ch*) ; ज = j ; झ = jh ; ञ = ñ ; ट = ṭ ; ठ = ṭh ; ड = ḍ ; ढ = ḍh ; ण = ṇ ; त = t ; थ = th ; द = d ; ध = dh ; न = n ; प = p ; फ = ph ; ब = b ; भ = bh ; म = m ;

---

[1] The number indicates that the following *aksharas* belong to line 8 of the original.

[2] The hyphen mark is not to be found in the original.

[3] साम of the word सामान्य' is damaged but decipherable.

[4] The query indicates that the reading दाय is also possible or that दाय may be suggested instead of दान of the transcript.

[5] The *ā*-sign of त्या in line 8 was left out apparently owing to inadvertence. The original has नके in line 11 and र was similarly left out. The *avagraha* or sign of elided *a*, though usually not found in the original as in line 9, has always been supplied in the transcript.

[6] The punctuation mark is not found in the original.

[7] The passage स्वर्गे मोदति is completely lost and is restored with the help of other records. There is no guarantee that the reading is not मोदते or क्रीडति.

[8] Note that the line has been begun not from the beginning of line 11, but from after the space indicated by the previous word of the third *pāda* of the verse.

[9] त्ता of the original is apparently a scribal mistake for न्ता.

[10] The number indicates that the *śloka* in *Anushṭubh* is verse No. 1 of the inscription.

य=y ; र=r ; ल=l ; व=v (not *w* which is sometimes rather carelessly used) ; श=ś (not ç sometimes used in foreign publications, nor *sh* which is sometimes rather carelessly used) ; ष=sh (not ṣ generally used in foreign publications) ; स=s ; ह=h ; ड़=r̤ ; ढ़=r̤h ; ळ=l̤ ; ं=ṃ or ṁ ; ः=ḥ ; ≍ (*upadhmānīya*=old *visarga* sign before *p* and *ph*)=h̤ ; ⨯ (*jihvāmūlīya*=old *visarga* sign before *k* and *kh*)=ḣ.

As in the *Epigraphia Indica*, *sandhi* and *samāsa* are indicated in the transliterated passages in the following way: **वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ**=*vāg-arthāv=iva sampṛiktau* (not *vāg-arthāv-iva sampṛiktau* or *vāgarthāv iva sampṛiktau*).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Act. Or. =*Acta Orientalia.*

A. H. N. E. =*Ancient History of the Near East* by H. R. Hall.

Allan's *Cat.* =*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* by J. Allan.

An. Ant. Raj. =*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by J. Tod.

An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst. =*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. =*Annual Progress Report of the Archeological Survey of India.*

A. R. =Annual Report.

Arch. Surv. Ind. =Archaeological Survey of India.

Arch. Surv. W. Ind. =*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*

A. S. I. R or *A. S. R.* =Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports.*

A. S. S. I. =*Archaeological Survey of Southern India.*

B. E. F. E. O. =*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.*

Bhandarkar's *List* =*A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India* by D. R. Bhandarkar, Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX-XXXIII.

Bomb. Gaz. =*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.*

BRS. Same as *Khar. Ins.*

C. =*circa, circum* (*i.e.* round about) ; also *Circle.*

B.S.O.S. or *B.S.O.A.S.* =*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.

Camb. Hist. Ind. or *C. H. I.* =*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, edited by E. J. Rapson, 1923.

Carm. Lect. =*Carmichael Lectures* by D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta University, 1918, 1921, 1923.

Cat. or *Catalogue* =*Catalogue of Coins.*

Cat. Arch. Mus. Mat. =*Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā.*

Chhānd. Up. =*Chāndogya Upanishad.*

C. I. I. or *Corp. Ins. Ind.* =*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, edited by E. Hultzsch, 1925 ; Vol. II, Part i. *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, edited by Sten Konow, 1929 ; Vol. III. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, edited by J. F. Fleet, 1888 ; Vol. IV. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, edited by V. V. Mirashi, 1955.

C. R. =*Comptes Rendus, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*

Dev. Hind. Icon. =*Development of Hindu Iconography* by J. N. Banerjea, 1956.

Dict. =Dictionary.

E. Hist. Ind. =*Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 4th edition, 1924.

El. H. Icon. =*Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Madras, 1914-1916.

Ep. Ind. =*Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.

Ep. Zeyl. =*Epigraphia Zeylanica.*

Fest. =Festschrift.

Geog. =Geography.

Gram. Prak. Lang. =*A Grammar of the Prakrit Language* by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1943.

Hist. Ind. =*History of India* by K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.

I. H. C. =Indian History Congress.

I. H. Q. or *Ind. Hist. Quart.* = *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind. = *Inscriptions in the Cave-temples in Western India* by Burgess and Indraji.
Ind. Ant. = *Indian Antiquary.*
Ind. Cult. = *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
Intro. = Introduction.
J. A. O. S. = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
J. A. or *Journ. As.* = *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
J. A. H. R. S. = Same as *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*
J. A. S. B., N. S. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, Calcutta.
J. A. S., L. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Calcutta.
J. B. B. R. A. S. = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J. B. O. R. S. or *J. B. R. S.* = *Journal of the Bihar [and Orissa] Research Society*, Patna.
J. D. L. = Same as *Journ. Dep. Let.*
J. G. I. S. = *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta.
J. N. S. I. = *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
J. O. R. or *Journ. Or. Res.* = *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. = *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
Journ. Dep. Let. = *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
Journ. Or. Inst. = *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
J. P. A. S. B. = *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
J. R. A. S = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
J. R. A. S. B., L. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Calcutta.

J. U. P. H. S. = *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) Historical Society*, Lucknow.

Khar. Ins. = *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Parts I-II, edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart, Part III, edited by Rapson and Noble, Cambridge.

List = *List of Inscriptions.*

Lüders' *List* = *A List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions* by H. Lüders, Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, X.

Mahābh. or *Mbh.* = *Mahābhārata.*

Majumdar's *List* = *A List of Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions* by N. G. Majumdar, Appendix to *J. P. A. S. B.*, XX, 1924.

M. A. S. I. or *Mem. A. S. I.* = *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

Mod. Rev. = *Modern Review*, Calcutta.

Mys. Arch. Surv. = Mysore Archaeological Survey.

Nag. Univ. Journ. = *Nagpur University Journal.*

N. I. A. = *New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.

Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle*, London.

P. A. H. I. or *Pol. Hist.* = *Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1938 ed.

P.E. = Pillar Edict.

Pl. = Plate

Proc. = Proceedings.

Proc. A. S. B. = *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. = *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*

Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm. = *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.*

Prog. Rep. = Progress Report.

Rājatar. = *Rājataraṅgiṇī*

Rām. = *Rāmāyaṇa.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preseyation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rapson's *Cat.* =*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Andhras,* etc., by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.

R. E. =Rock Edict.

S. =Southern

S B. A. W. or *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss* =*Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

Sewell's *List* =*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.*

Smith's *Cat.* =*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.

S. R. E. =Separate Rock Edict.

Suc. Sāt. =*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas* by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1939.

V. G. =*Verspreide Geschriften.*

W. =Western

W. Z. K. M or *V. O. J.* =*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Morgenlandes* or *Vienna Oriental Journal.*

Z. D. M. G. =*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesselschaft.*

BOOK I

Inscriptions of the Akhaemenian and Maurya Periods

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AKHAEMENIANS

No. 1—Bisutūn (Behistūn) Column [No. I] Inscription of Dārayava^{h}ush (Darius, c. 522-486 B.C.)

BISUTŪN[1], Persia

KING and THOMPSON, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistūn*, 1907; H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 2, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 1-3; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6. Cf. *J.A.O.S.*, 72, No. 1, January-March 1952, pp. 9 ff. (G. G. Cameron and R. G. Kent).

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform

TEXT[2]

1 Adam **Dārayava^{h}ush**[3] *khsh*āya*th*iya vazrka *khsh*āya*th*i[ya] [*khsh*āya*th*iy]-

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[1] To commemorate his victories, Darius caused to be sculptured on a rock-cliff overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia, through the Zagros, a huge tablet on which he represented himself with conquered rebels bound before him; the accompanying inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian describes his campaigns and gives the glory to A^{h}uramazdā. This is the tablet of Behistan, Bahistān, Behistūn, Bisitūn or Bisutūn discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 (Hall, *A.H.N.E.*, 7th ed., p. 571).

[2] Prepared from Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. In transliterating the Old Persian records we have used *kh*, *th*, *sh* and *ch* for x, θ, $\check{s}$ and c which are generally employed by scholars. This is to make this part of our work uniform with other parts in which Modern Persian خ, ش and چ have been transliterated with *kh*, *sh* and *ch* respectively. The latter method has been followed by some scholars, e.g., by H. N. Wright in his *Catalogues of Indo-Muslim Coins*. Of the three languages used in the inscriptions, Elamite is also called Susian or Anzanite and Babylonian is also called Akkadian.

[3] Many scholars write °*vaush*. We have inserted the sounds, in this instance and in others, as they are said to have been actually pronounced.

2 ānām *khsh*āya*th*iya **Pārsaiy** *khsh*āya*th*iya dah[yūnām] **Visht-**

3 **āspahyā** pu*ss*a[1] **Arshāmahyā** napā **Hakhāmanish[iya]** (|*) [*Th*]ātiy

4 **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya manā pitā **Vishtāspa** Vi*sh*tāspa[hyā] [pit]ā **Arsh-**

5 **āma** Ar*sh*āmahyā pitā **Ariyāramna** Ariyāramnahyā pit[ā] **[Cha^{h}ishpish]** *Ch*a^{h}i*sh*p-

6 ai*sh* pitā **Hakhāmanisha** (|*) *Th*ātiy **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya[*th*iya] [ava]hyarā-

7 diy vayam **Hakhāmanishiyā** *th*ahyāmah^{i}y (|*) Ha*ch*ā paruv[iyata] [ā]mātā a^{h}ma-

8 h^{i}y (|*) Ha*ch*ā paruviyata hyā a^{h}mā*kh*am tau^{h}mā *khsh*āya[*th*iyā] [ā]ha (|*) *Th*-

9 ātiy **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya VIII manā tau^{h}māy[ā] [tyai]y [pa]ruvam

10 *khsh*āya*th*iyā āha (|*) Adam navama (|*) IX duvitāparnam [vayam] *khsh*āya*th*i-

11 yā a^{h}mah^{i}y (|*) *Th*ātiy **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya va[*sh*nā] **A^{h}uramazd-**

12 **āha**[2] adam *khsh*āya*th*iya a^{h}miy (|*) **A^{h}uramazdā** *khsh*a*ss*am manā [fr]ābara (|*) *Th*-

13 ātiy **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya imā dahyāva tyā manā [pat]iyāi*sh*a va*sh*n-

14 ā **A^{h}uramazdāha** [a]dam*sh*ām *khsh*āya*th*iya āham **Pārsa ^{kh}Uvaja [B]ābairush A-**

15 **thurā Arabāya Mudrāya** tyaiy drayahyā **Sparda Yaun[ā] [Māda] Armina Kat-**

16 **patuka Parthava Zra^{n}ka Haraiva ^{kh}Uvārazmiya Bākhtrish [Sug]uda Ga^{n}dāra**[3] **Sa-**

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[1] Some scholars write *th*^{r}a instead of *ssa*.

[2] Ahura-mazdā is the Avestic name of God; *Ahura* means 'god' or 'the giver' and *Mazdā* 'the omniscient'. In a very old list of 54 names of God, these two are mentioned separately. See *Sir A. Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume* III, Pt. 2 (Calcutta University), p. 97.

[3] Gandhāra, mentioned in the lists of countries, is also referred to in the big Susa palace inscription (line 34) of Darius : yakā ha*ch*ā *Ga^{n}dārā* a[bar]iy ha*ch*ā Karmānā, "Teak from Gandhāra was brought and from Karmania." This is said in connection with the construction of the palace at Susa by Darius. A Ga^{n}dārīya (man from Gandhāra) is mentioned in the list of subjects in the South Tomb inscription (line 4) at Persepolis, attributed to Artaxerxes II (c. 404-359 B. C.). Cf. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 172. Gandhāra is identified with the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. 'Sindhu' was conquered later than the date of this record (c. 520-516 B. C.).

17 **ka Thatagush Ha[ra]^{kh}uvatish Maka** fraharvam dahyāva XXIII (|*)............[1]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED[2]

अहं धारयद्वसुः[3] ×क्षायथ्यः (=शासकः, राजा) ×वज़्रकः (वज्रकः ?=महान्), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः +पार्से (=पारसिकदेशे), क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां (=जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य (इष्टाश्वस्य ? Hystaspes) पुत्रः, ×ऋषामस्य (ऋक्सामस्य ? Arsames) नपात् (=नप्ता), ×साखामनीष्यः (Akhaemenian)। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'मम पिता विष्टाश्वः, विष्टाश्वस्य पिता ऋषामः, ऋषामस्य पिता +अर्यारम्णः, अर्यारम्णस्य पिता ×चसिश्विः, चसिश्वेः पिता ×सखामनीषः'। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'×अवस्यराधि (=अतः) वयं साखामनीष्याः शस्यामहे। +सचा पूर्व्यतः (=पूर्वकालतः) ×आमाताः (=अभिजाताः ?) स्मसि (=स्मः)। सचा पूर्व्यतः स्या (=सा=या) अस्माकं तोक्मा (=सन्ततिः=वंशः) क्षायथ्या (=राजकीया) आसीत्'। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'८ (=अष्टसंख्यकाः जनाः) मम तोक्मनः त्ये (=ते=ये=याः) पूर्वं क्षायथ्याः आसन्। अहं नवमः। ९(=नव-संख्यकाः) द्वितापर्णं (=आनुपूर्व्येण ; यद्वा शाखाद्वयक्रमेण) वयं क्षायथ्याः स्मसि'। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'+वश्ना (=इच्छया) +असुरमेधसः (=ईश्वरस्य) अहं क्षायथ्यः अस्मि। असुरमेधाः मम (=मह्यं) क्षत्रं (=राज्यं) प्राभरत् (=प्रायच्छत्)'। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'इमाः दस्यवः (=जनपदाः) त्याः (=ताः =याः) मम (=मां) प्रति एयुः (=आगताः), वश्ना असुरमेधसः अहम् आसां क्षायथ्यः आसं—×पार्सः (Persia), ×सुवजः (Susiana), +बावेरुः (Babylonia), ×अशुराः (Assyrians), ×अरवायः (Arabia), ×मुद्रायः (Egypt), त्ये +त्रयस्याः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रान्तिकवर्तिनः देशाः), ×स्वर्दः (Sparda, Sardis), यवनाः (Ionians), ×मादः (Media), ×अरमिणः (Armenia), ×कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), पर्थवः (पर्थवः ? Parthia), ×ज्रङ्कः (Drangiana), ×सरेवः (सरयूः ? Aria ; mod. Herāt), ×सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia),

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[1] The inscription on Column I has no less than 96 lines of writing.

[2] "The dialect on which the Ancient High Indian is based, the dialect as it was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the north-west of India, was closely related to the Ancient Persian and Avestic and not very far removed from the primitive Indo-Iranian language. Indeed, the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between the Indian languages Sanskrit and Pāli" (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 41). In Sanskritizing the texts we have followed the original closely in accordance with the rules of comparative philology and have often used words which are un-Sanskritic or not strictly Sanskritic. Words that are not noticed in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit and cannot be connected with it are marked with ×, and those related to it at least in form are marked with +.

[3] *Dāraya*=holder or holding; Sanskrit *dhāraya* or *dhārayat*.

×**बाख्त्रिः** (**बाल्हीकः** ; Bactria ; mod. Balkh), +**सुगुदः** (Sogdiana), **गन्धारः** (Gandaria), **शकः** (Skythia), +**शतगुः** (Sattagydia), +**सरस्वती** (Arakhosia)[1], ×**मकः** (Makae)—**प्रसर्वं** (=**सर्वाः मिलिताः**) **दस्यवः** (=**जनपदाः**) **२३** (=**त्रयोविंशतिः**) **।**'

No. 2—Persepolis Inscription [E] of Dārayava^{h}ush (Darius)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 38, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 49-50; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 92-93.

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform

TEXT[2]

1 Adam **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya vaz-
2 rka *khsh*āya*th*iya *khsh*āya*th*iyānā-
3 m *khsh*āya*th*iya dahyūnām tyai-
4 *sh*ām parūnām **Vishtāspahyā**
5 pussa **Hakhāmanishiya** (|*) *Th*ātiy Dāra-
6 yava^{h}us*h* *khsh*āya*th*iya vas*h*nā **A^{h}urama-**
7 **zdā**hā imā dahyāva tyā adam
8 adrs*h*iy hadā anā **Pārsā** kā-
9 rā tyā hac*h*āma atrsa manā bāj-
10 im abara ^{kh}**Uvaja Māda Bābairu-**
11 **sh Arabāya Athurā Mudrāy-**
12 **ā Aramina Katpatuka Sparda Ya-**
13 **unā** tyai ^{h}us*h*kahyā utā tya-

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[1] Avestic Harahvaitī; mod. Province of Kandahār; known as White India under the later Parthians in the 1st century A. D. Hindu civilisation prevailed in this country which remained more Indian than Iranian till the Muhammadan conquest (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 326-27).

[2] From Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. This portion of the numerous records, which is marked 'E' by scholars, is on the south retaining wall of the terrace. The inscriptions are in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

14 iy drayahyā utā dahyāva t-
15 yā parau[va]iy **Asagarta Parthava Zra^{n}-**
16 **ka Haraiva Bākhtrish Sug[u]da ^{kh}Uv-**
17 **ārazmiya Thatagush Hara^{kh}uvatish H-**
18 **i^{n}dush**[1] **Ga^{n}dāra Sakā Maka** (|*) *Th*ātiy
19 **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya yadiy
20 ava*th*ā maniyāha^{i}y ha*ch*ā aniya-
21 nā mā [t]rsam imam **Pārsam** kāram pādi-
22 y (|*) Yadiy kāra **Pārsa** pāta ahatiy hyā
23 duvai*sh*[ta]m *sh*iyāti*sh* a*khsh*atā hauv*ch*i-
24 y aurā nirasātiy abiy imām vi*th*am (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्वसुः ×क्षायथ्यः ×वजृकः (=महान्), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां त्यासां पुरूणां (=जनपदानां तेषां [=येषां] बहूनां), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः ×साखामनीष्यः। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'+वश्ना +असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः (=इमे देशाः ते [=ये]) अहम् +अधृषि (=अधार्षं) सह अनया ×पार्सया ×कारा (=पारसिक्या सेनया); त्याः (=ताः=याः) +सचा मत् (=मत्तः) अत्रस्यन्; मां ×भाजिं (=करम्) अभरन् (=अहरन्)—×सुवजः (Susiana), ×मादः (Media), बावेरुः (Babylonia), ×अरवायः (Arabia), ×अशुराः (Assyrians), ×मुद्रायाः (Egyptians), ×अरमिणः (Armenia). ×कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ×स्वर्दः (Sparda), यवनाः (Ionians), त्ये (=ते=ये) शुष्कस्य (=शुष्क-देशस्य [वास्तव्याः]) उत (=अपि च) त्ये (=ते=ये) +त्रयस्याः (=समुद्रान्तिकस्थाः), उत दस्यवः त्याः (=ताः=याः) पूर्वे (=पूर्व-दिक्स्थाः)—+अश्वगर्तः (Sagartia), पर्थवः (Parthia), ×ज्रङ्कः (Drangiana), ×सरेवः (Aria), ×बाख्त्रिः (Bactria), +सुगुदः (Sogdiana), सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), +शतगुः (Sattagydia), +सरस्वती (Arakhosia), सिन्धुः (India=district on the Indus), गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकाः (Skythians), मकः (Makae)'। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'यदि ×अवथा (=ईदृशं) +मन्यासे (=मन्यसे)—"+सचा अन्यस्मात् मा +त्रसं (=त्रासिषम्)", इमं पार्सं कारं पाहि (=इमान् पारसिकान् जनान् रक्ष)। यदि कारः पार्सः पातः अस्ति, स्या दविष्टं ×च्यातिः अक्षता (=सा सुचिरम् उन्नतिः अव्याहता) +अवरा +न्यृच्छति अभि इमं +विशम् (=अवस्तात् आगच्छति अभि इमं ×विशं [=राज-वंशम्])'॥

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[1] The Susa Palace inscription [C], line 41, refers to ivory brought from India (*Hi^{n}dauv*), Kusha and Arakhosia (Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 119). A Hi^{n}duvīya (man from Sindhu=Indus valley) is mentioned among the subjects in the South Tomb inscription, line. 13.

No. 3—Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet Inscription of Dārayava^{h}ush (Darius)

HAMADAN, Persia

HERZFELD, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 34; BUCK, *Language*, 1927; SCHWETNER, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI; KENT, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, p. 330; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 114.

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform

TEXT[1]

1 **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya vazrka *khsh*āya*th*iya *khsh*āya*th*iyānām *khsh*āya*th*iya dahy-
2 ūnām **Vishtāspahyā** pus*sa* **Hakhāmanī-**
3 **shiya** (|*) *Th*ātiy Dārayava^{h}us*h* *khsh*āya*th*iya ima *khsh*assam
4 tya adam dārayāmiy ha*ch*ā **Sakaibish**
5 tyaiy para **Sugdam** amata yātā ā **Kushā** ha-
6 *ch*ā **Hi^{n}dauv** amata yātā ā **Spardā** tyamai-
7 y **A^{h}uramazdā** frābara hya ma*th*is*h*ta bagān-
8 ām (|*) Mām A^{h}uramazdā pātuv utāmaiy vi*th*am (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

धारयद्वसुः ×क्षायथ्यः ×वजृकः (=महान् राजा), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां (-जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः, ×साखामनीष्यः। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'+इमत् (-इदं) क्षत्रं (-राज्यं) त्यत् (-तत्=यत्) अहं धारयामि +सचा +शकेभिः (=शकेभ्यः) त्ये परं सुग्दात् (Sogdiana), अमुतः (=अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) यावत् आकुशात्[2] (-यावत् कुशं), सचा +सिंन्धौ (=सिन्धोः, from India-district on the Indus) अमुतः यावत् आ ×स्वर्दात् (Sparda), त्यन्मे (=तत् [=यत् राज्यं] मे) असुरमेधाः प्राभरत्

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[1] Prepared from Herzfeld's and Sen's transcripts. This record is duplicated and is in three versions, viz , Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

[2] Kusha (evidently beyond Mudrāya or Egypt) is generally identified with Ethiopia ; cf. Kuśadvīpa of the Purāṇas.

(=प्रायच्छंत्), स्यः (सः = यः) महिष्टः +भगानां (=महत्तमः देवानाम्)। माम् असुरमेधाः पातु उत मे +विशं (=वंशम्) ।'

No. 4—Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription [A] of Dārayava^{h}ush (Darius)

NAQSH-i-RUSTAM near Persepolis, Persia

TOLMAN, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 44 and 46; *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 56-58; KENT, *Language*, XV, pp. 162ff.; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 96-98.

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform

TEXT[1]

1 Baga vazrka **A^{h}uramazdā** hya im-
2 ām būmim adā hya avam asm-
3 ānam adā hya martiyam adā h-
4 ya *sh*iyātim adā martiyahyā
5 hya **Dārayava^{h}um** *khsh*āy*th*iyam ak-
6 unau*sh* aivam parūvnām *khsh*āya*th*-
7 iyam aivam parūvnām framātā-
8 ram (|*) Adam **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya va-
9 zrka *khsh*āya*th*iya *khsh*āya*th*iyānām
10 *khsh*āya*th*iya dahyūnām vispazanā-
11 nām *khsh*āya*th*iya abyāyā būmi-
12 yā vazrkāyā dūraiapiy **Visht[ā]s-**
13 **pahyā** pussa **Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa** [P]-
14 ārsahyā pussa **Ariya** Ariya-*ch*[i]-
15 ssa (|*) *Th*ātiy **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*ā[ya]-
16 *th*iya va*sh*nā **A^{h}uramazdāhā** im[ā]
17 dahyāva tyā ada[m] agrbāya[m]

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[1] From Tolman's, Kent's and Sen's transcripts. Of several records this is the first half of an inscription (marked 'A' by scholars) containing 60 lines. They are on a tomb; above is a double row of figures supporting the platform where Darius stands before a burning altar; higher up is the divine symbol.

18 apataram bac*h*ā **Pa̅rsa̅** (|*) Adams*h*ām
19 patiya*khsh*ayaiy (|*) Manā bājim aba[ra]ha (|*)
20 Tyas*h*ām hac*h*āma a*th*ah^{i}[y] [ava] [a]-
21 kunava (|*) Dātam tya manā ava[d]is*h*
22 adāriy (|*) **Ma̅da ^{kh}Uvaja Parthava [Harai]-**
23 **va Ba̅khtrish Suguda ^{kh}Uva̅ra[zm]-**
24 **ish Zra^{n}ka Hara^{kh}uvatish Thatagu[sh] [Ga]^{n}-**
25 **da̅ra Hi^{n}dush Saka̅** haumavar[gā] **[Sa]**-
26 **ka̅** tigra*kh*haudā **Ba̅bair[ush] [A]-**
27 **thura̅ Araba̅ya Mudra̅ya [Aramina]**
28 **Katpatuka Sparda Yauna Saka̅** tyai[y] [pa]-
29 radraya **Skudra Yauna̅** takabarā **Pu^{n}[ta̅y]**-
30 **a̅ Kushiya̅ Machiya̅ Karka̅** (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+भगः ×वजृकः (=देवः महान्) +असुरमेधाः, स्यः (=सः =यः) इमां भूमिम् +अधात् (=असृजत्), स्यः ×अवम् +अश्मानम् अधात् (=यः अमुम् आकाशम् असृजत्), स्यः मर्त्यम् अधात् (=यः मानवम् असृजत्), ×च्यातिम् (=उन्नतिम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः धारयद्वसुं ×क्षायथ्यम् अकृणोत् (=अकरोत्), एकं पुरूणां क्षायथ्यं (=बहूनां [जनानां] राजानम्), एकं पुरूणां प्रमातारं (=प्रभुम्)। अहं धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः वजृकः, क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां विश्वजनानां (=राजा देशानां सर्वमानवानां), क्षायथ्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वजृकायाः दूरे अपि [स्थितायाः] (=राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः च), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः, ×साखामनीष्यः, ×पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, +अर्यः +अर्य-चित्रः (=आर्यवंश्यः)। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'+वश्ना असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः अहम् +अगृभायम् +अपतरं +सचा पार्सात् (=इमे देशाः ते [=तान्=यान्] अहम् अगृह्णां दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्)। अहम् एषां +प्रत्यक्षये (=एतान् शास्मि)। मम ×भाजिम् अभरन् (=[ते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्)। त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अश्नांसि (=तत् [=यत्] एतेभ्यः मत्तः अशास्यत), ×अवत् अकृण्वन् (=अदः [एते] अकुर्वन्)। +धातं त्यत् मम अवत् ×दिः +अधारि (=[वि]हितं यत् मया अदः तैः अकारि)।—×मादः (Media), ×सुवजः (Susiana), पर्शवः (Parthia), ×सरेवः (Aria), ×बाख्त्रिः (Bactria), +सुगुदः (Sogdiana), ×सुवारज्मिः (Khorasmia), ×ज्रङ्कः (Drangiana), +सरस्वती (Arakhosia), +शतगुः (Sattagydia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India = valley of the Indus), शकाः +सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः ×तिग्रखोदाः (=तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः, pointed-capped Skythians), +बावेरुः (Babylonia), ×अशुराः (Assyrians), ×अरबायः (Arabia), ×मुद्रायः (Egypt), ×अरमिणः (Armenia), ×कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ×स्वर्दः

(Sparda), यवनः (Ionia), शकाः त्ये ⁺पारेद्रयः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रपारवासिनः)[1], स्कुद्रः, यवनाः तकभराः[2] (=तकधारिनः), पुन्तायाः (Puntians), कुषियाः (Kushians), मचियाः (Maxyes), कर्काः (Karkians)' ॥

No. 5—Persepolis Inscription [H] of Khshayārshā (Xerxes, c. 486-465 B.C.)

Persepolis, Persia

Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VIII, pp. 56-77; Kent, *Language*, XIII, pp. 292-305; S. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 148 ff.

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform

TEXT[3]

1 Baga vazrka **Aʰuramazda** hya imām būm-
2 im adā hya avam asmānam adā hya
3 martiyam adā hya *sh*iyātim adā
4 martiyahyā hya **Khshayārshām** *khsh*āyat*h*i-
5 yam akunaus*h* aivam parūnām *khsh*āyat*h*-
6 iyam aivam parūnām framātāram (|*) Ada-
7 m **Khshayārshā** *khsh*āyat*h*iya vazrka *khsh*āya-
8 *th*iya *khsh*āyat*h*iyānām *khsh*āyat*h*iya dahy-
9 ūnām parū-zanānām *khsh*āyat*h*iya ah-
10 yāyā būmiyā vazrkāyā dūraiy a-
11 piy **Dārayavahaush** *khsh*āyat*h*iyahyā pussa
12 **Hakhāmanīshiya Pārsa** Pārsahyā pussa
13 **Āriya** Ariya-*ch*issa (|*) *Th*ātiy **Khshayārshā**
14 *khsh*āyat*h*iya vas*h*nā **Aʰuramazdahā** imā
15 dahyāva tyais*h*ām adam *khsh*āyat*h*iya āh-
16 ām apataram hac*h*ā **Pārsā** (|*) Adam*sh*ām
17 patiya*khsh*ayaiy (|*) Manā bājim abara[ha] (|*) T-
18 yas*h*ām hac*h*āma a*th*ahiy ava akunava (|*) D-
19 ātam tya manā avadis*h* adāraya (|*) **Māda**

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[1] Raychaudhuri connects the land of these Śakas with the Śākadvīpa of the Purāṇas. Some scholars read *tara-draya*, 'across the sea', in the text.

[2] According to some, *taka* may be a kind of head-dress or coiffure.

[3] Prepared from Sen's transcript.

20 **^{kh}Ūja Hara^{kh}uvatish Armina Zra^{n}ka Parthava**
21 **Haraiva Bākhtrish Sugda ^{kh}Uvārazmi-**
22 **sh Bābairush Athura Thatagush Sparda**
23 **Mudrāya Yaunā** tya drayahiyā dā-
24 raya^{n}tiy utā tyaiy paradraya dāraya^{n}t-
25 iy **Machiyā Arabāya Ga^{n}dāra Hi^{n}dush**
26 **Katpatuka Dahā Sakā** haumavargā **Sakā**
27 tigra*kh*audā **Skudrā Ākaufachiyā**
28 **Pu^{n}tāyā Karkā Kushiya** (|*) *Thātiy* **Khsha-**
29 **yārshā** *khsh*āya*th*iya ya*th*ā tya adam *kh-*
30 *sh*āya*th*iya abavam astiy a^{n}tar aitā
31 dahyāva tyaiy upariy nipi*sh*tā a-
32 yauda (|*) Pasāvamaiy **A^{h}uramazdā** upastām
33 abara (|*) Va*sh*nā A^{h}uramazdahā ava dahyāvam
34 adam ajanam uta*sh*im gā*th*avā nī*sh*āda-
35 yam (|*) Utā a^{n}tar aitā dahyāva āha yad-
36 ātya paruvam **Daivā** ayadiy (|*) Pasāva va-
37 *sh*nā A^{h}uramazdahā adam **Daivadāna-**
38 **m** viyakanam utā patiyazbayam Daivā
39 mā yadiyai*sh* (|*) Yadāyā paruvam Daivā
40 ayadiy avadā adam A^{h}uramazdām ayada-
41 iy artā*ch*ā brazmaniy (|*) Utā aniya*sh-*
42 *ch*a āha tya du*sh*krtam akariy ava ada-
43 m naibam akunavam (|*) Aita tya adam aku-
44 navam visam va*sh*nā A^{h}uramazdahā aku-
45 navam (|*) A^{h}uramazdāmaiy upastām abara y-
46 ātā krtam akunavam (|*) Tuva k[ā] hya
47 apara yadimaniyā^{ha}iy *sh*iyāta ahaniy
48 jīva utā mrta artāvā ahaniy
49 avanā dātā parīdiy tya A^{h}uramazd-
50 ā niya*sh*tāya (|*) A^{h}uramazdām yadai*sh*ā a-
51 rtā*ch*ā brazmaniy (|*) Martiya hya avan-
52 ā dātā pariyaita tya A^{h}uramazdā n-
53 ī*sh*tāya utā A^{h}uramazdām yadataiy a-
54 rtā*ch*ā brazmaniy hauv utā jīva
55 *sh*iyāta bavatiy utā mrta artāvā
56 bavatiy (|*) *Th*ātiy **Khshayārshā** *khsh*āya*th*
57 iya mām A^{h}uramazdā pātuv ha*ch*ā ga-
58 stā [u]tā maiy vi*th*am utā imām dah-
59 yāvam (|*) Aitā adam **A^{h}uramazdām** jadiy-
60 āmiy (|*) Aitamaiy A^{h}uramazdā dadātuv (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+भगः ×वजृकः (=देवः महान्) +असुरमेधाः, स्यः (=सः=यः) इमां भूमिम् अधात् (=असृजत्), स्यः इमम् अश्मानं (= Ved. मेघम्=आकाशम् ; Mod. Pers. *āsmān*) अधात्, स्यः मर्त्त्यं (=मानवम्) अधात्, स्यः ×च्यातिम् (=अभ्युदयम्) अधात् मर्त्त्यस्य, स्यः ×क्षयार्षां (Xerxes) ×क्षायथ्यं (=नृपम्) अकृणोत् (=अकरोत्), एकं पुरूणां (=बहूनां) क्षाथथ्यम्, एकं पुरूणां प्रमातारं (=प्रभुम्)। अहं क्षयार्षाः (Xerxes) क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां पुरुजनानां (=देशानां बहुजनानां), क्षायथ्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वजृकायाः दूरे अपि (=राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः), धारयद्वसोः क्षायथ्यस्य पुत्रः, ×साखामनीष्यः, ×पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, +अर्यः (Aryan), +अर्यचित्रः (=आर्यवंश्यः)। शंसति क्षयार्षाः क्षायथ्यः—'+वश्ना (=इच्छया) असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्येषां (=इमे देशाः तेषां [=येषां]) क्षायथ्यः आसम् +अपतरं +सचा पार्सात् (=दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्)। अहम् एषां +प्रत्यक्षये (=एतान् शास्मि)। मम ×भाजिम् अभरन् (=[एते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्)। त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि ×अवत् अकृण्वन् (=तत् [=यत्] एभ्यः मत्तः अशास्यत अदः [ते] अकुर्वन्)। हितं त्यत् मम अवत् ×दिः अधारयन् (=विहितं [=विधानं] यत् मम अदः ते अपालयन्)—×मादः (Media), ×सूजः (=सुवजः, Susiana), +सरस्वती (Arakhosia), ×अरमिणः (Armenia), ×ज्रङ्कः (Drangiana), ×पर्थवः (Parthia), ×सरेवः (Aria), ×बाख्त्रिः (Bactria), ×सुग्दः (=सुगुदः, Sogdiana), सुवारज्मिः (Khorasmia), +बावेरुः (Babylonia), ×अशुरः (Assyria), +शतगुः (Sattagydia), ×स्वर्दः (Sparda), ×मुद्रायः (Egypt), यवनाः त्ये +ज्रयसि आ धारयन्ति उत त्ये +पारेज्रयः धारयन्ति (=यवनाः ते [=ये] समुद्रस्य समीपे वसन्ति अपि च ते[=ये] पारेसमुद्रं वसन्ति), ×मचियाः (Maxyes), ×अरवायः (Arabia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India= the Indus valley), ×कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ×दसाः (Dahae), शकाः +सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः ×तिग्रखोदाः (=तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः शकाः), ×स्कुद्राः (Skudrians), ×आकोफचियाः (people of Ākaufaka), ×पुन्तायाः (Puntians), ×कर्काः (Karkians), ×कुषियाः (Ethiopians ?)'। शंसति क्षयार्षाः क्षायथ्यः—'यथा त्यत् (=यदा तत्=यदा) अहं क्षायथ्यः अभवम्, अस्ति [कश्चित्] अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (=अन्तरे एतेषां देशानां), त्ये उपरि निपिष्टाः (=ते [=ये] उपरि निवेशिताः), अयोधत (=अयुध्यत=विद्रोहं चकार)। +पश्चादवत् (=तत्पश्चात्) मे (=मां प्रति) असुरमेधाः +उपस्थाम् अभरत् (=साहायकं व्यधात्)। वश्ना (=इच्छया) असुरमेधसः ×अवं दस्युम् (=अमुं देशम्) अहम् अहनं (=विध्वस्तं कृतवान्), उत ×सीं ×गातौ आ न्यासादयम् (=अपि च निम्ने भित्तौ स्थापितवान्)। उत अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (=अपि च एतेषां देशानाम्

अन्तरे) [कश्चित्] आसीत् ×यधात्यत् (=यत्र) पूर्वं देवाः (=पारसिकैः उपास्यमानेभ्यः देवेभ्यः इतरे देवाः) +अयजि (=अयज्यन्त)।[1] +पश्चादवत् वश्मा असुरमेधसः अहम् अवं देवधानं व्यखनम् (=अदः देवस्थानम् उत्खातवान्)। उत प्रत्यह्वयम् (=अपि च घोषितवान् [अहं])—"देवाः मा +यज्येषन् (=न इज्येरन्)"। ×यधायां (=यत्र) पूर्वं देवाः अयजि (=अयक्षत) ×अवध (=तत्र) अहम् असुरमेधसम् अयजे ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि (=पारसिकधर्मसम्मतानि सत्यवचनानि)। उत अन्यः च आसीत् त्यत् दुष्कृतम् अकारि (=अन्यश्चापि [देशः] आसीत् यस्मिन् पापम् अक्रियत)। अत्रत् (=अमुं देशम्) अहं ×नेभं (=शुद्धम्) अकृणवम् (=अकरवम्)। एतत् त्यत् (=यत्) अहम् अकृणवं, विश्वं (=सर्वं) वश्मा असुरमेधसः अकृणवम्। असुरमेधाः मे उपस्थां अभरत् यावत् कृतं (=कर्म) अकृणवं (=सम्पादितवान्)। त्वं कः स्यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे (=त्वं कश्चिद् यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे)—"×च्यातः असानि जीवः उत मृतः ऋतवान् असानि (=सुखितः स्यां जीवितः मृतः च क्षेमवान् स्याम्)", ×अवना हिता (=अनेन विधानेन) परीहि त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्टापयत् (=अदः विधानम् अनुसर यत् असुरमेधाः विहितवान्)। असुरमेधसं यजेः ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि। मर्त्यः स्यः अवना हिता पर्येति त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्टापयत् उत असुरमेधसं यजते ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि (=मानवः यः अमूनि विधानानि अनुसरति यानि असुरमेधाः विहितवान्, अपि च असुरमेधसं यजते सत्यभूतानि च पारसिकशास्त्रसम्मतानि वचनानि), असौ उत जीवः च्यातः भवति उत मृतः ऋतवान् भवति (=असौ जीवन् च सुखितः भवति मृतः च क्षेमवान् भवति)'। शंसति क्षयार्षाः ×क्षायथ्यः—'माम् असुरमेधाः पातु सचा ×गद्धात् (=पाप-वासनातः), उत मे विशम्, उत इमां दस्युं (=मम वंशं च इमं देशं च)। एतत् अहम् असुरमेधसं गदामि (=प्रार्थये)। एतत् मे असुरमेधाः ददातु'॥

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[1] The reference may be to the people of north-western Bhāratavarsha and the adjoining regions which formed part of the dominions of Xerxes.

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAURYAS

A—Rock Edicts of Aśoka (c. 273-232 B.C.)

No. 6—First Rock Edict: Girnār Version[1]

Girnār, Junagarh Dist., Bombay

Hultzch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 1 f. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. ix f., for other references. For Nos. 6-40, see also B. M. Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II; Jules Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d' Aśoka*; A. C. Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*; D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, and *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205 ff.; XXXII, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 इय[ं] धंम-लिपी देवानंपिं(प्रि)येन
2 पिं(प्रि)यदसिना राञा लेख[ा]पि[ता] (।*) [इ]ध न किं-
3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा(त्वा) पं(प्र)जूहितव्वं(व्यं) (।*)
4 न च समाजो कतव्वो(व्यो) (।*) बहुकं हि दोसं
5 समाजम्हि पसति देवानंपिं(प्रि)यो पिं(प्रि)यदसि राजा (।*)
6 अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधु-मता देवानं-

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[1] Aśoka's Rock Edicts have been discovered at Girnâr (Junagarh Dist., Bombay), Kālsī (Derādun Dist., U. P.), Dhauli (Purī Dist., Orissa), Jaugaḍa (Ganjam Dist., Orissa), Mānsehrā (Hazāra Dist., West Pakistan) Shāhbāzgaṛhī (Peshāwar Dist., West Pakistan) and Yeṛṛaguḍi (Karnul Dist., Andhra State). Two fragments containing portions of R. E. VIII-IX have been discovered at Sopara (ancient Śūrpāraka) in the Ṭhāṇā Dist., Bombay State. Rock Edicts III and IV refer to the king's 13th regal year, V to the 14th, VIII to the 11th and XIII to the 9th year. According to Pillar Edict VI, Aśoka began to issue rescripts on Dharma in his 13th regnal year. The years were counted from the date of his *Abhisheka* in c. 269 B. C. We take an expression like *ashṭa-varsh-ābhishikta* to mean 'when 8 years passed after Aśoka's coronation', i.e. in the 9th year of his reign. Some scholars think that the reference is to current years so that 8 years after the coronation would mean the 8th regnal year.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

7 पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो (।*) पुरा महानसम्हि[1]
8 देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो अनुदिवसं ब-
9 हूनि पा(प्रा)ण-सत-सहस्रा(स्रा)नि आरभिसु सूपाथाय (।*)
10 से अज यदा अयं धंम-लिपी लिखिता ती एव पा(प्रा)-
11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो (।*) सो पि
12 मगो न धुवो (।*) एते पि त्री(त्री) पा(प्रा)णा पछा न आरभिसरे (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्मलिपिः (=धर्मानुवर्धकः लेखः) +देवानांप्रियेण (=देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा (=अशोकेन) लेखिता। इह (=पाटलिपुत्रनगर्यां राजधान्यां; यद्वा—मम अस्मिन् राज्ये) न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः (=निहत्य उत्स्रष्टव्यः)[2]। न च समाजः[3] (=मेलकः, उत्सवः) कर्तव्यः। बहुकं (=बहु) हि दोषं पश्यति समाजे देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा। सन्ति अपि +एकत्याः (=एकविधाः=केचित्) समाजाः साधुमताः देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः॥ पुरा महानसे (=रन्धनागारे) देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राण-शत-सहस्राणि आलभ्यन्त सूपार्थाय (=व्यञ्जनार्थम्)[4]। तत् (=ततः) अद्य यदा इयं धर्म-लिपिः लिखिता त्रयः एव प्राणाः (=प्राणिनः) आलभ्यन्ते सूपार्थाय—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः (=द्वौ पक्षिणौ एकः च पशुः;[5] यद्वा—द्वौ शिखिनौ एकः च हरिणः)। सः अपि मृगः न ध्रुवः (=नियतः)। एते अपि त्रयः प्राणाः पश्चात् न आलप्स्यन्ते॥

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[1] The original looks like मेहानसेम्हि.

[2] This injunction goes against the Vedic sanction of killing animals in sacrifices; cf. *Manu*, V, 21, 39, with Medhātithi's commentary.

[3] Cf. *Mbh.*, I, 143, 3; 185, 29f; IV, 2, 7; 13, 15f.; etc. Any assemblage including a synod for religious discussions was called a *samāja* (cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Brahma-khaṇḍa, I, verse 4).

[4] Cf. the description of king Rantideva's *Mahānasa*, where 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day, in *Mbh.*, III. 207, 8-10; VII, 65, 16-18; XII, 29, 127f.

[5] Cf. 'मगो वा आगच्छति'। सब्बचतुप्पदानं हि इध मगो ति नामं। 'मोरो वा कट्ठं पातेती ति'। मोरगहणेन च इध सब्बपक्खिगहणं अधिप्पेतं। quoted from Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Bhayabherava-sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* by Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 83.

No. 7—Second Rock Edict : Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 449; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. pp. 2f. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ixf. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंपि(प्रि)यस पियदसिनो राञो
2 एवमपि प(प्र)चंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो[2] आ तंब-
3 पंणी अंतिय(ो*)को योन-राजा ये वा पि तस अंतिय(ो*)कस सामीप[ा][3]
4 राजानो सर्वत(त्र) देवानंपि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो द्वे चिकीछ(ा*) कता
5 मनुस-चिकीछा च पसु-चिकीछा च (।*) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
6 पसो[प]गानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत(त्र) हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च (।*)
7 मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च (।*)
8 पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व(व्र)छा च रोपापित[ा] परिभोगाय पसु-मनुसानं (॥*)

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[2] Read केरलपुतो. Other versions of the edict have केललपुते (Kālsī), केरडपुतो (Shāhbāzgaṛhī), केरलपुत (Mānsehrā). Evidently, the Choḷas and Pāṇḍyas in plural and Keralaputra and Satiyaputra or Sātīya° in singular are used in contradistinction. The former group indicates peoples and the latter kings (i e., their particular countries). Several localities are known with names ending in *puta*, *putta* or *putra*; e.g., Seriyāputa, Kesaputta, Pāṭaliputra (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 130). Similar names may also indicate tribes or sects; e.g., Vanaputra Dāudputra, Rājaputra = Rajput (Tod, *An. Ant. Raj*, Calcutta, 1834, I, pp. 232, 236; II, 360); cf. also such epithets as Jetaputta, Sibiputta, Bhojaputta, Videhaputta in literature. Here however *Keralaputra* (as also *Sātīyaputra*) signifies the king (i.e., his country); cf. references to the kingdom and capital of Kerobothra (= Keraputra) in the *Periplus* (§54) and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, §87. Cf. also Kosalaputra, surname of Kanakasena, in Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 212, and Guhilaputra. Balikaputra (the Ballas of Saurāshṭra), etc. *ibid.*, p. 121. Almost all kings of ancient Kerala, whose exploits have been described in the Sangam literature are known to have enjoyed the title *chēramān* which is supposed to be a contraction of *chēra-makan*, 'son of Chēra'. *Chēra* is the Tamil form of the name written *Kerala* in Sanskrit. See K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 38-39. As regards the name Pāṭaliputra (earlier Pāṭaligrāma), it may have originally indicated the Yaksha protector of Pāṭaligrāma; cf. Kikkaṭāputra in a Wala inscription (645 A.D.) of Dharasena (*J.B.B.R.A.S*, X, pp. 66ff.).

[3] Bühler originally read सामीनं and corrected it into सामंता which is the reading of other versions of the edict. Hultzsch thinks that सामंता was originally engraved on the rock and was subsequently changed into सामीपं (or सामीपा). See R. E XIII for the princes who were neighbours of Antiokhos.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सर्वत्र +विजिते (=राज्ये) +देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, एवम् अपि प्रत्यन्तेषु यथा चोळाः (Tanjavur-Tiruchirappalli region), पाण्ड्याः (Ramanathapuram-Madurai-Tirunelveli region), सातीयपुत्रः (northern part of the Malayalam-speaking area), केरलपुत्रः (southern part of the Malayalam-speaking area), आ-ताम्रपर्णि (=ताम्रपर्णी [=सिंहल]-पर्यन्तम्), [अपि च] अन्तियोकः (Antiokhos II Theos of Syria, c. 261-246 B. C.) यवनराजः[1], ये वा अपि तस्य अन्तियोकस्य सामीपाः (=समीपस्थाः) राजानः, सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः [मते] द्वे चिकित्से कृते—मनुष्य-चिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च । औषधानि[2] च यानि मनुष्योपगानि (=नरहितानि) च पशूपगानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि (=वाहितानि) च रोपितानि च । मूलानि च फलानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च । पथिषु कूपाः[3] च खानिताः वृक्षाः[4] च रोपिताः, परिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् ॥

No. 8—Third Rock Edict : Girnār Version

Bühler, *Ep. Ind*, II, p. 450; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 4f. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ixf. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[5]

1 देवानंपिं(प्रि)यो पियदसि र(ा*)जा एवं आह (।*) द्वादस-वासाभिसितेन मया इदं आञपितं (।*)

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[1] The word योन=यौन=यवन, meaning 'a Greek,' was borrowed from the Persians.

[2] Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 69, 59 :

औषधानि च सर्वाणि मूलानि च फलानि च ।
चतुर्विधांश्च वैद्यान् वै संगृह्णीयाद्विशेषतः ॥

[3] Some versions have उदुपानानि. Cf. *Vishṇusaṁhitā.*, 91, 1 : कूपकर्तुस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्यार्द्धं विनश्यति । See also *Padma Purāṇa.*, Sṛishṭi, ch. 57, etc., etc.

[4] Cf. *Vishṇu*, 91, 4-8; *Padma Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, ch. 58, etc., etc.

[6] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

2 सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च पा(प्रा)देसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
3 य[ा]न[ं] ि[न]यातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसट्सि(स्टि)य यथा अञा-
4 य पि कंमाय (।*) [स]ाधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसू(स्रू)सा मिता[1]-संस्तुत-ञातीनं बाम्हण-
5 समणानं सा[धु] [द]ानं पा(प्रा)णानं साधु अनारंभो अप-य्व(व्य)यता अप-भांडता साधु (।*)
6 परिसा पि युते आञपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च य्वं(व्यं)जनतो च (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः (= देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा (=अशोकः) एवम् आह—'द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) मया इदम् आज्ञप्तम्। सर्वत्र विजिते मम युक्ताः (=क्षुद्रजनपदशासकाः) च[2] रज्जुकाः (= रज्जुग्राहकामात्याः = करादिनिर्द्धारणार्थभूमिपरिमाणादिकार्यनियुक्ताः प्रदेशांशशासकाः) च प्रादेशिकाः (=प्रदेशशासकाः) च पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानाय[3] निर्यान्तु॰ (=परिदर्शनाय निष्क्रामन्तु), एतस्मै एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुशस्तये (= धर्मोपदेशाय) यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्मणे।—साधुः मातरि च पितरि च शुश्रूषा (=वश्यता, सेवा), मित्र-संस्तुत(=परिचित)-ज्ञातिभ्यः ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेभ्यः [च] साधु दानं, प्राणानां साधुः अनालम्भः (=अहननम्), अल्पव्ययता अल्प-भाण्डता (=अल्पसञ्चयः) [च] साधू। परिषत् (= मन्त्रिसंसत्) अपि युक्तान्[4] आज्ञपयिष्यति गणनायां (= एतदाज्ञापालने) हेतुतः (= मदुद्देश्यानुसारेण) च व्यञ्जनतः (= धर्मलिप्यक्षरार्थानुसारेण ; यद्वा—व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुसारेण) च' ॥

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[1] Hultzsch reads मित्र, and notes that it looks like मिता.

[2] If this च, not found in other versions, be ignored, *yukta* (official) may be taken as qualifying both Rajjuka and Prādeśika ; cf. S. N. Mitra, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 308 ff. A Sanchi inscription of about the 2nd century B.C. and a Mysore record of *circa* 3rd century A.D. refer to the Rajjuka (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 416, 1195). The same officer seems to be mentioned also in a Vākāṭaka epigraph of the 5th century (cf. *Classical Age*, p. 182).

[3] Cf. पुण्यतीर्थानुसंयान in *Mbh*, I, 2, 123; *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 278 n.

[4] Cf. *yutāni* in other versions.

No. 9—Fourth Rock Edict : Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 451 ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 5ff. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op., cit.*, pp. ixf. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 अतिकातं अंतरं बहूनि वास-सतानि वढितो एव पा(प्रा)णारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं ज्ञातीसु

2 अ[सं]पं(प्र)तिपती ब्रा[म्ह]ण-सं(स्र)मणानं असंपं(प्र)तीपती[2] (।*) त[3] अज देवानं-पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो[4] राञो

3 धंम-चरणेन [भे]री-घोसो अहो धंम-घोसो[5] (।*) विमान-दसंणा[6] च हस्ति-द[स]णा च

4 अगि-खंधा[नि] च [अ]ञानि च दिव्या(व्या)नि रूपानि दसयित्पा(त्पा) जनं यारिसे बहूहि वा[स]-सतेहि

5 न भूत-पु[वे] तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो धंमानुसट्सि(स्टि)या अनारं-

6 [भो] पा(प्रा)णानं अविहीसा[7] भू[ता]नं ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हण-समणानं संपटिपती मातरि पितरि

7 [सु]सुं(स्रु)सा थैर-सुसुसा (।*) एस अञे च बहुविधे [ध]ंम-चरणे व[ढि]ते (।*) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिं(प्रि)यो

8 [प्रि*]यदसि राजा धंम-[च*]रणं इदं (।*) पुतां(त्रा) च [पो]तां(त्रा) च पं(प्र)पो-तां(त्रा) च देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो

9 [पं(प्र)*]वधयिसंति इदं [धं]म-चरणं आव सवट-कपा धंमम्हि सीलम्हि तिट्सं(स्टं)तो [धं]मं अनुसासिसंति (।*)

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[2] प was inserted subsequently.

[3] त was inserted subsequently.

[4] द was inserted subsequently.

[5] Hultzsch completes the sentence not with धंम-घोसो but with दसयित्पा जनं in the next line.

[6] Bühler and Senart : दसणा ; Hultzsch : दसंणा

[7] ही was inserted subsequently.

10 [ए]स हि सेट्से(स्टे) कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (।*) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस (।*) [त] इमम्हि अथम्हि

11 [व*]धी च अहीनी च साधु (।*) ए[ता]य अथाय[1] इद['] लेखापितं इमस अथ[स] वधि युजंतु ह[ी]नि च

12 [नो] लोचेतव्वा(व्या) (।*) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिना राज[ा] इदं लेखापितं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं बहूनि वर्ष-शतानि (=बहुवर्षशतात्मकं) वर्द्धितः एव प्राणालम्भः, विहिंसा च भूतानां, ज्ञातिषु असंप्रतिपत्तिः (=असंमानः), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानाम् असंप्रतिपत्तिः। तत् (=ततः=तदनन्तरम्) अद्य देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मचरणेन (=धर्माचरणेन) भेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्मघोषः (=सर्वे भेरीघोषाः धर्मघोषकाः भूताः)। विमान-दर्शनात् च हस्ति-दर्शनात् च अग्नि-स्कन्धान् (=ज्योतिःपुञ्जान्)[2] च अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनं, यादृशं बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्वं (=पूर्वं न [वर्द्धितं] भूतं), तादृशम् अद्य वर्द्धितं देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मानुशस्त्या—अनालम्भः प्राणानाम्, अविहिंसा भूतानां, ज्ञातीनां संप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिः, मातरि पितरि [च] शुश्रूषा, स्थविर-शुश्रूषा। एतत् अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्द्धितम्। वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा धर्म-चरणम् इदम्। पुत्राः च पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः प्रवर्धयिष्यन्ति इदं धर्म-चरणं यावत् संवर्तकल्पम् (=आप्रलयं), धर्मे शीले (=सदाचारे[3]) [च] तिष्ठन्तः धर्मम् अनुशासिष्यन्ति [च]। एतत् श्रेष्ठं कर्म यत् धर्मानुशासनम्। धर्म-चरणम् अपि न भवति अशीलस्य। अस्मिन् अर्थे वृद्धिः च अहीनिः (=अनल्पता) च साधुः। एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लेखितम्—अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः युज्यतां, हीनिः (=अल्पता) च नः रोचयितव्या (=न्यूनतायां रुचिः न कर्तव्या)। द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B.C.) देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा इदं लेखितम्॥

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[1] Two *aksharas* have been erased between था and य.

[2] These may refer to artificial representations of celestial cars, elephants and light, which were shown to the people for the increase of their attachment for heaven. Shāhbāzgaṛhī has जोतिकंधनि.

[3] Cf. also Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sīlam*.

No. 10—Fifth Rock Edict : Mānsehrā Version

MĀNSEHRĀ, HAZĀRA Dist., West Pakistan

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 74f. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ixf. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 [2]दे[वनं]प्रियेन[3] प्रियद्रशि रज एव[ं] अह (।*) कलण[ं] दुकर[ं] (।*) ये अदिकरे कयणस से दुकरं करोति (।*) तं मय बहु [क]यणे [क]टे (।*) [त]ं[4] म[अ] पुत्र [च]

2 नत[रे][5] च पर च [ते]न ये अपतिये मे [अ]व-कपं[6] तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट क[ष]ति (।*) ये [चु] अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति (।*)

3 पपे हि नम सुपदरवे[7] (।*) [से] अतिक्रत[ं] अ[ं]तर[ं] न भुतप्रुव ध्रम[म]हमत्र नम (।*) से त्रेडश-व[ष]भिसितेन मय ध्रम-महमत्र कट (।*) ते सव्र-प[ष]डेष[8]

4 वपुट ध्रमधिथ[न]ये च ध्रम-वध्रिय हिद-सुखये च [ध्र]मयुतस योन-कंबोज-गधरन[9] र[ठि]क-पितिनिकन ये व पि अञे अपरत[10] (।*) भ[ट]मये-

5 षु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु वुध्रेषु हिद-सु[खये] ध्रमयुत-अपलिबोधये विय[पु]ट ते (।*) बधन-ब्रध[स] पटिवि[धनये] अपलिबोधये मोक्ष[ये] [च] [इयं]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[2] This is line 19 of the whole record on the rock.

[3] Read प्रिये.

[4] Other versions have त, से or सो.

[5] Girnār has पोता(=पौत्रा:).

[6] Girnār has आव संवट-कपा (=यावत्संवर्तकल्पम्).

[7] Bühler : सुपदरे व.

[8] Read ०डेषु.

[9] These three peoples lived in North-western Bhāratavarsha.

[10] In a narrower sense *Aparānta* indicated the Northern Koṅkan. Here however it seems to signify Western Bhāratavarsha where the Bhojas, Pitinikas, etc., lived. It is better to take Pitinika as a tribe than as an epithet of Raṭhika.

6 अनुबध [प्र]ज[व*][1] [ति] व कट्रभिकर ति व महलके[2] ति व वियप्रट ते (।*) हिद बहिरेषु चं नगरे[षु] सव्रेषु [ओ]रोधनेषु भतन[3] च स्प[सु]न[4] [च]

7 ये व पि अञे ञतिके सव्रत्र वियपट (।*) [ए] इयं ध्रम-निशितो तों[5] व ध्रंमधिथनें ति व दन-संयुते ति व सव्रत्र विजितसि[6] मअ ध्रम-युतसि वपुट [ते]

8 ध्रम-महमत्र (।*) एतये अथ्रये अयि ध्रम-दिपि[7] लिखित चिर-ठितिक होतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवटतु (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'कल्याणं [जनानां] दुष्करम्। यः आदिकरः (=आरम्भकः) कल्याणस्य सः दुष्करं करोति। तत् (=ततः) मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम्। तत् मे पुत्राः च, नप्तारः च, परं च तेभ्यः यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं (=आप्रलयं) तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते (=कल्याणं विधास्यन्ति), ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति। यः तु अत्र देशम् (=एकदेशं=किञ्चिन्मात्रम्) अपि हास्यति (=परिहरिष्यति) सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति। पापं हि नाम सुप्रदार्यं (=सुप्रवेशं=सुकरम्)[8] ॥ तत् अतिक्रान्तं [बहुकालात्मकम्] अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वाः धर्ममहामात्राः नाम। तत् त्रयोदश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 256 B. C.) मया धर्ममहामात्राः कृताः। ते सर्व-पार्षदेषु (=०धर्मसम्प्रदायेषु) व्यापृताः धर्माधिष्ठानाय (=०ष्ठापनाय) च, धर्मवृद्धये हितसुखाय च धर्म-युतस्य यवन-कम्बोज-गन्धाराणां, राष्ट्रिक-+पैत्रणिकानां, ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ताः [तेषाम्]। भृतार्येषु (=शूद्रेषु वैश्येषु च) ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु (=ब्राह्मणेषु राजन्येषु च)[9] अनाथेषु हितसुखाय +धर्मयुतापरिबोधाय (=धार्मिकस्य शृंखल मोचनाय) व्यापृताः ते। बन्धनबद्धस्य +प्रतिविधानाय (=अर्थादिदानाय) अपरिबोधाय मोक्षाय च—एतत् अनुबद्धम् (=एषः क्रमः)—प्रजावान् (=बहुसन्तानयुक्तः) इति

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[1] Kālsī : पजाव ; Shāhbāzgaṛhī : प्रजव ; Sanskrit प्रजावत्.

[2] Girnār has थैरेसु (=स्थविरेषु).

[3] Read भतुन (=भ्रातृणां).

[4] I e. the *avarodha* wherein the sisters of Aśoka resided ; cf. कन्यान्तःपुर.

[5] Read ति.

[6] Dhauli has सव-पु[ठ]वियं.

[7] लिपि has become दिपि in Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā owing to Persian influence.

[8] Hultzsch suggests सुप्रदारकम्.

[9] I owe the interpretation to the late Prof. Raychaudhuri. भत= Śūdra ; अयं= Vaiśya ; इभ्य=a king ; hence, the kingly class. For the augment *m* in *bhata-m-aya*, see Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 40.

वा कृताभिकारः (=परार्थकृतदोषः=परप्रेरणया कृतदोषः) इति वा +महल्लकः (=वृद्धः) इति वा व्यापृताः ते। इह (=पाटलिपुत्रे) वहिः च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु (=अन्तःपुरेषु) भ्रातृणां स्वसृणां च ये वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातयः [तेषां च]—सर्वत्र व्यापृताः [ते]। ये—अयं धर्मनिश्रितः (=धर्माश्रितः) इति वा धर्माधिष्ठानः इति वा दानसंयुतः इति वा, सर्वत्र विजिते मम धर्मयुते व्यापृताः—ते धर्ममहामात्राः। एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता—[एषा] चिरस्थितिका भवतु, तथा च मे प्रजा [एनां] अनुवर्त्तताम्' ॥

No. 11—Sixth Rock Edict : Girnār Version

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 454; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 11-12. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [देवा][नंपियो*] [पियद*]सि राजा एवं आह (।*) अतिक्रातं अंतरं

2 न भूतपुं(प्रु)[व] [स][वे*] [काले*] अथ-कंमे व पटिवेदना वा (।*) तं मया
एवं कतं (।*)

3 [स]वे काले भूं[ज]मानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व

4 विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवर्तं(त्र) पटिवेदका[2] ट्सि(स्टि)ता अथे मे [ज]नस

5 पटिवेदेथ इति (।*) सर्वत्रं (त्र) च जनस अथे करोमि (।*) य च किंचि मुख[तो]

6 आञपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सीं(स्रा)वापकं वा य वा पुन महामा[तेंं(त्रे)]सु

7 आचायि[के][3] अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निझती व [स]ंतो परिसायं

8 आनंतरं प[टि]वेदेत[व्यं(व्यं)] मे स[र्व]त्रं(त्र) सर्वे काले (।*) एवं मया आञपितं (।*)
नास्ति हि मे तो[सो]

9 उट्सा(स्टा)नम्हि अथ-संतीरणाय व (।*) कतव्य(व्य)-मते हि मे स[र्व]-लोक-हितं (।*)

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ixf.

[2] ट् had been originally engraved and was afterwards made टि.

[3] Cf. आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात् (Kauṭilya), *ibid.*, p. 13.

10 तसं च पुनं एसं मूले उट सा(स्टा)नं च अथ-संतीरणा च (।*) नास्ति हि कंमतरं

11 सर्व-लोक-हितप्ता(त्पा)[1] (।*) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनंणं गछेयं (।*)

12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परतां (त्रा) च स्वगं आराधयंतु (।*) त एताय अथाय

13 अयं ध[ं]म-लिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिट सेस्टे)य इति तथा च मे पुतां(त्रा) पोता च पं(प्र)पोतां(त्रा) च

14 अनुवतरां सव-लोक-हिताय (।*) दुकरं [तु] इदं अञतं(त्र) अगेन पराक्रमेन (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वस्मिन् काले अर्थ-कर्म (=कार्यसम्पादनं) वा प्रतिवेदना (=विज्ञापनं) वा। तत् (=ततः) मया एवं कृतम्—सर्वस्मिन् काले—भुञ्जानस्य मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे (=प्रासादान्तःस्थविश्रामागारे) व्रजे[2] (=पथि) वा विनीते (=विनीतके=याने) च, उद्यानेषु[3] च [स्थितस्य]—सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदकाः (=दूताः=विज्ञापकाः) स्थिताः (=उपस्थिताः) [सन्तः] अर्थं (=कार्यं) मे जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु इति। सर्वत्र च जनस्य अर्थं करोमि। यत् च किञ्चित् मुखतः आज्ञपयामि स्वयं, दापकं (=दापनं) वा, श्रावकं (=श्रावणं) वा, यत् वा पुनः महामात्रेषु आत्ययिकं (=सत्वरसम्पाद्यकर्म) आरोपितं भवति, तस्मै अर्थाय विवादः (=वितर्कः) निध्यातिः (=युक्तिभिः निध्यायनं=केनचित् पारिषदेन अपरेषां बोधनाय स्वमतपक्षे युक्तिप्रदर्शनं)[4] वा सती परिषदि, अनन्तरं (=अविलम्बेन) प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वस्मिन् काले। एवं मया आज्ञप्तम्। नास्ति हि मे तोषः उत्थाने (=उद्योगे) अर्थ-सन्तीर्णायां (=अर्थसन्तरणे=कर्मसम्पादने) वा। कर्तव्य-मतं (=मतं कर्तव्यं) हि मे सर्व-लोक-हितम्। तस्य च पुनः एतत् मूलम्—उत्थानम्[5] अर्थसन्तीर्णा च। नास्ति हि कर्मतरं सर्वलोक-हितत्वात् (=०हितात्)। यत् च किञ्चित् पराक्रामामि अहं—किमिति ?—भूतानाम् आनृण्यं गच्छेयम् [इति]। इह च एनान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गम्

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[1] Other versions have ०हितेन

[2] Some take वच (=व्रज) in the sense of 'a cowpen', while others find in it वर्चस्, which they are inclined to take in the sense of 'a latrine'. The first of the two suggestions may not be quite impossible. Cf. "The king is himself a large owner and breeder of cattle and personally superintends the condition of his flocks at certain times in the year. The whole care is taken of course by the cowboys whose ranches the king visits, when, for example, the cattle are to be branded" (Hopkins, *J.A.O S*, XIII, p. 82).

[3] *Udyāna* means either 'the act of going out (i.e. being on the march)' or 'a pleasure garden'.

Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *nidhyapti*, 'meditation', 'comprehension' (*J.A.O.S.*, LXXII, No. 3, p. 117).

[5] Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 56, 14-15; 58, 12-16; cf also Old Bengali उठानि

आराधयन्तु (=प्राप्नुवन्तु [ते])। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—किमिति ?—चिरं ⁺तिष्ठेत (=तिष्ठेत्) इति, तथा च मे पुत्राः पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च [एनाम्] अनुवर्तेरन् सर्व-लोक-हिताय। दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत्र ⁺अग्रेण ⁺पराक्रमेग (=अग्रात् पराक्रमात्)' ॥

No. 12—Seventh Rock Edict : Shāhbāzgaṛhī[1]

SHĀHBĀZGAṚHĪ, Peshāwar Dist., West Pakistan.

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 521; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 59. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 देवनंप्रियो प्रिय(द्र*)शि रज सवत्र इछति सव्र-
2 [प्र]षंड वसेयु (।*) सव्रे हि ते सयमे भव-शुधि च इछंति (।*)
3 जनो चु उचवुच-छंदो उचवुच-रगो (।*) ते सव्रं व एकदेशं व
4 पि कषंति (।*) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
5 शुधि किट्रञत द्रिढ-भतित निचे पढं[3] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्र[4] इच्छति सर्व-पार्षदाः (=विभिन्नधर्मसम्प्रदायाः) वसेयुः। सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं (=चित्तशुद्धिं) च इच्छन्ति। जनः तु उच्चावचच्छन्दः (=बृहत्क्षुद्राभिलाषः) उच्चावचरागः (=अधिकानधिकधर्मानुरागः) [च]। ते [कर्तव्यस्य] सर्वं वा एकदेशं वा अपि करिष्यन्ति। विपुलम् अपि तु दानं [यस्य अस्ति, परन्तु] यस्य नास्ति संयमः, भावशुद्धिः, कृतज्ञता, दृढभक्तिता (=०धर्मासक्तिः) [च]—[तस्य दानं] नीचं (=तुलनया हीनं) बाढम् (=अत्यन्तम्, असन्देहम्) ॥

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[1] On the left of the east face, at the top of the rock.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, and *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIII. For some references and the story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. xif.

[3] The Brāhmī versions read बाढं

[4] In usual construction, सर्वत्र would follow इच्छति

No. 13—Eighth Rock Edict: Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 14. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 अतिकातं अंतरं राजानो विहार-यातां जयासु (।*) एत मगव्या(व्या) अञानि च एतारिस[।*]नि

2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (।*) सो देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा दसवसभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं (।*)

3 तेनेसा धंम-याता (।*) एतयं होति बाम्हण-समणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं दसणे [च]

4 हिरंण-पटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं[2] धंमानु[स]ट्सी(स्टी) च धमपरिपुछा च

5 तदोपया (।*) एसा भुय-रति भवति देवानंपियस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो भागे अंञे (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः विहार-यात्रां निरयासिषुः । अत्र +मृगव्या (=मृगव्यं, मृगया) अन्यानि च एतादृशानि अभिरमकाणि (=सुखावह-व्यापाराः) अभूवन् । तत् (=ततः) +देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 259 B.C.) सन् +अयात (=अयात्) सम्बोधिं (=बुद्धस्य पुण्यं बोधिलाभक्षेत्रम्)[3] । तेन (=तीर्थंगमनेन =तस्मात् तीर्थगमनात्) एषा धर्मयात्रा [अनुवृत्ता] । एतस्यां भवति—ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च, स्थविराणां दर्शनं च हिरण्य-+प्रतिविधानं (=°दानं) च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशस्तिः च, धर्मपरिपृच्छा (=०जिज्ञासा) च तदुपगा (=तदनुकूला) । एषा[4] भूयोरतिः (=परमसुखं) भवति

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ixf.

[2] Read either दर्सनं or दसनं. Was दस(सं)नं the intended reading ?

[3] Sambodhi is the same as Mahābodhi (cf. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 31) which is the present Bodhgayā (Bodhi-Gayā). For Aśoka's pilgrimage to other Buddhist *tīrthas*, see Nos. 31-32 below.

[4] Or च। तदुपायात् (=तद्विहारयात्रातः आरभ्य) एषा

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, भग्नं अन्यत् (=अपरसुखानि हीनानि ; cf. Hindi भागना, to run away) ॥

No. 14—Ninth Rock Edict : Mansehrā Version[1]

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 458; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 78f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language : Prakrit
Script : Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 [देवनप्रिये] प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (।*) जने उचवुच[ं] [म]गल[ं] करोति (।*)

2 अबधसि अ[व]हसि वि[व]हसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्पि एतये अञये [च] [एदि]श[ये] [जने]

3 बहु मंग[लं] [क]रो[ति] (।*) अत्र तु अबक[3]-जनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथ्रिय च मगलं करोति (।*) से क[टविये] [चे]व खो

4 मगले (।*) अप-फले चु [खो] [ए]षे (।*) इयं चु खो मह-फले ये ध्रम-मगले (।*) अत्र इयं दस-भटकसि सम्य-पटिपति गुरुन अ[पचिति]

5 प्र[ण]न [स]यमे श्रमण-ब्रमणन [दने] (।*) एषे अणे च एदिशे ध्रम-मगले नम (।*) से वतविये पि[तु]न पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि

6 मित्र-स[ं]स्तुतेन [अ]व पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथ्रस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम [क]षमि[4] ति (।*) ए हि [इ]तरे मग[ले]

7 श[श]यिके से (।*) [सि]य व तं अथ्रं निवटेय [सि]य पन नो (।*) हिद[लो]-किके चेव से[5] (।*) इयं पुन ध्रम-मगले अकलिके (।*) [ह]चे पि तं अथ्रं नो निवटेति [हि]द अ[थ] परत्र

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[1] On the north face of the second rock. For some references and the story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. xii f.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[3] Bühler : बलिक (=बालिका)

[4] Bühler : केषमिति

[5] Bühler : इह च लोकि च वसे

8 अनत पुण[1] प्रसवति (।*) हचे पुन त[ं] अथ्रं निव[टे]ति हिद ततो उभयेसं [अर]धे होति (।*) हिद च से अथ्रे परत्र च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रम-(म*)गलेन (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं (=माङ्गलिकानुष्ठानं) करोति। आबाधे (=व्याध्यादिके) आवाहे (=पुत्रोद्वाहे) विवाहे (=कन्योद्वाहे) +प्रजोत्पदायां (=पुत्रोत्पादे) प्रवासे (=प्रवासयात्रायाम्)—एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिन् च एतादृशे [व्यापारे] जनः बहु मङ्गलं करोति। अत्र तु अम्बिका-जनिकं (=माता-पत्न्यः=स्त्रियः) बहु च बहुविधं च क्षुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं करोति। तत् कर्तव्यं च एव खलु मङ्गलम्। अल्प-फलं च तु खलु एतत्। इदं च तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्म-मङ्गलम्। अत्र इदं [भवति]—दास-भृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरूणाम् अपचितिः (=पूजा), प्राणानां (=प्राणिनां) [विषये] संयमः, श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानम्। एतत् अन्यत् च एतादृशं धर्म-मङ्गलं नाम। तत् (=ततः) वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिकेन अपि, मित्र-संस्तुतेन अपि, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं (यद्वा—प्रतिवेशिकम्) अपि—"इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलं यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य निर्वृत्तिम्[2] (=अभीष्टसिद्धि-पर्यन्तं), 'निर्वृत्ते वा पुनः [पुनः] इदं करिष्यामि' इति"। यत् हि इतरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं (=अनिश्चित-फलं) तत्। स्यात् वा [जनः तेन मङ्गलेन] तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयेत, स्यात् पुनः न। ऐहलौकिकं च एव तत्। इदं पुनः धर्म-मङ्गलम् अकालिकम् (=इह-पर-काल-निरपेक्षम्)। +हञ्चेत् (=चेत्) अपि तम् अर्थं [जनः धर्ममङ्गलेन] न निर्वर्तयति इह, अथ परत्र अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते। हञ्चेत् पुनः तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयति इह, ततः उभयस्य [फलस्य] आराद्धं (=लब्धं =लाभः) भवति। इह च सः अर्थः, परत्र च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्म-मङ्गलेन॥

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[1] Bühler : अन[ं]तं पुञ्ञं

[2] For the rest of the record, Girnār (followed by Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) suggests : अस्ति च अपि उक्तं 'साधु दानम्' इति। न तु एतादृशम् अस्ति दानं वा अनुग्रहः वा यादृशं धर्मदानं वा धर्मानुग्रहः वा। तत् तु खलु मित्रेण वा +सुहृदयेन (=सुहृदा) वा ज्ञातिकेन वा सहायेन वा अववदितव्यं तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=समुचितस्थले), 'इदं कृत्यम्, इदं साधु' इति। 'अनेन शक्यः स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (=लब्धुम्)' इति। किं च +अनेन (=अस्मात्) कर्तव्यतरं यथा स्वर्गाराद्धिः (=स्वर्गावाप्तिः) ?

Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 126. *Svarga* (not *Nīrvāṇa*) is the goal of Aśoka's Dharma. A school of early Buddhists may have believed that the attainment of *Svarga* led one to *Nirvāṇa*.

No. 15—Tenth Rock Edict: Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 459; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 17f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 देवानंपि(प्रि)यो पि(प्रि)यदसि [2]राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावह[ा] मञते अञत तदाप्त(त्प)नो[3] दिघाय च मे [ज]नो

2 धंम-सुसुं(स्रु)सा सुसुं(स्रु)सता[4] धंम-वुतं च अनुविधियतां (।*) एतकाय देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इ[छ]ति (।*)

3 यं तु किचि परिकामते[5] देवानं(प्रियो*) पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा त सवं पारतिं(त्रि)काय किंति सकले अपपरिसं(स्र)वे अस (।*) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंञं (।*)

4 दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अञतं(त) अगेन पराकं(क्र)मेन सवं परिचजिप्ता(त्वा) (।*) एत [तु] [खो] उसटेन दुकरं[6] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा [ऐहिकं] यशः वा [पारत्रिकीं] कीर्त्तिं वा न महार्थावहां मन्यते अन्यत्र 'तदात्वे (=वर्त्तमानकाले) +दीर्घायां (=आयत्यां) च मे जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां शुश्रूषतां धर्मवृत्तं च [तेन] अनुविधीयताम्' [इति अस्मात्]। एतकस्मै (=एतस्मै) देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्त्तिं वा इच्छति। यत्किञ्चित् पराक्रामति देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा तत् सर्वं पारत्रिकाय। किमिति? सकलः [लोकः] अल्प-परिस्रवः (यद्वा—

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

[2] देवा had been originally engraved here but was afterwards erased. An obliterated दे is visible between सि and रा and an obliterated वा between रा and जा. Hultzsch: ०पियो

[3] Read तदात्पनि=तदात्मनि. Other versions read तदत्वाये आयतीये च; cf. तदात्वे च आयत्यां च quoted from Kauṭilya by Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 8. Cf. *Amarakosha*, Kshatriya-varga, verse 30.

[4] Senart and Bühler: ०सतां. Here शुश्रूषताम् means सेवताम्

[5] Read परा०

[6] Jaugaḍa gives दुकलतले

अप०) स्यात्। एषः तु परिस्रवः[1] यत् अपुण्यम्। दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् (=अल्पपरिस्रवत्वम्, अप०) क्षुद्रकेण वा जनेन, उत्सृतेन (=महता) वा अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात् (=महोत्साहात्) [धर्मशुश्रूषा-धर्मवृत्त-व्यतिरिक्तं] सर्वं परित्यज्य। एतत् तु खलु उत्सृतेन दुष्कर[तर]म्॥

No. 16—Eleventh Rock Edict : Kālsī Version

Kālsī, Debrā Dūn Dist., U.P.

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 460; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 40. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [3]देवानं[पि]ये पियदषि [ल]ाजा हेवं (आ*)हा (।*) नथि [हे]डिषे दाने अदिष ध[ं]म-दाने।[4] धम-ष[ि]वभगे। धंम-षंव[धे]। त[त] एषे दाष-भटकषि। षम्या-पटिपति माता-पितिषु। षुषुषा। मित-षंथुत-नातिक्यानं समना-[ब]ंभनाना [दा]ने

2 पानानं अनाल[ं]भे (।*)[5] एषे वत[ि]वये पि[ि][त]ना पि पुते[न] पि[6] भा[ि][त]-ना पि [7]षवा[ि]मक्येन पि मित-शंथुताना[8] अवा पटिवेषियेन[ा] इय[ं] षाधु इयं कटविये (।*) [शे] तथा कल[ं]त] हिदलोकिक्ये च कं[9] आलधे होति पलत च[ा] अनत पुना[10] पशवति तेना धंम-दानेना (॥*)

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[1] Cf. Sanskrit आस्रव (=पाप) ; Pāli आसव

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, p. xi.

[3] This is line 29 of the whole inscription on the rock.

[4] This Daṇḍa and others in the text are unnecessary. Other versions add धंमसंस्तव, i e., praise of, or acquaintance with, Dharma.

[5] Girnār has : तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती मातरि पितरि साधु सुसूं(सू)सा मित-सस्तुत-ञातिकानं बाम्हण-सं(स)मणानं साधु दानं पा(प्रा)णानं अनारंभो साधु

[6] न is entered below the line.

[7] Read षुवामि०

[8] त of मित stands below the line. Read शंयुतेना

[9] कं, not found in the other versions, is used in Vedic Sanskrit as an indeclinable expletive particle. It possibly stands here for किञ्चित् (cf. No. 19 below).

[10] I.e. अनंतं पुंणं

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'नास्ति इद्दशं दानं याद्दशं धर्मदानं, [तथा च] धर्मसंविभागः (=धर्मस्य [अधर्मात्] विभजनं), धर्मसंबन्धः (=धर्मानुमोदितसंबधः ; यद्वा—धर्माकर्षणजात°)। तत्र एतत् [भवति]—दास-भृतकेषु (=क्रीतदास-वैतनिकदासेषु) सम्यक्-प्रतिपत्तिः, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिक्येभ्यः श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानं, प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः [च इति]। एतत् वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, +स्वामिक्येन (=स्वामिकेन) अपि, मित्रसंस्तुतेन, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं—"इदं साधु, इदं कर्त्तव्यम्" [इति]। सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति), ऐहलौकिक्यं च कं (=किञ्चित् ?) आराद्धं भवति, परत्र च [तस्य] अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्मदानेन' ॥

No. 17—Twelfth Rock Edict: Shahbāzgaṛhī Version

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, pp. 511 f.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 447; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 64f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सव्र-प्रषंडनि[2] प्रव्रजित[नि][3] ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (।*) नो चु तथ [द]न व पुज व

2 देवनंप्रियो मञति यथ किति स[ल]-वढि[4] सिय सव्र-प्रषंडनं (।*) सल-वढि तु बहुविध (।*) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचोगुति[5] (।*)

3 किति अत-प्रषंड-पुज व प[र]-पषंड-गर(ह*)न[6] व नो सिय [अ]पकरणसि[7] लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकर[णे] (।*) पुजेतविय व चु पर-प्रषं-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict is engraved on a separate boulder. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xi f.

[2] प्रषंडनि (=पार्षदान्) is here used in the sense of 'people following particular doctrines', 'different religious sects'. Literally *pārshada* means 'a member of a society or assembly'.

[3] This word is entered above the line.

[4] Sanskrit सार॰. Other versions have सार-वढी (Girnār) and शाला-वढि (Kālsī).

[5] Others read वच॰

[6] गरन may also be a mistake for गरहा.

[7] Bühler : अप्रकरणसि

4 [ड] तेन तेन अकरेन[1] (।*) ए[व]ं करतं[2] अत-[प्र]षंडं वढेति पर-प्रषंडंस[3] पि च उपकरोति (।*) तद् अनथ क[र]मि[नो][4] अत-प्र[षंड]

5 क्षणति [पर]-प्रषडस च अपकरोति (।*) यो हि कचि अत-प्रषडं पुजेति [पर]-[प्र]-षड[ं] गरहति सव्रे अत-प्रषड-भतिय व किति

6 अत-प्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करंतं [5][सो च पुन तथ करतं] ब[ढत]रं उपहंति अत-प्रषडं (।*) सो सयमो[6] वो सधु (।*) किति अञमञस ध्रमो

7 श्रुणेयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (।*) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इछ किति सव्र-प्रषंड बहु-श्रुत च क[लण]गम च सियसु (।*) ये च तत्र तत्र

8 प्रसन तेष[ं] वतवो देवनंप्रि[यो] न [तथ] [द]न[ं] [व] [पुज] व मञति य[थ] किति सल-वढि सियति सव्र-प्रषडनं (।*) बहुक च एतये अठ[ये*]

9 व[प]ट [ध्र]म-म[ह]मत्र इ[स्त्रिधि]यच्च-म[ह]मत्र [व्र]चभूमिक[7] अञे च निकये (।*) इमं च एतिस [फ]लं यं अत-पषड-वढि [भोति]

10 ध्रमस च दि[पन] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व-+पार्षदान् (=विभिन्न-धर्मसम्प्रदायान्)—प्रव्रजितान् गृहस्थान् च—पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया। नो (=न) च तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानांप्रियः मन्यते यथा—किमिति ?—सारवृद्धिः (=धर्मसारवृद्धिः) स्यात् सर्व-पार्षदानाम्। सारवृद्धिः तु बहुविधा। तस्याः तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः (=वाक्संयमः)। किमिति ? आत्म-पार्षद-पूजा वा पर-पार्षद-गर्हणं वा नो स्यात् अप्रकरणे (=अस्थाने=अकारणे ; यद्वा—अल्पकारणे), लघुकं (=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) वा स्यात् तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=सङ्गतस्थले)। पूजयितव्याः एव च तु परपार्षदाः तेन तेन आकारेण (=सर्वप्रकारैः)। एवं कुर्वन् [जनः]

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[1] Ginār has प्रकरणेन and Kālsī अकालन

[2] Bühler : कर[ं]तं

[3] Read ०डस

[4] Bühler : क[रत च]

[5] Omit सो च पुन तथ करतं, engraved for a second time through mistake.

[6] Other versions have समवाय (=सामवाद ; cf. धंमवाय=धर्मवाद in RE XIII), 'restrained speech'. The expression is generally taken to be the Sanskrit word meaning 'concord'.

[7] Bühler : वच०. *Vrajabhūmi* (=*Vraja,Ghosha*) 'is an outpost from a city or village, and a cowpen developed into a ranch, and hence into a village.' The Vrajabhūmikas worked possibly amongst the 'great body of ranchmen, the cattle-raising population'. Cf. Hopkins, *JAOS*, XIII, pp. 77, 79, 83.

आत्मपार्षदं वर्धयति, परपार्षदम् अपि च उपकरोति। ततः अन्यथा कुर्वाणः आत्मपाषदं क्षिणोति परपार्षदं च अपकरोति। यः हि कश्चित् आत्मपार्षदं पूजयति परपार्षदं [वा] गर्हति--[एतत्] सर्वम् आत्म-पार्षद-भक्त्या एव--किमिति?—'आत्मपार्षदं दीपयामि' इति—सः च पुनः तथा कुर्वन् बाढतरम् उपहन्ति आत्मपार्षदम्। तत् संयमः (=वाक्संयमः) एव साधुः। किमिति? अन्योऽन्यस्य धर्मं शृणुयुः शुश्रूषेरन् च [जनाः] इति। एवं हि देवानांप्रियस्य इच्छा। किमिति? सर्वपार्षदाः बहुश्रुताः (=नानाधर्मज्ञाः) च कल्याणागमाः (=उदारसिद्धान्ताः) च स्युः। ये च तत्र तत्र [पार्षदे] प्रसन्नाः (=अनुरक्ताः) तेभ्यः वक्तव्यं—'देवानांप्रियः न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते यथा--किमिति?—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपार्षदानाम्'। बहुकाः (=बहवः) च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्ममहामात्राः, स्त्र्यध्यक्षमहामात्राः (=अन्तःपुराध्यक्षाः), व्रजभूमिकाः (=घोषपरिदर्शकाः; यद्वा—गवाध्यक्षाः)—अन्यः च निकायः (=गणः [राजपुरुषाणाम्])। इदं च एतस्य फलं यत् आत्मपार्षदवृद्धिः भवति, धर्मस्य च दीपना (=उद्भासना) [इति]॥

No. 18—Thirteenth Rock Edict: Shāhbāzgaṛhī Version

On the west face of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 246f.; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 66 ff. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 [अठ]-वष-अ[भिसि]त[स] [देवन]प्रि[अ]स प्रि[अ]द्रशिस र[ञो] क[लिग] वि[ज]त (।*) दिअढ-म[त्रे] प्रण-शत-[सह]स्रे [ये] ततो अपवुढे शत-सहस्र-मत्रे तत्र हते बहु-तवत[के] [व] [मुटे] (।*)

2 ततो [प]च अ[धु]न ल[धे]षु [कलिगेषु] [तिव्रे] [ध्रम-शिलन][2] ध्र[म-क]मत ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनंप्रियस (।*) सो [अ]स्ति अनुसोचन[3] देवन[प्रिअ]स विजिनिति कलिग[नि] (।*)

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[1] Form the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some other references see, *ibid.*, p. xii.

[2] Bühler : ०पलनं (=०पालनं). Other versions have धंमवाय (=धर्मवाद)

Other versions suggest अनुशय

3 अविजितं[1] [हि] [वि]जिनमनो यो[2] त[त्र] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं बढं [वे]दनि[य]-म[तं] गुरु-मत[ं] च देवनंप्रियस (।*) इदं[3] पि चु [ततो] गुरुमततरं [देवनं]प्रियस ये[4] तत्र

4 वसति ब्रमण व श्रम[ण] व अ[ं]ञे व प्रषंड ग्र[ह]थ व येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटि-सुश्रुष मत-पितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्र-संस्तुत-सहय-

5 ञतिकेषु दस-भटकनं सम्म-प्रतिप[त्ति] द्रिढ-भतित तेष तत्र भोति [अ]प[ग्र]थो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (।*) येष व पि सुविहितनं[5] [सि](ने*)हो अविप्रहिनो [ए] [ते]ष मित्र-संस्तुत-सहय-ञतिक वसन

6 प्रपुणति [त]त्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो[6] भोति (।*) प्रतिभगं च [ए]तं सव्र-मनुशनं[7] गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रिय[स] (।*) नस्ति[8] च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्पि न नम प्रसदो (।*) सो यमतो[9] [ज]नो तद कलिगे [ह]तो च मु[टो] च अप[वुढ] च ततो

7 शत-भगे व सहस्र-भगं व [अ]ज गुरु-मतं [वो] देवनंप्रियस (।*) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितविय-मते व[10] देवनं[प्रि]यस यं शको क्षमनये (।*) य पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अपुनिजपेति[11] (।*) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे

8 देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवत्रपेयु न च [ह]ंञेयसु (।*) इछति हि [देव]नं-

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[1] This means that Kaliṅga did not form a part of Aśoka's empire at the time of his accession. B. M. Barua's contention that the country was never conquered before seems to be unjustifiable. The inclusion of Kaliṅga in the empire of the Nandas is indicated by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (see *infra*).

[2] Bühler : ०मनि ये

[3] Bühler : इमं

[4] Bühler : तवह्नि

[5] Bühler : संवि०

[6] Read अपग्रथो which is Bühler's reading. Other versions have उपघात for अपग्रथ

[7] Bühler : सव्र'

[8] Kālsī (followed by Mānsehrā and Girnār) has नथि चा पे जनपदे यता नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु वंभ्रने चा षमने चा ; नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि मनुषान एकतलषि पि पाषडषि नो नाम पषादे। The same interesting information about the Yavana and Kamboja countries is also found in the *Majjhimanikāya* (II, 149) which says योन-कंबोजेसु द्वे व वण्णा अय्यो चेव दासो च, i.e., there were only two social grades, viz., Ārya and Dāsa, in those countries. This seems to suggest that the canonical works of the Buddhists such as the *Majjhimanikāya* are much later than Alexander's invasion.

[9] Other versions have यावतक (= यावन्तः)

[10] Bühler : वो

[11] Read अनुनिझपेति which is Bühler's reading.

प्रियो सव्र-भुतन अक्षति स[ं]यमं सम[च]रियं रभसिये[1] (।*) अयि[2] च मुख-मुत विजये देवनंप्रिय[स] यो ध्रम-विजयो (।*) सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु

9 [अ] षषु पि योजन-श[ते]षु यत्र अंतियोको नम [यो]न-रज परं च तेन अ(ं*)-तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोड-पंड अव त[ं]बपं[णि]य[3] (।*) [ए]वमेव [हि]द रज-विषवस्पि[4] योन-क[ं]बोयेषु नभक-नभितिन[5]

10 भोज-पितिनिकेषु अंध्र-पलिदेषु[6] सवत्र देवनंप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति (।*) यत्र पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रम-वुटं विधनं[7] ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं [अ]नुविधियंति अनुविधियिशं[ति] च (।*) यो [स][8] लधे एतकेन भो[ति] सवत्र विजयो सव[त्र] पु[न]

11 विजयो प्रिति-रसो सो (।*) लध [भोति] प्रिति ध्रम-विजयस्पि (।*) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (।*) परत्रि[क]मेव मह-फल मेञति देवन[ं]प्रियो (।*) एतये च अठये अयि[9] ध्रम-दिपि निपि[स्त][10] (।*) किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे असु नवं विजयं म

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[1] Other versions add मादव and omit रभसिये

[2] Bühler : एषे

[3] The mention of the Sātīyaputra and Keralaputra in RE II and their absence in RE XIII may suggest that the two states came into closer contact with Aśoka between the issue of the former and that of the latter.

[4] Bühler : विष-वज्रि which is no doubt wrong.

[5] Other versions suggest नाभपंतिषु for नभितीनां. The Nābhakas and Nābhapantis have not been satisfactorily identified.

[6] Bühler : पुलि[दे]षु. Girnār has पारिंदेसु and Kālsī पालदेषु. The Pulindas of the Vindhyan region are often associated with the Andhras who probably inhabited the land to the south of the Vindhyas. For the different forms of the name Pulinda, note Sanskrit पुलिन्द=Prakrit पलिन्द (cf. Sanskrit गुरु=Pali गरु) ; Sanskrit पौलिन्द=Prakrit पालिन्द, पारिन्द (cf. Sanskrit गौरव=Prakrit गालव in No. 37 below; Sanskrit प्राणालम्भ=Prakrit प्राणारम्भ in No. 4 above).

[7] Bühler : विध्रेनं

[8] Bühler : च

[9] Bühler : अयी

[10] दिपि and निपिस्त of the Kharoshṭhī versions are due to Persian influence. The first occurs in Shāhbāzgaṛhī RE I, lines 1, 3; RE V, line 13; RE XIII, line 11; RE XIV, line 13; Mānsehrā RE I, lines 1, 4; RE V, line 26; RE VI, line 31; RE XIII, line 12; RE XIV, line 13.

विजेत[ि]वअ मञिषु (।*) स्प[कस्पि][1] यो विज[ये] [क्षं]ति च लहु-द[ं]डत च रोचेतु (।*) तं च यो[2] विज(यं*) मञ[तु]

12 यो ध्रम-विजयो (।*) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (।*) सव चतिरति[3] भोतु य [ध्र]म-रति[4] (।*) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 261 B.C.) ‘देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा कलिङ्गाः[5] विजिताः। द्व्यर्द्धमात्रं[6] (=सार्द्धैकं) प्राण-शतसहस्रं यत् ततः अपोढं (=[वन्दिरूपेण][7] अपनीतं) शतसहस्रमात्रं तत्र हतं, ‘बहुतावत्कं (=तादृशसंख्यकं बहु) वा मृतम्। ततः पश्चात् अधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्म-शीलनं, धर्मकामता (=०कामिता), धर्मानुशस्तिः च देवानांप्रियस्य। तत् अस्ति अनुशोचनं देवानांप्रियस्य विजित्य कलिङ्गान्। अविजिते हि विजीयमाने यः तत्र वधः वा मरणं वा अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत् बाढं वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य। इदम् अपि च तु ततः गुरुमततरं देवानांप्रियस्य—ये तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणाः वा श्रमणाः वा अन्ये वा पार्षदाः गृहस्थाः वा—येषु विहिता एषा अग्रभृति-शुश्रूषा (=उच्चपदस्थपुरुष०), माता-पितृषु शुश्रूषा, गुरूणां शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-सहाय-ज्ञातिकेषु दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, दृढभक्तिता [च]—तेषां तत्र भवति ‘अपग्रथः (=उपघातः) वा वधः वा अभिरक्तानां (=प्रियजनानां) वा निष्क्रामणं (=निर्वासनम्)। येषां वा अपि सुविहितानां (=सुखस्थितानां) स्नेहः अविप्रहीनः (=अहीनः), यत् तेषां मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिकाः व्यसनं प्राप्णुवन्ति, तत्र (=व्यसनप्राप्तिविषये) तत् अपि तेषाम् एव अपग्रथः भवति। प्रतिभागः (=भाग्यं) च एतत् सर्वमनुष्याणां, गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य। नास्ति च एकतरे अपि पार्षदे न नाम प्रसादः (=अनुरागः) [जनस्य]। तत् यन्मात्रः जनः तदा कलिङ्गे हतः च मृतः च अपोढः च, ततः शतभागः (=शततमभागः) वा सहस्रभागः वा अद्य गुरुमतः एव देवानांप्रियस्य। यः अपि च अपकुर्यात्, क्षन्तव्यमतम् एव [तस्य कर्म] देवानांप्रियस्य यत्

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[1] Girnār has सरसके (=स्वरसके [Hultzsch], शर-शक्ये [Bühler]) and Kālsī षयकषिनो (=स्वके [Hultzsch who takes नो to be a mistake for यो=एव]; शल्याकर्षिणः [Bühler]).

[2] Bühler : तं ए[व]

[3] Bühler : सव्र च निरति (which may be correct); Hultzsch : सवचति०

[4] Bühler : [स्व]म०

[5] At the time of Aśoka, Kaliṅga seems to have extended from the Purī-Cuttack area to the Ganjam-Srikakulam region.

[6] Hultzsch suggests द्विकाड्ढ्र

[7] These were probably meant to be sold as slaves.

शक्यं क्षमणाय। या अपि च अटवी (=अटवीवासिनः) देवानांप्रियस्य विजिते भवति, ताम् अपि अनुनयति अनुनिध्याययति (=[कर्तव्यं] बोधयति)। अनुतापे [सति] अपि च प्रभावः [अस्ति] देवानांप्रियस्य [इति] उच्यते तेभ्यः (=अटवीवासिभ्यः)। किमिति? [गुरुतर-राजापकारं कर्तुम्] अवत्रपेरन् (=संकुचेयुः), न च [तथा कृत्वा] हन्येरन्। इच्छति हि देवानांप्रियः सर्वभूतानाम् अक्षतिं संयमं समाचर्यम् (=अपक्षपातं [च]) राभस्ये (=अपराध-विषये)। अयं च मुखमतः (=मुख्य-मतः) विजयः देवानांप्रियस्य यः धर्म-विजयः। सः च पुनः लब्धः देवानांप्रियेण इह च सर्वेषु च अन्तेषु (=प्रत्यन्तदेशेषु) आ षड्भ्यः अपि योजनशतेभ्यः, यत्र अन्तियोकः नाम यवन-राजः, परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोकात् चत्वारः ४ राजानः तुरमायः नाम, अन्तेकिनः नाम, मकाः नाम, अलिकसुदरः नाम; नीचाः (=अधस्तनाः=दक्षिणस्थाः) चोल-पाण्ड्याः यावत् ताम्रपर्णीयान्।[1] एवम् एव इह राजविषये यवन-कम्बोजेषु नाभक-नाभ[पं]तिषु भोज-पैत्रणिकेषु[2] अन्ध्र-पुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मानुशस्तिं [जनः] अनुवर्तते। यत्र अपि देवानांप्रियस्य दूताः न व्रजन्ति, ते (=तत्रत्याः) अपि श्रुत्वा देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मोक्तं (यद्वा—धर्म-वृत्तं), विधानं, धर्मानुशस्तिं [च], धर्मम् अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति च। यः सः (=यः कश्चित्) लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्वत्र विजयः, सर्वत्र पुनः विजयः प्रीतिरसः (=०रसयुक्तः) सः। लब्धा भवति प्रीतिः [जयिना जितैः च] धर्मविजये। लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीतिः। पारत्रिकं [सुखम्] एव [धर्मविजयस्य] महाफलं मन्यते देवानांप्रियः। एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः निवेशिता। किमिति?—पुत्राः प्रपौत्राः [च] मे स्युः [ये ते] नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मंसत। स्वके एव विजये क्षान्तिः च लघुदण्डता च [तेभ्यः] रोचताम्। तं च एव विजयं [ते] मन्यन्तां यः धर्म-विजयः। सः ऐहलौकिकः पारलौकिकः [च]। [तेषां] सर्वा च अतिरतिः (=परा प्रीतिः) भवतु या धर्मरतिः। सा ऐहलौकिकी पारलौकिकी [च]॥

No. 19—Fourteenth Rock Edict: Girnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 465; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 25 f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] Cf. RE II. The Greek kings are (1) Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-246 B.C.); (2) Magas of Kyrene in North Africa (c. 282-258 B.C.); (3) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B.C.); (4) Antigonos Gonatas of Makedonia (277-239 B.C.); (5) Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or Alexander of Korinth (252-c. 244 B.C.).

[2] Cf. RE V, *supra*, p. 23. For Bhoja and Rāshṭrika, see the Hāthigumphā inscription, *infra*.

TEXT[1]

1 अयं धंम-लिपी देवानंपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिना र[ा]ञा [ले]खापिता (।*) अस्ति एव

2 संखि[ते]न अस्ति मझमेन अस्ति विसततन[2] (।*) न च सवं [स]वत घटितं (।*)

3 महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (।*) अस्ति च एत कं

4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस[3] साधूरताय (।*) किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ (।*)

5 तल एकदा[4] असमा[त]ं लिखित[ं] अस देसं व सछाय[5]-[का]रणं व

6 [अ]लोचेसा(त्पा) लिपिकरापरधेन व (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्म-लिपिः +देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता। अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन, अस्ति मध्यमेन, अस्ति विस्तृतेन [लिखितम्]। न च सर्वं (=सर्व-विषयः) सर्वत्र घटितं (=प्रयुक्तम्)[6]। महल्लकं (=सुबृहत्) हि +विजितं, बहु च लिखितं, लेखयिष्यामि च एव। अस्ति च अत्र कं[7] पुनः पुनः उक्तं[8] तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य मधुरतायै[9]। किमिति?—जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत (=कुर्वीत)। तत्र एकदा (=कदाचित्) असमाप्तं लिखितम् स्यात्, देशं (=प्रचारस्थानं) वा संक्षय-कारणं (=संक्षेप०) वा आलोच्य, लिपिकरापराधेन वा ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some other references, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

[2] Read विस्ततेन

[3] स was inserted subsequently.

[4] Other versions have किछि (Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and किचे (Shāhbāzgaṛhī).

[5] Other versions have षंखेये (Kālsī) and संखय (Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā).

Cf. the absence of RE XI-XIII at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

[7] कं is an expletive indeclinable particle. It may possibly also mean something like Sanskrit किंचित्

[8] Other versions have लपित ; cf. injunctions like मातापितुषु सुसूसा, etc.

Other versions suggest माधुर्याय

B—SEPARATE ROCK EDICTS[1] OF AŚOKA

No. 20—First Separate Rock Edict : Dhauli Version

Dhauli, Purī Dist , Orissa

Kern, *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 379ff. ; Senart, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 82ff. ; Bühler, *ASSI*, I, pp. 114ff. ; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 92ff.

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [देवान]ं[पि]य[स] [वच]नेन तोसलियं[3] म[हा]मात [नग]ल[वियो]हालक[ा]

2 [व]तविय (।*) [अं] किछि [दखा]मि हकं तं इछामि [किंति] कं[मन] [प]टि[पादये]हं[4]

3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (।*) एस च मे मोख्य-मत दुवा[ल] [एतसि] [अठ]सि अं तु[फेसु]

4 अनुसथि (।*) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु[5] आ[यत][6] पन[यं] [ग]छेम सु मुनिसानं (।*) सवे

5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (।*) अथ[ा] पजाये इछामि हक[ं] [किंति] [स]वे[न] [हि]तसुखेन हिदलो[किक]-

6 पाललोकिके[न][7] [यूजेवू] [ति] तथा [सव*]-[मुनि]सेसु पि [इ]छामि [ह]क[ं] (।*) नो च पापुनाथ आव-ग-

7 [मुके][8] [इयं अठे] (।*) [केछ] [व] एक-पुलि[से] [पापु*]नाति ए[तं] से पि देसं नो सवं (।*) दे[खत] [हि] [तुफे] एतं

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[1] The Separate Rock Edicts are found at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in ancient Kaliṅga, conquered by Aśoka. They are found in these versions instead of RE XI, XII and XIII. Cf. RE XIV, lines 5-6. SRE I was actually engraved after SRE II.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xiii f.

[3] Jaugaḍa has समापायं in place of तोसलियं. Tosalī is modern Dhauli and Samāpā ay near the modern Jaugaḍa hill.

[4] Senart and Bühler : पटिवेद०

[5] Read : ०सेसु

[6] Senart and Bühler : आयता

[7] Senart and Bühler : ०लोकिकाये

[8] Senart and Bühler : आवा-गमके

8 सुवि[हि]ता पि (।*) नि]तियं[1] एक-पुलिसे [पि] [अथि] [ये] बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति (।*) तत होति

9 अकस्मा तेन बधन[ं]तिक अंने च [तत*] [ब*]हुं जने द[वि]ये दुखीयति[2] (।*) तत इछितविये

10 तुफेहि किंति मझं पटिपादयेमा ति (।*) इमे[हि] चु [जातेहि] नो संपटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन

11 नि[ठू]लियेन[3] तूलना[य] अनावूतिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमथेन (।*) से इछितविये किति[4] एते

12 [जाता] [नो] हुवेवु म[म]ा ति (।*) एतस च सव[स] मूले अनासुलोपे अ[तू]लना च (।*) निति[य]ं ए किलंते सिया

13 [न] ते उग[छ][5] संचलितवि[ये] तु व ि[ट]र्त[व][ये] एतविये वा (।*) हेवंमेव ए द[खेय][6] [तु]फाक तेन वतविये

14 आनं ने[7] देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]वानंपियस अनुसथि (।*) से मह[ाफले] [ए]तस [संप]टिपाद

15 महा-अपाये असंपटिपति (।*) [वि]प[ि]टपादयमीने[8] हि एतं नथि स्वगस [आल]धि नो लाज[ा]लधि [ध] (।*)

16 दु-आ[ह]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे] कुते म[ने][9]-अतिलेके (।*) स[ं]पटिपज[मी]-[ने] चु [एतं] स्वग[ं]

17 आलाध[यि]स[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहथ (।*) इयं च [लिपि] [ति]स-न[ख]तेन सो[त]विय[ा] (।*)

18 अंत[ल]ा ि[प] च ि[त][सेन] [ख]नसि ख[नसि] एकेन पि सोतविय (।*) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे

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[1] Senart and Bühler: निति इयं. Some scholars take नितियं in the sense of नीति: इयं [भवति]

[2] Jaugaḍa has अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (=अन्य: च वर्ग: बहुकं वेदयति)

[3] Senart and Bühler: निथूलियेन

[4] Read किंति

[5] Read उगछे

[6] Senart and Bühler: दखिये

[7] Read न. Hultzsch: आनंने(=अनृण्य) for which however we have आननिय in line 17.

[8] Lüders and Hultzsch take हि as a separate word; but Senart and Bühler read °मीनेहि

[9] Senart: मन° and Hultzsch: मनो°

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19 चघथ संप[टि]पाद[ि]यतवे (।*) [एता]ये अठाये इय[ं] [लिपि] लिखित [हि]द एन

20 नगल-वि[योहा]लका[1] स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेवू [ि]त [एन*] [ज*][न]स[2] अकस्मा [प]लिबोधे व

21 अकस्मा पलिकि[लेसे] व नो सिया ति (।*) एताये च अठाये हक[ं] [महा*]मते[3] पंचसु पंचसु [व]से-

22 सु [निखा]मयिसामि ए अखखसे अ[चंडे] सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु [तं*] [पि*] [त]था

23 कल[ं]ति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (।*) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये [नि]-खाम[यिस][ति*] [अनुवासं *]

24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (।*) हेमेव तख[सि]लाते पि (।*) [अ]दा अ[नुवासं *]

25 ते महामता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानि-संति

26 तं पि त[थ]ा कलंति अ[थ] लाजिने अनुसथी ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्यां महामात्राः नगर-व्यवहारकाः (=पौरव्यवहारिक-महामात्राः) [एवं] वक्तव्याः—'यत् किञ्चित् +द्रक्षामि (=पश्यामि) अहं तत् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—कर्मणा प्रतिपादये द्वारतः (=उपायैः च आरभे (=उत्सहे)। एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्मिन् अर्थे यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः। यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयताः (=व्यापृताः), प्रणयं गच्छेम [वयं=यूयं अहं च] स्वित् मनुष्याणाम्[4] [इति हेतोः]। सर्वः मनुष्यः प्रजा (=अपत्यं) मम। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—सर्वेण हित-सुखेन ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति, तथा सर्वमनुष्येषु अपि इच्छामि अहम्। नो (=न) च [यूयं] प्राप्नुथ (=जानीथ) यावद्-गमकः अयम् अर्थः (=अस्य अर्थस्य यावती गमकता) [इति]। [युष्माकं] कश्चित् वा एकपुरुषः प्राप्नोति (=जानाति) एतम्; सः अपि देशं नो

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[1] Jaugaḍa has महामाता नगलक (महामात्राः नागरकाः)

[2] This is Hultzsch's restoration in accordance with the Jaugaḍa version. Senart and Bühler read नगल-जनस which is visible on Burgess's plate owing, according to Hultzsch, to retouching.

[3] Hultzsch suggests महामातं ; Senart and Bühler read धंमते

[4] Some scholars take the two expressions as सुमनुष्यानां

सर्वम् । पश्यत हि यूयम् एतत् सुविहिताः (=राजानुग्रहात् सुखावस्थिताः) अपि[1] । नीत्याम् (=दण्डनीतिविषये) [कश्चित्] एक-पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति । तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तकं (=बन्धनान्तः [प्राप्तः])[2] । अन्यः च [तत्र] बहुः [बन्धनबद्धः] जनः दवीयः (=चिरं) दुःखायते । ततः एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः—किमिति ?—"मध्यं (=अपक्षपातं) प्रतिपादयेमहि" इति । एभिः च तु जातैः (=वर्गैः) नो [मध्यं] संप्रतिपद्यते—ईर्ष्यया, आशुलोपेन (=क्रोधेन), नैष्ठुर्येण, त्वरणया (=क्षिप्रतया), अनावृत्त्या (=अनभ्यासेन), आलस्येन, क्लमथेन (=क्लान्त्या) [च] । तत् एष्टव्यं—किमिति ?—"एतानि जातानि नो भवेयुः मम" इति । एतस्य च सर्वस्य [सम्प्रतिपादनस्य] मूलम् अनाशुलोपः (=अक्रोधः) अत्वरणा (=धीरता) [च] । नीत्यां यः क्लान्तः स्यात्, न सः उद्गच्छेत् ; [तत्] सञ्चलितव्यं तु, वर्त्तितव्यम् (=धैर्येण सर्त्तव्यं), एतव्यम् (=अग्रे सर्त्तव्यम्) एव । एवम् एव यः पश्येत्, युष्मभ्यं तेन वक्तव्यं—"[राजशासनातिरिक्तं] अन्यत् न पश्यत । एवं च एवं च देवानांप्रियस्य अनुशस्तिः ।" तत् महाफलः एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः, महापाया असंप्रतिप्रत्तिः । विप्रतिपाद्यमाने (=अक्रियमाणे) [युष्माभिः] हि एतस्मिन्, न अस्ति स्वर्गस्य आराद्धिः नो राजाराद्धिः (=राजानुग्रह-लाभः) । द्व्याहरः[3] (=द्विमनस्कतया सम्पादनं) हि अस्य कर्मणः, मे कुतः मनोऽतिरेकः (=मनःशक्तेः [=उत्साहस्य] वृद्धिः) ? [युष्माभिः] संप्रतिपद्यमाने च तु एतस्मिन्, स्वर्गम् आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ । इयं च लिपिः तिष्य-नक्षत्रेण [युष्माभिः] श्रोतव्या । अन्तरा अपि च तिष्यं (=तिष्यातिरिक्ते) क्षणे क्षणे एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः यूयं जागृत[4] (=उत्सहध्वं) [कर्म] संप्रतिपादयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन नगर-व्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं समयम् [एतत्[5] अनुशासनं] युञ्ज्युः (=प्रयुञ्जुः) इति, येन जनस्य अकस्मात् परिबोधः (=बन्धनं) वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशः वा न स्यात् इति । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं महामात्रं पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु [अनुसंयानाय] निष्क्रामयिष्यामि—यः अकर्कशः अचण्डः सक्षीणारंभः

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[1] Some would find here सुविहिता अपि नीतिः इयं

[2] Cf. समाचर्यं in RE XIII and दण्डसमता in PE IV. Or, [विचारार्थिनां] एकपुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति । तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन [विधानेन] बन्धनान्तिकं (=कारायां मृत्युः) । अन्यः च बहुः जनः (=स्वजनः) दवीयः (=गभीरं) दुःखायते । Cf. lines 20-21. In that case, *madhya* would indicate a less severe course of punishment.

[3] I.e. द्व्याहरः...कुतः मनोऽतिरेकाय ? According to some दुराहरः =दुष्ट-सम्पादनं ; but in that case we should have had दुलाहले

[4] चघथ may be taken in the sense of Sanskrit जाग्रत i.e 'should be on the alert.' Grierson derives it from Chhattisgaṛhī *chagh*, 'to rise, ascend,' from Sanskrit *chargh*, 'to go.' Kern and Bühler connect *chagh* with Hindī *chāh-nā* (Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1932, p. 345). According to Hultzsch *chagh*=Sanskrit *śak*, 'to be able'.

[5] एतं in the Jaugaḍa version should be noticed.

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(=मृदुप्रयत्नः) भविष्यति—“एतम् अर्थं ज्ञात्वा [अपि] [नगर-व्यवहारकाः] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशस्तिः ?” इति [ज्ञातुम्]। उज्जयिनीतः अपि च तु [राज-प्रतिनिधिः] कुमारः एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति अनुवर्षम् ईदृशम् एव वर्गं, नो च अतिक्रामयिष्यति त्रीणि वर्षाणि (=त्रिषु त्रिषु वर्षेषु)। एवमेव तक्षशिलातः अपि। यदा अनुवर्षं ते महामात्राः निष्क्रमिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानाय, तदा अहित्वा आत्मनः कर्म, एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति, “तत अपि [ते] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञः अनुशस्तिः ?” इति॥

No. 21—Second Separate Rock Edict : Jaugada Version

Jaugaḍa, Ganjam District, Orissa.

KERN, *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 379ff.; SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 82ff.; BÜHLER, *ASSI*, I, pp. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 115ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 देवानंपियि हेवं आ[ह] (।*) समापायं महामता[2] ल[ा]जवचनिक वतविया (।*) अं किछि दख[ा]मि हकं तं इ[छ]ामि हकं [किं]ति कं कमन

2 पटिपातयेहं दुवा[ल]ते च आलभेहं (।*) एस च मे मोखियमत[3] दुवाल एतस अ[थ]स अ[ं] [तुफे]सु अनुस[थि] (।*) सव-मुनि-

3 सा मे पजा (।*) अथ पजा[ये] इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हित-सु[खे]न यु[जे]यू [4][अ]थ पजाये इछामि किं[ति] [मे] सवेन हित-सु-

4 [खे]न युजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकि[केण] हेवंमेव मे इछ सव-मुनिसेसु (।*) सिया अंतानं [अ]विजिता-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, p. xiv. Actually this is the first of the two separate Kaliṅga edicts and may be regarded as Rock Edict XV of Aśoka.

[2] Dhauli has तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च. This shows that the Kumāra (prince of the royal blood), governor of Kaliṅga, was stationed at Tosalī.

[3] Senart : मते ; Bühler : मतं

[4] The passage अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेयू has been repeated by mistake.

5 नं[1] किं-छांदे[2] सु लाजा अफेसू ति (।*) एताका[3] [वा] मे इछ [अं]तेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति अनु[विगि]न ह्वे[यू[4]]

6 ममियाये [अ]स्वसेयु च मे सुखं[मेव च लहे[यू] ममते [नो] (दु*)ख[ं] (।*) हेवं च पापुनेयु ख[मिस]ति ने लाजा

7 ए सकिये[5] खमितवे ममं निमितं च धंम[ं][6] चले[यू] ति हिदलोग[ं] च पललोग च आलाधये[यू] (।*) एताये

8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अन[ने] [एत]केन [ह]कं तुफेनि अ[नु]सासितु छंद[ं] [च] वेदि-

9 [तु] आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (।*) स हेवं [क]टू क[ं]मे [च]लितविये अस्वास[नि]या च ते एन ते पापुने-

10 यु अ[थ]ा पित [हे]वं [ने] लाजा ति अथ [अ]तानं अनुकंप[ति] [हे]वं अ[फे]नि अनुक[ंप]ति अथा पजा हे-

11 वं [मये] ला[जि]ने (।*) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित[7] [छ]ांदं [च] [वेदि]त[8] [आ][9] [म]म धिति पटिंना चा अचल [सक]ल-

12 देसा-आ[युति]के[10] होसामी एतसि [अ]थ[ंि]स (।*) [अ]लं [हि] तुफे अस्वास[ना]ये हि[त]-सुखाये [च] [ते]स[ं] हिद-

13 लोगि[क]-प[ा]ल[लो]कि[काये] (।*) हेवं च कलंतं स्वग[ं] [च] [आ]लाधयिस-[थ] मम च आन[ने]यं एसथ (।*) ए-

14 ताये च अ[थ]ाये इ[यं] लिपी लि[खित] [हि]द ए[न] [म]ह[ा]माता सास्वतं समं[11] युजेयू अस्वासनाये च

15 धंम-चल[ना]ये च अंता[न]ं (।*) इयं च लिपी अ[नु]च[ा]तुं[म]ासं [सोत]विया तिसेन (।*)अंतला पि च सोतविया (।*)

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[1] The reference to *avijita anta* may suggest that there were some unconquered tribes in or near Kaliṅga.

[2] Senart and Bühler : छंदे

[3] Read एतका

[4] Senart and Bühler : ह्वेयु

[5] Senart : छकिये ; Bühler : चकिये

[6] The अनुस्वार of मं is engraved above the line.

[7] Read ०सासितु

[8] Read ०वेदितु. Senart : वेदात

[9] आ is not noticed by Senart and Bühler.

[10] Read देसायु०

[11] Read समयं

16 खने संतं एके[न] पि [सोतवि]या (।*) हेव[ं] च [क]लं[त]ं चघथ संपटिपातयित[वे] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह।—'समापायां महामात्राः राज-वाचनिकं[1] (=०वचनं) वक्तव्याः।—"यत्किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—कं[2] कर्मणा प्रतिपादये, द्वारतः च आरभे। एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्य अर्थस्य यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः। सर्व-मनुष्याः मे प्रजा (=अपत्यं)। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि—किमिति ?—मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन, एवम् एव मे इच्छा सर्व-मनुष्येषु। स्यात् अन्तानाम् अविजितानाम् [इयं जिज्ञासा] "किं-छन्दः स्वित् राजा अस्मासु ?" इति। एतकाः वा मे इच्छाः अंतेषु प्राप्नुयुः—"राजा एवम् इच्छति—अनुद्विग्नाः भवेयुः मया आश्वस्युः च मया, सुखम् एव च लभेरन् मत्तः नो (=न) दुःखम्" ; एवं च प्राप्नुयुः—"क्षमिष्यते नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम्" ; मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः इति ; इहलोकं च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः [इति]। एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान् अनुशास्मि—[तेभ्यः]अनृणः एतकेन अहं—युष्मान् अनुशिष्य, छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः (=दृढ़ता) प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]। तत् एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम् ; आश्वासनीयाः च ते, येन ते प्राप्नुयुः—"यथा पिता एवं नः राजा" इति ;[3] "यथा आत्मानम् अनुकम्पते एवम् अस्मान् अनुकम्पते ; यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः" [इति]। युष्मान् अहम् अनुशिष्य, छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]—सकलदेशावृतिकः[4] (=सर्वदेशव्यापिवृतिमान्) भविस्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे। अलं (=समर्थाः) हि यूयम् आश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषाम् ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकाय। एवम् च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गम् च आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ। एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयम् [एतत् अनुशासनं] युञ्ज्युः आश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय च अन्तानाम्। इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण। अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या। क्षणे सति एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या। एवं च कुर्वन्तः [यूयं] जागृत [कर्तव्यं] संप्रतिपादयितुम्॥

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[1] Bhandarkar takes *Rājavachanika* as a class of executive officials like *Nagara-vyavahārika* (*op. cit.*, p. 368).

[2] कं is an indeclinable expletive particle. It may possibly also stand for *kiñchit.*

[3] Cf. वर्त्तेत पितृवन्नृषु (Manu, VII, 80); स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता (Yājñavalkya, I, 334).

[4] I take आयुति or आवुति to be Sanskrit आ + वृति meaning 'request'. The passage could then mean 'one whose request reaches every individual of the whole country.' An emperor's 'request' is of course his 'order'; cf. आवुति in PE IV. For other interpretations, see Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* Some scholars take the word to stand for *āyukta.*

C—MINOR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

No. 22—Minor Rock Edict[1]: Rūpnāth Version

Rūpnāth Rock, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh.

Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, VI. pp. 149ff.; VII, pp. 141ff.; XXII, pp. 299ff.; Senart and Grierson, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 154ff.; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 166f. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka* (Hyd. Arch. Ser., No. 1, rev. ed.), pp. 14 ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 देवानंपिये[3] हेव[ं] आहा (।*)[4] साति[र]केकानि[5] अढति[या]नि व(सानि*) य सुमि पाकास [सके][6] (।*) नो चु बाढि पकते[7] (।*) सातिलेके चु छवछरे[8] य समि हक[ं] सघ उ[पे]ते

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[1] Minor Rock Edicts have been discovered at Sahasrām (Shābābād Dist., Bihār), Rūpnāth (Jabalpur Dist., M.P.), Bairāṭ (Jaipur Dist., Rājasthān), Maski (Raichūr Dist., Mysore), Yeṛṛaguḍi (Karṇūl Dist., Andhra Pradesh.) and Śiddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore). For the recently discovered Rājula-Maṇḍagiri (Karṇūl Dist., Andhra Pradesh) and Gujarrā (Datia Dist., Madhya Pradesh) versions, see D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205 ff.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xxiii f.

[3] Maski : देवानंपियस असोकस; Gujarrā : देवानंपियस पियदसिनो असोकराजस

[4] Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara have सुवंणगिरीते अयपुतस महामातानं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं वतविया at the beginning of the record. Isila was apparently in the present Śiddāpura area. Suvarṇagiri, probably the headquarters of the southernmost province of Aśoka's empire, may be modern Jonnagiri (pronounced *Zonnagiri*) adjacent to Yeṛṛaguḍi in the Karṇūl District of Andhra.

[5] Read सातिरेककानि or सातिरेकानि.

[6] Bühler: पाका (हका=हकं) सावके; but cf. बुध-शके (=बुद्धशाक्य) in Maski. The expression *Buddha-Śākya* shows that Aśoka was a follower of the Buddhist faith. This is supported by other evidences as well. Other versions read उपासके. Hultzsch : प्रकास.

[7] Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura add : इसं एकं सवछरं

[8] Read संवछरे. Cf. the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions.

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2 बाढि च[1] पकते (।*) या[2] [इ]माय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि [मिसा] कटा[3] (।*) पकमसि[4] हि [ए]स फले (।*) नो च एसा महतता प[ा]पोतवे खुदकेन[5]

3 पि प[क]म[मि]नेना[6] सकिये[7] पिपुले[8] पा[9] स्वगे आरोधेवे[10] (।*) एतिय अठाय च सावने कटे [खु]दका च उडाला च पकमतु[11] ति अता पि च जानंतु इय[12] पक[रा][13] [व]

4 किति चिर-ठितिके[14] सिया (।*) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत[15] (।*) इय च अठे पवति[सु] लेखापेत वालत (।*) हध[16] च अथि

5 साला-ठ[भे][17] सिला-ठ[ं]भसि लाखापेतवय[18] त[19] (।*) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक तुपक[20] अहाले सवर[21] विवसेतवा[य][22] ति (।*) [व्यु]ठेना सावने कटे (।*)[23] २०० (+*) ५० (+*) ६ स-

6 त विवासा त[24] (॥*)

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[1] Bühler : चु

[2] Bühler : ग्रि

[3] Sahasrām has अंमिसं-देवा संत मुनिसा मिसं-देवा कटा. For मिसा कटा, Maski and Yerragudi have मिस्भिुता (=मिश्रीभूता:)

[4] Other versions have पकमस.

[5] Senart and Bühler add हि क after this word.

[6] Bühler : परुममिनेन

[7] Brahmagiri reads सक्ये आलाधेतवे ; Maski has सके अधिगतवे and adds न हेवं दखितविये उडालके व इम अधिगछेया ति

[8] Read विपुले

[9] Read पि

[10] Read आराधेतवे. Bühler : आरोधवे.

[11] Senart and Bühler : पकमंतु

[12] Senart and Bühler : इयं

[13] Read पकमे

[14] Siddāpura has चिरठितीके च इयं पकमे होति and Sahasrām चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु

[15] Read वढिसिति or वढिसति

[16] Bühler and Senart propose हिध.

[17] Read सिला०

[18] Read लिखापेतविये

[19] Read ति

[20] Read तुफाकं ; cf. Sārnāth pillar inscription, line 9.

[21] Read सवत ; cf. *loc. cit.*, line 10.

[22] Read विवसेतविये. Senart : ०विय ; Bühler : ०वायु

[23] Brahmagiri has इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन २०० ५० ६ and Sahasrām दुवे सपंना लाति-सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६

[24] Read ति

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह।—'सातिरेकाणि अर्द्धलीणि[1] (=सार्द्धद्वे) वर्षाणि यत् अस्मि प्रकाशं शाक्यः (=बौद्धोपासकः)। नो च तु [अहं] बाढं (=तीव्रं) प्रकान्तः (=धर्मोद्यमी) [अभूवम् एकं संवत्सरम्]। सातिरेकं च तु संवत्सरं यत् अस्मि अहं सङ्घम् उपेतः (=बौद्ध-संङ्घेन संगतः[2]), बाढं च प्रक्रान्तः। ये अस्मै कालाय (=इयन्तं कालं) जम्बुद्वीपे[3] अमिश्राः देवाः अभूवन्, ते इदानीं मिश्राः (=सम्बन्धवन्तः) कृताः [मनुष्यैः]।[4] [मम] प्रक्रमे (=पराक्रमे=उद्योगे) हि एतत् फलम्। नो च एतत् [केवलं] महात्मत्वात् प्राप्तुं, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (=लब्धुम्)। एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतं—क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः (=महात्मानः, महाधनाः) च प्रक्रमन्ताम् इति; अन्ताः (=प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानन्तु; अयं प्रक्रमः एव किमिति?—चिरस्थितिकः स्यात्। अयं हि अर्थः (=श्रावण-विषयः) वृद्धिं (=वृद्ध्या) वर्द्धिष्यते, विपुलं च वर्द्धिष्यते, अवराधिकेन (=न्यूनाधिकतया) द्व्यर्द्धं[5] (=सार्द्धैकं) वर्द्धिष्यते। इमं च अर्थं पर्वतेषु लेखय वारतः (=सुयोगक्रमेण)। इह (=राज्ये यत्रकुत्रचित्) च अस्ति [चेत्] शिलास्तम्भः, शिलास्तम्भे लेखयितव्यः इति। एतेन च व्यञ्जनेन (=शासनभावानुसारेण) यावत्

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[1] Or Sanskrit अर्द्धतृतीयानि. Some scholars suggest अर्द्धविकाणि.

[2] This meaning of *upeta=upagata* is suggested by *uṭhānaṁ* (or, *bāḍhaṁ*) *cha sumi upagate* in the Maski version, line 3. The Present Tense in *sumi* in line 1 shows that Aśoka was an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha), and not a monk, for more than 2½ years till the promulgation of this Edict. For more than one year before the date of the Edict, he was closely associated with the Buddhist Church, which was not the case for the period of one year in the earlier part of his *upāsakatva* covering altogether more than 2½ years See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23-24.

[3] According to Buddhist conception, Jambudvīpa is the earth's southern quarter comprising India. Here Aśoka's empire seems to be conventionally represented as Jambudvīpa.

[4] Gods associate themselves with pious people both on the earth and in heaven. Aśoka seems to claim that he made all men pious by preaching his Dharma and thereby facilitated their association with gods. The Gujarrā version adds: खुदके चा उडारे चा धंमं चरंतु योगं युंजंतू, "Let the rich and the poor practise Dharma and effect [thereby] their association [with the gods]."

[5] Hultzsch suggests द्विकाई'

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युष्माकम् आहारं (=शासनाधीन-प्रदेशांशं = आहारावधि-पर्यन्तं) सर्वत्र विवासयितव्यः [युष्माभिः पुरुषः] इति। व्युषितेन (= प्रवासिना [मया]) श्रावणं कृतम्। २५६[1] शतानि (=षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वयं) [स्वस्य] विवासः' इति।

No. 23—Minor Rock Edict : Yerragudi Version

Yerragudi, Karnūl District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, pp. 817ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 1ff.; B. M. Barua, *I.H.Q.*, IX, pp. 116f.; XIII, pp. 132ff.; D. R. Sahni, *A.S.I.*, A. R., 1928-29, pp. 166-67.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 देवानंपियि हेवाह[3] (।*) अधिकानि (अढतियानि संवछरानि*)
2 [4]तेका[ं]प रंछवसं कंए खो तु नो (।*) केसपाउ कंह [य]
3 हुसं (।*) सातिरेके [चु]खो सवछरे यं मया संघे उपयी-
4a [5][अ] [न]लेका चु नामिइ (।*) तेकंप मे च ढंबा ते
4b -मिसा [ये] मुनिसा
5 देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभूता (।*) पकमस हि

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[1] The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear in the Sahasrām version which suggests द्वे षट्पञ्चाशत् रात्रिशते व्युष्टे (यद्वा—व्युष्टः = व्युषितः अहम्) इति २५६ = द्वे रात्रिशते षट्पञ्चाशत् [च]—२५६—[रात्रयः] व्युष्टाः (यद्वा—रात्रीः व्युषितः अहम्) इति। I do not think that the passage can be so explained as to refer to the passing away of 256 years of an era connected with some event of Buddha's life, as suggested by Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 370 ff.

[2] From the fascimile in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII and IX; *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1928-29, Pl. LXII. The engraver engraves one line, as he should, from left to right, but continues it in such a manner as to make it appear as two separate lines. Then he begins to engrave from right to left and continues it in such a fashion as to make the second line a continuation of the first half of the other line. Sometimes he puts letters of one line into another. The engraving is very careless in this record which, like the Mysore and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri versions, actually contains two edicts. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 6 ff. and notes, and Plate facing p. 7.

[3] This is a peculiar form standing for Sanskrit एवमाह

[4] Read from right to left : य हकं उपासके। नो तु खो एकं संवछरं पकांते

[5] Read from right to left : ते बाढं च मे पकंते। इमिना चु कालेन अ-

6a [1]खु (।*) येकिस वनेत्पहम (नो हीयं *) (।*) लेफ यं[इ]

6b -दकेन पि प[क]-

7a [म]मीनेन सकिये विपुले स्वगे आरा-

7b धेतवे (।*) ए-[2]

7c ताय च अठाय इयं

8 [स]ावने सावितॆ (।*) अथा खुदक-महलका इमं पि पकमेवू अं-

9 [3]च कातिठिरचि वुनेजा मे च ता-

10 [इ]यं पकमे होत विपुलं पि च वढसिता अपरधिया दियढियं (।*)

11 [4]सा नेवसा च यं[इ]

12 -[वापि]ते व्यूथेन २०० (+*) ५० (+*) ६ (।*) हेवं देवानं[5] देवानंपिये आह (।*) यथादे-

13 (।*) [6]येविटक थात हाआ येपि[नं]वा

14 [राजू]के आनपेतविये (।*)

15 [7]नआ दंपनजा निदा से

16a -पयिसति रठिकानि चा (।*)[8] मातापितूसु

16b सुसु-[9]

17 सितविये (।*) हेमेव गरुसु सुसुसितविये (।*) पा(प्रा)नेसु दयितविये (।*) सचे वतविये (।*) इ-

18a म धंमगुना पवतितविया (।*) हेवं तुंफे आनपयाथ देवानंपिय-वचनेन (।*) हे-

18b [10]पनआ वं

19 -यथ हथियारोहानि का[र]नकानि यूग्यचरियानि बंभनानि च तुंफे (।*) हेवं निवेसया-

20a थ अंतेवासीनि या[रि]सा पोराना पकिति (।*) इयं सुसुसितविये (।*) अपचायना य वा आचरि-

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[1] Read from right to left : महत्पनेव सकिये ख

[2] These four letters are engraved above the lin

[3] Read from right to left : -ता च मे जानेवु चिरठितिक च

[4] Read from right to left : इयं च सावने सा-

[5] Omit देवानं

[6] Read from right to left -वानंपिये आहा तथा कटविये

[7] Read from right to left : से दानि जानपदं आन-

[8] Cf. Brahmagiri (lines 9-12), Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Siddāpura versions. They end with the passages चपडेन लिखितं in Brāhmī and लिपिकरेण in Kharoshṭhī.

[9] These two letters are engraved at the beginning of line 18a.

[10] Read from right to left : -वं आनप-

20b य[स]

20c स

20d (।*) वमेहे

21 यथा वा पुन आचरियस नातिकानि यथारहं नातिकासु प(प्र)वतितविये (।*) हेसा [पि]

22 अंतेवासीसु यथारहं पवतितविये यारिसा पोराना पकिति (।*) यथारहं यथा इयं

23 स(सा)तिरो(रे)के सिया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ च अंतेवास[ी]नि (।*) हेवं दे-

24 (॥*)[1]तियपनआ [ये]पिनंवा

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह।—'अधिकान् [अर्द्धत्रीणि(=सार्द्धे द्वे) संवत्सरान्] यत् अहम् उपासकः [अस्मि]; नो तु खलु एकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तः अभूवम्। सातिरेकं च तु खलु संवत्सरं यत् मया सङ्घः उपेतः, बाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तम्। अनेन च तु कालेन अमिश्राः [ये] मनुष्याः देवैः, ते इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः [देवैः]। [मम] प्रक्रमस्य हि इदं [फलम्]। [नो हि इदं] महात्मना एव शक्यं; क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः स्वर्गः आराधयितुम्। एतस्मै च अर्थाय इदं श्रावणं श्रावितं; यथा क्षुद्रक-महार्यकाः इदम् अपि प्रक्रमेयुः; अन्ताः (=प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानीयुः; चिरस्थितिकः च अयं प्रक्रमः भवतु; विपुलम् अपि च [इदं] वर्द्धिष्यते अवराधिकेन (=न्यूनाधिकतया) द्व्यर्द्धं (=सार्द्धैकं) [वर्द्धिष्यते]। इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युषितेन २५६ (=षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वितय-व्युषितेन मया)'। एवं देवानांप्रियः आह।-'यथा देवानांप्रियः आह तथा कर्तव्यं [युष्माभिः महामात्रैः]। रज्जुकः आज्ञापयितव्यः—सः इदानीं जानपदान् आज्ञापयिष्यति राष्ट्रिकान् (=जनपद-शासक-विशेषान्) च—"मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यम्; एवम् एव गुरूषु शुश्रूषितव्यं; प्राणेषु दयितव्यं, सत्यं वक्तव्यम्, इमे धर्म-गुणाः प्रवर्त्तितव्याः।" एवं यूयं (=महामात्राः) आज्ञापयत देवानांप्रिय-वचनेन। एवम् आज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान्, कारणकान् (=कायस्थान्), युग्यचर्यान् (=रथारोहान्), ब्राह्मणान् (=अध्यापकान्) च यूयम्—"एवं निवेशयत (=अध्यापयत) अन्तेवासिनः यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः (=पुरातनः सदाचारः=सनातनः धर्मः)। इदं [शासनं] शुश्रूषितव्यम्। अपचायना (=पूजा) या एव आचार्यस्य, सा एवम् [शिक्षादाने]एव। यथा वा पुनः आचार्यस्य ज्ञातिकाः सन्ति] यथार्हं [तैः तस्य] ज्ञातिकासु [इदं] प्रवर्त्तितव्यम्। [तथा तैः ज्ञातिकैः] एतम् अपि अन्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्त्तितव्यं यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः। यथार्हं यथा इदं सातिरेकं स्यात्, एवं यूयम् आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च अन्तेवासिनः।" एवं देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति॥'

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[1] Read from right to left : -वानं पिये आनपयति

D—PILLAR EDICTS[1] OF AŚOKA

No. 24—First Pillar Edict : Delhi-Toprā Version

North Face of the Pillar

Originally Toprā, Ambālā District., Panjāb ; now Fīrūz Shāh's Koṭlā, Delhī.

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 304f. ; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245 ff; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 119.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (।*) सड्वीसति-
2 वस-अभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता (।*)
3 हिदत-पालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंम-कामताया
4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सु[सू साया अगेन भयेना
5 अगेन उसाहेना (।*) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
6 धंमापेखा धंम-कामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा (।*)
7 पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं च पलं[3] समादपयितवे (।*) हेमेवा अंत-
9 महामाता पि (।*) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति (॥*)

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[1] Aśoka's pillars were found at Toprā (near the Sivālik), Mīraṭh (U.P.), Allahābād (U.P.), Rādhiah (Lauṛiā-Ararāj), Māthiah (Lauriyā-Navandgaṛh or Nandangaṛh) and Rāmapurvā. The last three are in the Champāraṇ District, Bihār. The pillars at Toprā and Mīraṭh were brought to Delhī by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh (1351-88 A.D.) according to Shams-i-Sirāj. The Allahābād pillar was originally at Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī). Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI refer to the king's 27th regnal year; but PE VI also to the 13th year and PE VII to the 28th regnal year.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xv ff. For all the Pillar Edicts, see D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 63ff.

[3] We may also read चलं

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TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह। षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B.C.) मया इय धर्मलिपिः लेखिता। ऐहत्य-पारत्रं (= ऐहिक-पारत्रिकं मङ्गलं) दुःसंप्रतिपाद्यं (= दुर्लभम्) अन्यत्र अग्रायाः (= तीव्रायाः) धर्मकामतायाः, अग्रायाः परीक्षायाः, अग्रायाः शुश्रूषायाः (= गुरुजनवश्यतायाः), अग्रात् भयात् (= पाप-भयात्), अग्रात् उत्साहात्। एषा च तु खलु मम अनुशस्त्याः धर्मपेक्षा धर्मकामता च श्वःश्वः (= अहरहः) वर्द्धिता वर्द्धिष्यते च एव। पुरुषाः (= राजपुरुषाः) अपि च मे उत्कर्षाः (= उत्कृष्टाः च गेवकाः (= निकृष्टाः) च मध्यमाः च अनुविदधति [धर्मं], संप्रतिपादयन्ति च [ऐहत्यपारत्रं]; [ते] अलं (= समर्थाः) च परं समादापयितुं [= धर्माय उत्साहयितुम्। एवम् एव अन्त-महामात्राः (= प्रत्यन्तसम्बन्धि०) अपि। एषा हि विधिः, या इयं धर्मेण पालना [प्रजानां], धर्मेण विधानं (= दण्डाभिहारदानं), धर्मेन सुखना, धर्मेण गुप्तिः (= रक्षणम्)’ इति॥

No. 25—Second Pillar Edict: Delhi-Toprā Version

North Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 306f.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 120 f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1[2]..... देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
2[3] हेवं आहा (।*) धंमे साधू (।*) कियं चु धंमे ति (।*) अपासिनवे[4] बहु-कयाने
3 दया दाने सचे सोचये (।*)[5] चखु-दाने पि मे[6] बहुविधे दिंने (।*) दुपद-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xv ff.

[2] This is in continuation of line 10 of the whole inscription on the pillar (northern face).

[3] This is line 11 of the whole inscription.

[4] A horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower part of वे

[5] Cf. प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः etc. repeated over and over again; cf. also PE VII, line 18. Many of these are prescribed for the Buddhist laity in works like the *Sigālovāda-sutta* in the *Dīghanikāya*. Brahmanical writers consider these to be duties common to all the Varṇas. Cf. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम्॥ *Yājñavalkya*, I, 122; also क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः। अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया॥ आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम्। अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते॥ *Vishṇu*, 2, 7-8.

[6] There is a vertical stroke at the bottom of मे.

4 चतुपदेसु पखि-वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
5 दाखिनाये (।*) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (।*) एताये मे
6 अठाये इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं(ल)-
7 थितिका च होतू ती ति[1] (।*) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कंछती[2] ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'धर्मः साधुः । कियान् च तु धर्मः इति ? अल्पाऽस्नवं (=अल्पास्रवम्, अल्पं पापं), बहु-कल्याणं [जनानां], दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं (=शुचिता) [च] । चक्षुर्दानम्[3] अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपद-चतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु [च] विविधः मया अनुग्रहः कृतः आ प्राण-दाक्षिण्यात् (=प्राणदान-पर्यन्तम्) । अन्यानि अपि च मया बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—एवं (=लेखानुसारेण) अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां [जनाः], चिर-स्थितिका च [लिपिः] भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते सः सुकृतं करिष्यति' इति ॥

No. 26—Third Pillar Edict : Delhi-Topra̅ Version

North Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 1ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 250f.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp 121f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[4]

1 [5]देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (।*) कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
2 कयाने कटे ति (।*) नो मिन[6] पापं [दे]खति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे

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[1] Better omit ती

[2] Read कछ्ती॰

[3] Aśoka seems to have pardoned culprits whose eyes were ordered to be blinded by the court.

[4] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xvff.

[5] This is line 17 of the whole inscription on the north face of the pillar.

[6] The Mīraṭh version appears to read मिना

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3 नामा ति (।*) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (।*) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (।*) इमानि
4 आसिनव-गामिनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
5 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (।*) एस वाढ देखिये इयं मे
6 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

'देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'[जनः] कल्याणाम् एव पश्यति—"इदं मया कल्याणं कृतम्" इति। नो मनाक् (=किञ्चिदपि) पापं पश्यति—"इदं मया पापं कृतम्" इति; "इदं वा आस्नवं[1] नाम" इति। दुष्प्रत्यवेक्ष्यं (=दुर्लक्ष्यं) च तु खलु एतत् (=पापम्)। एवं च तु खलु [जनः] एतत् पश्येत् "इमानि आस्नवगामीनि नाम—यथा चाण्डं (=कोपनता), नैष्ठ्युर्यं[2], क्रोधः, मानः (=दम्भः), ईर्षा;[3] [एतेषां] कारणेन एव अहं मा परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि (=न [आत्मानं] धर्म-भ्रष्टं करिष्यामि।" एतत् वाढं पश्येत्—"इदं मे ऐहिकाय इदम् अन्यत् मे पारत्रिकाय" ॥'

No. 27—Fourth Pillar Edict: Delhi-Toprā Version

West Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 1ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 251ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 122f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[4]

1 देवानंपिये पियदसि ल[ा]ज हेवं आहा (।*) सड्वीसति-वस-
2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता (।*) लजूका मे
3 बहूसु पान-सत-सहसेसु जनसि आयता (।*) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा

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[1] आसिनव means परिस्रव of RE X (*supra*, pp. 30-31). It is the same as the Jain term अण्हय which is derived from आ + स्नु and indicates a variety of sin.

[2] Cf. त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः।
काम: क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ गीता ।१६।२१

[3] Cf. पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईर्षासूयार्थदूषणम्। मनु। ७।४८

[4] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references, see *ibid.*, pp. xvff.

4 दंडे वा अत-पतिये मे कटे (।*) किंति लजूका अस्वथ अभीता
5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हित-सुखं उपदहेवू
6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (।*) सुखीयन-दुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन[1] च
7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं (।*) किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
8 आलाधयेवू ति (।*) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (।*) पुलिसानि पि मे
9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (।*) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (।*) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हित-सुखाये (।*) येन एते अभीता
13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
14 अ[भि]हाले व दंडे वा अत-पतिये कटे (।*) इछितविये [हि] एसा (।*) किंति
15 वियोहाल-समता च सिय दंड-समता चा (।*) अव इते पि च मे आवुति (।*)
16 बंधन-बधानं मुनिसानं तीलित-दंडानं[2] पत-वधानं तिंनि दिवसा[नि] मे
17 योते दिंने (।*) नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति[3] जीविताये तानं
18 नासंतं[4] वा निझपयिता[5] दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (।*)

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[1] Michelson takes धंम-युत to be a class of officials.

[2] Senart and Bühler: तीलीत°

[3] Senart explains the passage: 'My officers will warn (निझपयिसंति) them that they have neither more nor less (नातिकावकानि) to live (जीविताये तानं). Warned thus (निझपयिता) as to the limit of their existence (नासंतं) they may give (दाहंति) alms (दानं) in view of their future life (पालतं), or may give themselves up to fasting (उपवासं वा कछंति).' Bühler explains: 'Their relations (नातिका) will make some of them (कानि) meditate deeply (निझपयिसंति) and in order to save the life of those men (जीविताये तानं) or in order to make [the condemned] who is to be executed (नासंतं) meditate deeply (निझपयिता), they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts.'

[4] नासंत=नाशान्त has been taken by some scholars in the sense of Death, [one] whose nature or disposition (अन्त) is destruction (नाश)

[5] Some versions have निझपयितवे

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19 इछा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि काळसि[1] पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (।*) जनस च

20 वढति विविधे धंम चलने संयमे दान-सविभागे ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह ।—'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता। रज्जुकाः मया बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जने (=जनेषु) आयताः (=नियुक्ताः)। तेषां यः अभिहारः (=उपहारः वा दण्डः वा [सः=अभिहार-दण्डौ] आत्मपतिकः (=अभिहारदण्डदानविषये रज्जुकाः स्वाधीनाः) मया कृतः—किमिति ?—रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ताः अभीताः [च] [सन्तः] कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः, जनस्य जानपदस्य हित-सुखम् उपदध्युः (=विदध्युः), [जनान्] अनुगृह्णीयुः च। [रज्जुकाः] सुखन-दुःखनं ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्मयुतेन [जनेन] च व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदं—किमिति ?—[ते] इहत्यं च पारत्रिकं च [मङ्गलम्] आराधयेयुः (=लभेरन्) इति। रज्जुकाः अपि रंघन्ते[2] (=सोत्सुकाः भवन्ति) परिचरितुं माम्; पुरुषान् (=राजपुरुषान् महामात्रान्) अपि मे छन्दज्ञान् [रज्जुकाः] परिचरिष्यन्ति। ते (=पुरुषाः) अपि च कां[श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्युकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुं (=तोषयितुम्)[3]। यथा हि प्रजाम् (=अपत्यं) व्यक्तायै (=प्राज्ञायै) धात्रे निसृज्य आश्वस्तः भवति [जनः] "व्यक्ता धात्री जागर्त्ति मे प्रजां सुखं प्रतिहर्तुं (=रक्षितुम्)," एवं मम रज्जुकाः [मया] कृताः जानपदस्य हित-सुखाय। येन एते अभीताः आश्वस्ताः सन्तः अविमनसः (=हृष्टाः) कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति, एतेन मया रज्जुकानाम् अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः। एष्टव्यं हि एतत्—किमिति ?—व्यवहार-समता च स्यात् दण्ड-समता च। यावत् इतः अपि च मे आवृतिः (=आदेशः)—बन्धन-बद्धानां मनुष्याणां तीर्ण-दण्डानां (=प्राप्त-दण्डानां) प्राप्त-वधानां त्रयः दिवसाः मया [वधरोधरूपं] यौत[कं] दत्तम्। [तेषां] ज्ञातिकाः वा कां[श्चित् रज्जुकान्] निध्याययिष्यन्ति (=हेतुप्रदर्शनेन प्रबोधयिष्यन्ति) जीविताय

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[1] The expression has been explained as 'during the time of their imprisonment' (Senart); 'even during their imprisonment' (Bühler); 'even in a limited time' (Lüders); 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed [their being no निभृति]' (Thomas); and 'even when the time [of respite] has expired' (Hultzsch). Bhandarkar takes काल in the sense of जीवन-काल. Cf. also *kāra* (masculine), 'act of worship', 'song of praise', in the *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 133, line 17; 166, line 26; 329, line 20; (cf. Pali *kāra* in this sense); but *ibid*., pp. 289, line 6; 583, line 29, use the word in its feminine form (*kārā*).

[2] According to Hultzsch, लघंति is from Sanskrit अर्हन्ति through अलहंति = अलघंति.

[3] Or, पुरुषाः अपि मे छन्दज्ञाः [मां] (or छन्दाज्ञं) परिचरिष्यन्ति। ते अपि च कां[श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्यपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुम्। According to Hultzsch, चघति = शक्नोति

वा तेषां[1] ; नश्यन्त' (=वध्यं) वा निध्यापयितु' (=लोकान्तरे तस्य सुखं भवेत् इति प्रतिबोधनेन प्रसादयितु') दानं दास्यन्ति पारत्रिकम्, उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति। इच्छा हि मे एवं—निरुद्धे अपि काले (=यौतकरूपे समये ; यद्वा - निरुद्धे अपि कारे [=पूजाकार्ये]) पारत्रिकम् आराधयेयुः इति। [एवं] जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्म-चरणं संयमः दान-संविभागः[2] [च]' इति ॥

No. 28—Fifth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version

South Face of the Pillar

RĀMPURVĀ, Champāraṇ District, Bihār.
Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 73ff. ; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 256ff. ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 152f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

1 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (।*) सड्वीसति-[व]साभिसितेन मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि[4] (।*) सेयथ

2 सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबा-कपिलिक दुळि अनठिक-मछे वेदवेयके

3 गंगा-पुपुटके संकुज-मछे कफट-सेयके पंन-ससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेत-कपोते

4 गाम-कपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (।*) अजका नानि एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

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[1] Cf. *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, Act X, enumerating the reasons why the Chaṇḍāla should better not kill a condemned person as soon as he is ordered to do so : "Perchance some kind gentleman might set the condemned man at liberty by paying a ransom. Perhaps a son might be born to the king and on account of that great joyous festival all the condemned men may be released. Perchance an elephant might break loose his chains and in that commotion the condemned criminal might escape. Or sometimes there might be a change of king and then all the condemned men may be set at large."

[2] ऐहिकार्थदानात् पारत्रिकार्थदानस्य विभजनम ; cf. धर्म-संविभाग in RE XI (*supra*, pp. 31-32).

[3] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xviii f.

[4] For similar injunctions, see the *Arthaśāstra*, II, 16.

5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (।*) वधि-कुकुटे नो कटविये (।*) तुसे सजीवे नो झापयितविये (।*)

6 दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो झापयितविये (।*) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (।*) तीसु चातुंमा[सी]सु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं

7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनु-पोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो पि विकेतविये (।*) एतानि येव

8 दिवसानि नाग-वनसि केवट-भोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीव-निकायानि नो हंतवियानि (।*) अठमि-पखाये चावुदसाये

9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये (।*) अजके एळके सूकले

10 ए वापि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (।*) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-पखाये अस्वस गोनस

11 ळखने नो कटविये (।*) याव-सड्वीसति-वसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधन-मोखानि कटानि (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । 'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B. C.) मया इमानि अपि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि ; तद्यथा – शुकः, शारिका, अरुणः चक्रवाकः, हंसः, नन्दीमुखः (=जलपक्षिविशेषः), गेलाटः, जतूकः, अम्बापिपीलिका, दुडिः (=कमठविशेषः), अनस्थिक-मत्स्यः, वेदवेयकः, गङ्गापुपुटकः, सङ्कुच-मत्स्यः, कमठ-शल्यकौ, पर्ण-शशः, सृमरः (=मृगविशेषः), षण्डकः[1], औकपिण्डः (=मार्जार-मूषिकादयः). परस्वान् (= Pāli पळासादो = गण्डकः). श्वेत-कपोतः, ग्राम-कपोतः, सर्वे [च] चतुष्पदाः ये प्रतिभोगं न यन्ति न च खाद्यन्ते । अजका एषा (=या) एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्या, पोतकाः च के[चित्=ये] ⁺आषाण्मासिकाः । वृद्धि-कुक्कुटः (=निर्लिङ्गीकृत°) नो कर्त्तव्यः[2] । तुषः सजीवः न दाहयितव्यः । दावः (=अरण्यम्) अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा नो दाहयितव्यः । जीवेन जीवः नो पोषितव्यः । तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु[3] (=कार्तिकफाल्गुनाषाढपूर्णिमासु), ⁺तिष्यायां (=पौषे)

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[1] This shows (as suggested by other evidences also) that beef was taken by the Indians in the 3rd century B.C.

[2] The word may mean 'to be made' or 'to be cut (i.e. killed)'.

[3] See notes on Bk. II, Nos. 26 and 40. Cf. चतुर्द्दश्यष्टमी चैव अमावस्या च पूर्णिमा। पर्वाण्येतानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्तिरेव च॥ (Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. पर्व)

पूर्णमास्यां त्रिषु दिवसेषु—चतुर्दशे पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि [च], 'ध्रुवायाः (= ध्रुवत्वेन) च अनूपवसथं (= उपवास-दिनेषु) मत्स्यः अवध्यः नो अपि विक्रेतव्यः। एतान् एव दिवसान् नाग-वने (= हस्तिक्षेत्रे), कैवर्त-भोगे (= जालिक-ग्रामे) ये अन्ये अपि जीव-निकायाः [ते] नो हन्तव्याः। अष्टमी-पक्षे (= अष्टमीषु) चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां, तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे (= पर्वदिने) गौः न निर्लक्षयितव्यः (= निर्मुष्कोकर्तव्यः)। अजकः, एडकः (= मेषः), शूकरः, ये वा अपि अन्ये निर्लक्ष्यन्ते, [ते] न निर्लक्षयितव्याः। तिष्यायां पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां चातुर्मासी-पक्षे [च] अश्वस्य गोः [च] [दग्धशलाकया] लक्षणं नो कर्तव्यम्॥ 'यावत्-षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन[1] मया एतस्याम् अन्तरिकायाम् (= अत्रान्तरे) पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धन-मोक्षाः [वन्दिनां] कृताः' ॥

No. 29—Sixth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version

South Face of the Pillar

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 105ff.; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 267ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1[3] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (।*) दुवाडस-वसाभिसितेन मे धंम-
लिपि लिखापित लोकस हित-सुखाये (।*) से तं अपहट
2 तं तं धंम-वढि पापोव (।*) हेवं लोकस हित-सुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु
हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं कानि
3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (।*) हेमेव सव-[नि]कायेसु पटिवेखामि (।*)
सव-पासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (।*) ए चु इयं
4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्य-मुते (।*) सडुवीस[ति]-वसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंम-लिपि लिखापित (॥*)

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[1] Aśoka seems to have ordered the release of prisoners on the anniversaries of his coronation. Cf. *Arthaśāstra* II. 36: दिवसे पञ्च रात्रे वा बन्धनस्थान्विशोधयेत्। कर्मणा कायदण्डेन हिरण्यानुग्रहेण वा॥ अपूर्वदेशाभिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने। पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते॥

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid*, pp. xviiif.

[3] This is line 12 of the inscription on the south face of the pillar.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

'देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) मया धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हित-सुखाय ; तत् (=ततः) तां अप्रहर्ता (=अनाशयिता=पालयिता) तां तां धर्म-वृद्धिं प्राप्नुयात् । 'एवं लोकस्य हित-सुखम्' इति प्रत्यवेक्षे—यथा इदं ज्ञातिषु एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु, एवम् अपकृष्टेषु (=विप्रकृष्टेषु=दूरस्थेषु)—कथं कां[श्चित जनान्] सुखम् आवहामि इति, तथा च विदधामि । एवम् एव सर्व-निकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे । सर्व-पार्षदाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया । यत् च तु इदम् आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं (=स्वयं गत्वा जनानां परिदर्शनं) तत् मे मुख्य-मतम् । षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता ॥'

No. 30—Seventh Pillar Edict : Delhi-Toprā[1]

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 130ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

East Face of the Pillar

1[3] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) ये अतिकंतं
2 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
3 धंम-वढिया वढेया (।*) नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया
4 वढिथा (।*) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) एस मे
5 हुथा (।*) अतिकंतं च अंतंलं[4] हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
6 अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढेया ति (।*) नो च जने अनुलुपाया
7 धंम-वढिया वढिथा (।*) से किनसु जने अनु[प]टिपजेया[5] (।*)
8 किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढेया ति (।*) [कि]नसु कानि

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[1] This edict is not found on the other pillars.
[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.
[3] This is line 11 of the inscription on the east face of the pillar.
[4] Read अंतलं
[5] प of ॰पजिया is engraved above the line.

9 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंम-वढिया ति (।*) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं

10 आहा (।*) एस मे हुथा (।*) धंम-सावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि

11 अनुस[ा]सामि (।*) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

Round the Pillar

12 धंम-वढिया च बाढं वढिस[ति] (।*) एताये मे अठाये धंम-सावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य[था*] [पुलि*][स]ा[1] पि बहुने जनसि आयता ए ते[2] पळियोवदिसंति पि पविथळिसंति पि (।*) लजूका पि बहुकेसु पान-सत-सहसेसु आयता (।*) ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पळियोवदाथ

13 जनं धंम-यु[त]ं (।*) [देव]ानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (।*) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंम-थंभानि कटानि धंम-महामाता कटा धं[म]-[सावने*] कटे (।*) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि ळोपापितानि छायोपगानि होसंति पसु-मुनिसानं अंबा-वडिक्या ळोपापिता (।*) अढ[कोसि]क्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि

14 खानापापितानि निंसि[ढ]या[3] च काळापिता (।*) आपानानि मे ब[हु]कानि तत तत क[ा]ळापितानि पटीभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं (।*) [ळ][हुके*] [चु*] एस पटीभोगे नाम (।*) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुळिमेहि पि ळाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते ळोके (।*) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे

15 एस कटे (।*) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (।*) धंम-महामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव-[पासं*]-डेसु पि च वियापटासे (।*) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आ[ज]ीविकेसु पि मे कटे

16 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना-पासंडेसु पि मे [क]टे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु [ते] [ते*] [महा*]माता (।*) धंम-महामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव विया[प]टा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (।*) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*)

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[1] The restoration is due to Hultzsch.

[2] Senart and Bühler read एते as one word.

[3] Bühler : (निंसिढिया =निषिदिया from नि + सद), "rest-houses."

17 एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दान-विसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च (।*) सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आ[का]लेन तानि तानि तुठायतन[ा]नि पटी...[1] हिद चेव दिसासु च (।*) दालकानां पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देवि-कुमालानं इमे दान-विसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति

18 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (।*) एस हि धंमापदाने धंम-पटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साध[वे][2] च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (।*) देवानंपिये [पियदसि*] लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) यानि हि [का]निचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपंने तं च अनुविधियंति (।*) तेन वढिता च

19 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसूसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयो-महालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभन-समनेसु कपन-वलाकेसु आव दास-भटकेसु संपटीपतिया (।*) देवानंपि[ये*] [पि*][य]दसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंम-वढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंम-नियमेन च निझतिया च (।*)

20 तत चु लहु से धंम-नियमे निझतिया व भुये (।*) धंम-नियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (।*) अंनानि पि चु बहु[कानि*] धंम-नियमानि यानि मे कटानि (।*) निझतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंम-वढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भूतानं

21 अनालंभाये पानानं (।*) से एताये अ[थ]ाये इयं कटे पुता-पपोतिके चंदम-सुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (।*) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हि[द]त-[पाळ]ते आलधे होति (।*) सतविसति-वसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिबि लिखापापिता ति (।*) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (।*) इयं

22 धंम-लिबि अत अथि सिला-थंभानि वा सिला-फलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिल-ठितिके सिया (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'ये अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं (=भूत-काले) राजानः अभूवन् [ते] एवम् ऐषिषुः—कथं जनः धर्मवृद्धया वर्द्धेत ? नो च तु जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्धया अवर्द्धिष्ट'। एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'एतत् मे [मनसि]

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[1] Bühler restored पटीपादयंति, "they point out". Hultzsch suggests पटीवेदयंति, "they are reporting".

[2] Cf. PE II, lines 2-3, *supra*, p 64; also *Manu*, VI, 92.

अभूत्—अतिक्रान्तं च अन्तरम् एवम् ऐषिषुः राजानः कथं जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति ; नो च जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट। तत् केनस्वित् जनः [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपद्येत ; केनस्वित् जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत' इति। केनस्वित् कां-[श्चित् जनान्] अभ्युन्नामयेयं धर्मवृद्ध्या' इति। एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत्—धर्म-श्रावणानि श्रावयामि धर्मानुशस्तीः [च] अनुशास्मि। एतत् जनः श्रुत्वा [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नंस्यति, धर्मवृद्ध्या च बाढं वर्द्धिष्यते। एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्म-श्रावणानि श्रावितानि, धर्मानुशस्तयः विविधाः आज्ञप्ताः, यथा [राज]पुरुषाः अपि—बहौ जने आयताः (=व्यापृताः) ये ते—[धर्मं] पर्यवदेक्ष्यन्ति (=उपदेक्ष्यन्ति) अपि प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्ति अपि। रज्जुकाः अपि बहुकेषु प्राण-शतसहस्रेषु आयताः। ते अपि मया आज्ञप्ताः—'एवं च एवं च पर्यवदिशत जनं धर्मयुतम्'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवम् आह—'एतस्मिन् एव मया अनुवीक्ष्यमाणे धर्म-स्तम्भाः कृताः, धर्म-महामात्राः कृताः, धर्म-श्रावणं कृतम्'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'मार्गेषु अपि मया न्यग्रोधाः (=वटाः) रोपिताः छायोपगाः (=छायया उपकारकाः) भविष्यन्ति पशु-मनुष्याणाम् [इति] ; आम्र-वाटिकाः [च] रोपिताः। आष्टक्रौशिकानि[1] (=अष्टक्रोशान्तराणि) अपि मया उदपानानि (=कूपाः) खानितानि, निःश्लिष्टकाः (=सोपानानि) च कारिताः। आपानानि (=जलदान-गृहाणि) मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशु-मनुष्याणाम्। लघुकः च तु एषः प्रतिभोगः नाम। विविधया हि सुखनया पूर्वैः अपि राजभिः मया च सुखितः लोकः। इमां च तु धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तिं (=धर्माचरणम्) अनुप्रतिपद्यंतां [जनाः] इति एतदर्थाय मया एतत् कृतम्'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'धर्म-महामात्राः अपि मे ते बहुविधेषु अर्थेषु आनुग्रहिकेषु व्यापृताः प्रव्रजितानां च एव गृहस्थानां च, सर्व-पार्षदेषु अपि च व्यापृताः। सङ्घार्थे (=बौद्धभिक्षु-सङ्घार्थम्) अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; एवम् एव ब्राह्मणेषु आजीविकेषु[2] [च] अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; निर्ग्रन्थेषु (=जैनेषु)[3] अपि मया कृतम् - इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति ; नाना-पार्षदेषु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं (=विशिष्टेषु विशिष्टेषु सम्प्रदायेषु) तेषु तेषु [विषयेषु] ते ते महामात्राः [व्यापृताः]। धर्म-महामात्राः च तु मे एतेषु च एव व्यापृताः सर्वेषु च अन्येषु पार्षदेषु।' देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'एते च अन्ये च बहुकाः मुख्याः [राजपुरुषाः] दान-विसर्गे (=अर्थिभ्यः दान-प्रापणे) व्यापृताः मम च एव देवीनां च ; सर्वस्मिन्

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[1] One *yojana* (=4 *krośas*=9 miles) was considered a day's march of an army in ancient India.

[2] I.e., the followers of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla, a staunch fatalist and a contemporary of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. For the omission of *cha*, see, e.g., *infra*, No. 35, line 8.

[3] I.e., the followers of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta (Vardhamāna Mahāvīra).

च मे अवरोधने ते बहुविधेन आकारेण तानि तानि तुष्टायतनानि (=तुष्टिपात्राणि=प्राथिनः) [अस्मान्] प्रतिवेदयन्ति इह च एव [सर्वासु] दिशासु च। दारकाणां (=स्व-पुत्राणाम्) अपि च मया कृतम् अन्येषां च देवी-कुमाराणाम् इमे [महामात्राः] दान-विसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति धर्मापदानार्थाय (=धर्म-कार्याय) धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये [च]। एतत् हि धर्मापदानं धर्म-प्रतिपत्तिः च—या इयं दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं, मार्दवं (=मृदुत्वं), साधवं (=साधुत्वं) च—लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते' इति। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'यानि हि कानिचित् मया साधवानि कृतानि, तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नः, तानि च अनुविधीयन्ते [लोकेन]। तेन [लोकाः] वर्द्धिताः च वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु शुश्रूषया, वयो-महार्यकाणां (=वयो-वृद्धानाम्) अनुप्रतिपत्त्या (=सम्प्रतिपत्या), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेषु कृपण-वराकेषु (=दीनानाथेषु) यावत् दास-भृतकान् सम्प्रतिपत्त्या'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'मनुष्याणां च तु या इयं धर्मवृद्धिः [सा] वर्द्धिता द्वाभ्याम् एव आकाराभ्यां—धर्म-नियमेन च, निध्यात्या (=धर्म-संबोधनेन) च। तत्र च तु लघुः सः धर्म-नियमः, निध्यात्या एव भूयः [वर्द्धिता धर्म-वृद्धिः]। धर्म-नियमः च तु खलु एषः, यत् मया इदं कृतम्—इमानि च इमानि [च] जातानि अवध्यानि। अन्ये अपि च तु बहुकाः धर्म-नियमाः ये मया कृताः। निध्यात्या एव च तु भूयः मनुष्याणां धर्म-वृद्धिः वर्द्धिता अविहिंसायै भूतानाम्, अनालम्भाय प्राणानां [च]। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं [धर्म-लिपिः] कृता पौत्र-प्रापौत्रिकी चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकी (=चिरस्थायिनी) भवतु इति, तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम् [इमां धर्मलिपिं जनाः] इति। एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमाने [धर्मे] ऐहत्य-पारत्रं [मङ्गलम्] आराद्धं (=लब्धं) भवति। सप्तविंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 242 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता' इति। एतत् देवानांप्रियः आह।—'इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्र सन्ति शिला-स्तम्भाः वा शिला-फलकानि वा तत्र कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिर-स्थितिका स्यात्' ॥

E—MINOR PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA

No. 31—Rummindeī Pillar Inscription[1]

RUMMINDEĪ TEMPLE near PARARIYĀ, Nepalese Tarāī

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 1ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 164.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसति-वसाभिसितेन
2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्य-मुनी ति-(।*)
3 सिला-विगड-भीचा[3] कालापित सिला-थभे च उसपापिते (।*)
4 हिद भगवं[4] जाते ति लुंमिनि-गामे उबलिके कटे
5 अठ-भागिये च (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियेग प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 249 B.C.) आत्मना (=स्वयम्) आगत्य महीयित' (=पूजा विहिता), इह बुद्धः जातः शाक्यमुनिः इति ; शिला-विकृत-भित्तिकाः (=प्रस्तर-खचिताः इष्टक-प्राकाराः)[5] कारिताः, शिला-स्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ।

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[1] A spurious copy of this record has been discovered near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District, Orissa (*Pravāsī*, Śrāvaṇa, 1335 B.S.). *Rummin-deī* is the same as *Lumbinī-devī* The birth-place of the Buddha was the holiest Buddhist Tīrtha. Hiuen-tsang refers to a pillar with a horse capital set up by Aśoka in the Lumbinī garden.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I; for other references, see *ibid.*, pp. 164-65, notes.

[3] Charpentier and Hultzsch make it सिला विगडभी चा (a stone bearing a horse?).

[4] A *bhagavā* is one possessing *īssarīya*, *dhamma*, *yasa*, *sirī*, *kāma* and *payatana*.

[5] भित्तिका may possibly be भीचा through the intermediate forms भित्तिआ = *भित्त्या = *भिच्चा. According to some, विगड = विकट.

इह भगवान् (=बुद्धः) जातः इति लुम्बिनीग्रामः उद्बलिकः (=कर-रहितः) कृतः, आष्ट-भागिकः (=शस्याष्टमांशदः)[1] च ।

No. 32—Nigālī Sāgar Pillar Inscription

Western bank of the NIGĀLĪ SĀGAR TANK, near NIGLIVĀ, Nepalese Tarāī

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 165.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदस-वसा[भिसितेन]
2 बुधस कोनाकमनस थुबे दुतियं वढिते (।*)
3 [वीसति-व*]साभिसितेन[3] च अतन आगाच महीयिते
4 [सिला-थभे*] [च*] [उस*]पापिते[4] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 255 B. C.) बुद्धस्य कनकमुनेः[5] स्तूपः द्वितीयं (=द्विगुणं)[6] वर्द्धितः । विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 249 B. C.) च आत्मना आगत्य महीयितं, शिला-स्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ॥

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[1] The normal rate was $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 58). For other interpretations, see Hultzsch, p. 165, n. 3. According to some scholars, *bali* here means not a tax over and above the king's grain-share of *bhāga* but a cess collected at holy places.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[3] Restoration due to Bühler.

[4] Restoration due to Bühler.

[5] Kanakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, i.e. one who attained the knowledge necessary for Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. His Stūpa was a Buddhist Tīrtha and was visited by Hiuen-tsang who also noticed the Aśokan pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C. Of the five Buddhas of the present Kalpa, called Bhadda-Kappa, four (Kakusandha, Koṇagamana, Kassapa and Gotama) have already appeared; the fifth (Metteyya) is still to appear.

[6] According to some, दुतियं=द्वितीयं वारम् which would imply that the Stūpa had been once enlarged previously.

No. 33—'Queen's Edict'

On the Allāhābād Pillar

Senart, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 308f.; Bühler, *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 122 f.; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 158f.; C. D. Chatterjee, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXXIII, pp. 57ff.; XXXIV, pp. 30ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
2 वतविया (।*) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
3 अंबा-वडिका वा आलमे व दान-[गहे] [व] [ए] [वा] [पि] [अ]ंने
4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे (।*) नानि [हे]वं [ग*][न][येथ*][2]
5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवल-मातु कालुवाकिये (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वत्र महामात्राः वक्तव्याः।—'यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः (=राज्ञ्याः) दानम् - आम्र-वाटिका वा आरामः वा दान-गृहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित् [दानं] गण्यते (=गणितं भवति), तस्याः देव्याः तत्। [युष्माभिः] एनानि एवं गणयेत—"द्वितीयायाः देव्याः" इति "तीवर-मातुः कारुवाक्याः" '[3] ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[2] Hultzsch restores विनति (=विञ्ञत्ति) and Chatterjee गनये

[3] Cf. the name Tīvara in later inscriptions; see also *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, pp. 128 ff. According to some, Kāruvākī belonged to the Kāru or Kāruvāka Gotra; others think Kāluvākī=Chāruvāk.

No. 34—Kausambi Pillar Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 301 f.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 122 ff.; BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, pp. 120 ff., 141; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins Ind.*, I, p. 159.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [दे॒वानं॰][पि]ये आनपयति (।*) कोसंबियं[2] महाम[ा]त
2 ......[स]म[गे] [कटे] (।*) स[ं]घसि नो[3] लहियेे
3 ......[संघं] [भा]खति[4] भि[खु] व[ा] भि[खु]नि वा [से] [पि][5] चा
4 [ओ॰]दात[ा]नि दुसानि [स]नंधापयितु अ[नावा]स[सि][6] [आ]व[ा]सयि[ये][7] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः आज्ञपयति। कौशाम्ब्यां महामात्रः [एवं वक्तव्यः] ।—[8] '....[सङ्घः] समग्रः (=भेदविहीनः) कृतः। सङ्घे नो लभ्यः [दुश्चरितः भिक्षुः]। [यः] सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति भिक्षुः वा भिक्षुणी (=स्त्री-भिक्षुः) वा सः अपि च अवदातानि दूष्यानि (=[पीतवास-धारिणः भिक्षोः अयोग्यानि] श्वेत-वस्त्राणि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (=भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) आवास्यः (=दूरीकर्त्तव्यः)' ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. Nos. 34-36 were probably issued after the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra under Aśoka's patronage.

[2] Bühler and Boyer: ॰बियं. Kauśāmbī (mod. Kosam), the ancient capital of Vatsa, was on the Jumna in the Allāhābād District.

[3] Bühler and Boyer: न

[4] Bühler and Boyer: भोखति.

[5] Boyer: [प]चा. He and Bühler add ओ[at the end of the line.

[6] Bühler: आन[पे]स; Boyer: आनावससि

[7] Boyer: अवा॰.

[8] According to Buddhist tradition, Aśoka gave white robes to the heretical monks whom he expelled. *Saṅghabhedo* is the fifth of the six *abhiṭhānas* or deadly sins. See Childers, s. v.

No. 35—Sāñchī Pillar Inscription

Sāñchī, Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh

Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 160f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 ....

2 ......[य]ा भे[त][2]...(।*) [सं*][घे] [स*]मगे कटे

3 [भि*]खून[ं] च भि[खुनी]नं चा ति [पु]त-प-

4 [पो*]तिके चं[द]म-[सू]रि[यि]के (।*) ये संघं

5 भ[ा]खति[3] भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-

6 नि दुस[ानि] सनं[धापयि]तु अना[वा]-

7 ससि वा[सा]पेतवि[ये] (।*) इछा हि मे किं-

8 ति संघे समगे[4] चिल-थितीके सिया ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

......[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन सङ्घः केन अपि न शक्यः] भेत्तुम्। सङ्घः समग्रः कृतः भिक्षूणां च [स्त्री]भिक्षूणां च इति पौत्र-प्रापौत्रिकं चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकं [च]। यः सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा [सः] अवदातानि दूष्याणि (=वसनानि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (=भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) वासयितव्यः। इच्छा हि मे—किमिति ?—सङ्घः समग्रः चिरस्थितिकः [च] स्यात् इति ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict seems to have been addressed to the monks of the Kākanādaboṭa-mahāvihāra (cf. Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II, *infra*).

[2] Possibly भेतवे ; cf. Sārnāth version, line 3.

[3] Bühler and Boyer : भीखति.

[4] Bühler and Boyer : संघस मगी.

No. 36--Sārnath Pillar Edict

SĀRNĀTH, Vārāṇasī District., U.P.

BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, pp. 119 ff.; SENART, *C. R.*, 1907, pp. 25 ff.; VENIS, *J. P. A. S. B.*, III, pp. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 161f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 देवा[नंपिये*]........................ ....

2 ए ळ...

3 पाट[2]...............................ये[3] केन पि संघे भेतवे (।*) ए चुं खो

4 [भिखू] [वा] [भिखु]नि वा संघं भ[खति][4] [से] ओदातानि दुस[ानि] [सं]-नंधापयिया आनावाससि

5 आवासयिये (।*) हेवं इयं सासने भिखु-संघसि च भिखुनि-संघसि च विनपयितविये (।*)

6 हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (।*) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवा ति संसलनसि निखिता (।*)

7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (।*) ते पि च उपासका अनु-पोसथं यावु

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

[2] It has been suggested that पाट may be the first two *aksharas* of the name पाटलिपुत

[3] Boyer restores न सकिये

[4] This reading is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart : भिखति ; Boyer : भीखति

8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे (।*) अनु-पोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये
9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (।*) आवते च तुफाकं आहाले
10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (।*) हेमेव सवेसु कोट-विषवेसु एतेन
11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा (॥*)[1]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः……………………………………………………पाटलिपुत्रे ………[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन न] शक्यः केन अपि सङ्घः भेत्तुम्। यः तु खलु भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति, सः अवदातानि दूष्यानि सन्निधाप्य अनावासे आवास्यः। एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षु-सङ्घे च [स्त्री]भिक्षु-सङ्घे च [भिक्षवः] विज्ञपयितव्यम्। एवं देवानांप्रिय आह।—'ईदृशी च एका लिपिः युष्माकम् अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे (=आवासे; यद्वा—पथि) निक्षिप्ता; एकां च लिपिं ईदृशीम् एव उपासकानाम् अन्तिके निक्षिपत। ते अपि च उपासकाः अनूपवसथं (=उपवासदिनेषु) [शासनान्तिकं] यायुः +एतत् एव शासनम् (=एतस्मिन् एव शासने) [आत्मनः] विश्वासयितुम्। अनूपवसथं च +ध्रुवायाः (=ध्रुवत्वेन) एकैकः (=प्रत्येकं) महामात्रः उपवसथाय याति[2] एतत् एव शासनं [आत्मानं] विश्वासयितुम् आज्ञातुं (=ज्ञातुं, बोद्धुं) च। यावत्कं [स्थानं व्याप्य] च युष्माकम् आहारः (=प्रदेशः), सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयं [राजपुरुषान्] एतेन व्यञ्जनेन (=अनुशासनानुसारेण)। एवम् एव सर्वेषु कोट्ट-विषयेषु (=दुर्गरक्षित-प्रदेशांशेषु) एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत॥

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[1] The edict was addressed primarily to the Mahāmātras possibly of Pāṭaliputra. It was made available to monks and nuns (*bhikkhu-bhikkhunī*), to lay worshippers (*upāsaka-upāsikā*) and to officers and the people of the districts (*āhāra*) and sub-divisions (*vishaya*). According to some, *saṁsalana* is some locality or an office or an assembly hall. If it is believed that the edict was addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī, there was probably a reference to the Buddhist council held at Pāṭaliputra.

[2] I.e., goes for the *uposatha*-day service which is held on the full-moon day, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight and the eighth days of the bright and dark fortnights. It is to the Buddhists a day of religious observance and abstinence from sensual enjoyments, as the Sunday is to the Catholics, and the lay worshippers on that occasion make vows to keep the ten *Śīlas*. On the two *uposatha* days of the 14th and 15th, all monks assemble in the monastery and the *Pātimokkha* is read out section by section. See Childers, s. v. *Uposatho*.

F—STONE-SLAB[1] EDICT OF AŚOKA

No. 37—Bairāṭ Inscription

Originally BAIRĀṬ, near Bhābrū, Jaipur District, Rājasthān; now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 165ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 172f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 पिं(प्रि)यदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादे[तू]नं आहा अप[ा]बाधतं च फासु-विहालतं चा (।*)

2 विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं(च) पं(प्र)सादे च (।*) ए केचि भंते

3 भगवता बुधे[न] भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा (।*) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे

4 चिल-[ठि]तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं व[ा]तवे (।*) इमानि भंते [धं]मपलियायानि विनयसमुकसे

5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपं(प्र)सिने ए चा लाघुलो-

6 वादे मुसा-वादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि इछामि

7 किंति बहुके भिखु[प]ाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सु[ने]यु चा उपधालयेयू चा (।*)

8 हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (।*) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखा[प]यामि अभिपेतं मे जानंतू ति (॥*)

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[1] Cf. *śilā-phalaka* (stone-slab) mentioned in PE VII, line 22.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, p. xxv; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 374, note 3. This edict and the reference to Aśoka's visit to Buddhist holy places prove that he was certainly a Buddhist.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः (=मगधदेशीयः) सङ्घं (=बौद्ध-भिक्षु-सङ्घम्) अभिवाद्य आह ।—अपाबाधतां (=स्वास्थ्यं) च सुख-विहारतां[1] च । 'विदितम् एव, [हे] भवन्तः[2], यावत् अस्माकं बुद्धे धर्मे सङ्घे इति गौरवं (=श्रद्धा) च प्रसादः[3] (=परानुरक्तिः) च । यत् किञ्चित्, [हे] भवन्तः, भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत् सुभाषितम् एव । यत् च तु खलु, [हे] भवन्तः, अस्माभिः दृश्यते एवं सद्धर्मः (=बौद्धधर्मः) चिरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति, अर्हामि अहं तत् वक्तुम् । इमे, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्म-पर्यायाः (=धर्म-ग्रन्थाः)—विनयसमुत्कर्षः, आर्यवंशाः (यद्वा—आर्यवासाः), अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेयसूत्रम्, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यः च राहुल-वादः मृषा-वादम् अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः[4]—एतान्, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्म-पर्यायान् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—बहुकः भिक्षुपादः [स्त्री]-भिक्षवः च अभीक्ष्णं (=पुनः पुनः) शृण्वन्तु च उपधारयेयुः च । एवम् एव उपासकाः च उपासिकाः च । एतेन, [हे] भवन्तः, इमां [धर्म-लिपिं] लेखयामि, अभिप्रेतं मे जानन्तु इति' ॥

G—CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF AS'OKA

Nos. 38, 39 & 40—Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions

BARĀBAR HILL, Gayā District., Bihār.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 168ff.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 361f.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 181f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] Better *spārna-vihāratā*; cf. Childers, *Pali Dictionary.*, s. v. *phāsu*.

[2] See *infra*, p. 77, note 3.

[3] The word *pasāda* (literally, 'rejoicing'; Sanskrit *prasāda*), together with *chitta-pasāda* and *mano-pasāda*, is invariably used in Pali in the sense of faith in the Buddha because of the joy or peace of mind which belief in the Buddha brings with it. See Childers, *op. cit.*, s. v.

[4] The first work is differently identified with the *Dhaṁmachakkapavattanasutta*, *Pātimokkha*, *Tuvaṭṭhakasutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*), *Sappurisasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*), *Sigālovādasuttanta* (*Dīgha-nikāya*) and *Atthavasavagga* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*). The last of these seems to be actually intended by Aśoka: see *J.D.L.*, *XX*. *Aliyavasāni=Ariyavaṁsa* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya, II*) or *Ariyavāsa* (*ibid.*, III); *Anāgatabhayāni* (*ibid.*, *III*); *Munigāthā=Munisutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*); *Moneyasute=Nālakasutta* (*ibid.*); *Upatisapasine =Rathavinītasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*); *Lāghulovāda=Rāhulovādasutta* (*ibid.*). See V. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Texts as recommended by Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1948.

TEXT[1]

I

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडस वसा[भिसितेना]
2 [इयं] [निगोह]-कुभा दि[ना] [आजीविकेहि] (॥*)

II

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
2 डस-वसाभिसितेना इयं
3 कुभा खलतिक-पवतसि[2]
4 दिना [आजीवि]केहि (॥*)

III

1 लाजा पियदसी एकुनवी-
2 सति-वसा[भि]सिते ज[लघो]-
3 [सागमे] थात[वे] इ[यं] [कुभा]
4 सुपि[ये] (य) ख[लतिकपवतसि*] [दि]-
5 ना (॥*)[3]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) इयं न्यग्रोध-गुहा दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः। II—राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः। III—राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 250 B.C.) [यदा तदा] जलघोषागमे (=वर्षासु) स्थातवे (=स्थातुं=वासाय [आजीविकानां ?]) [राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना] इयं गुहा सुप्रियः [इति] खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *ibid.*, p. xxviii.

[2] The Khalatika-parvata (Barābar Hill, or possibly the whole group of hills) is mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* under Pāṇini, I. 2. 52. Barābar has been called Pravaragiri in an inscription of Maukhari Anantavarman.

[3] Hultzsch : जलघोसागमथात मे in lines 2-3. S. N. Mitra (*Ind. Cult.*, XV, pp. 78ff.) reads जलुघा (or जलूधा) उगम (or ऊगम) यातवे (=जलौघात् उद्गम्य स्थातवे=स्थातुम्), "to dwell aloft beyond the reach of flood". The first three letters of line 4 have been read by Hultzsch as सुपिये and by Mitra doubtfully as ततिये

H—OTHER MAURYA INSCRIPTIONS

Nos. 41, 42 & 43—Nāgārjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions of Daśaratha (c. 220 B. C.)

NĀGĀRJUNĪ HILL, Gayā District, Bihār.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 364; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 954-56.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

I

1 वहियक[ा] कुभा दशलथेन[2] देवानंपियेना
2 आनंतलियं अभिषितेना [आजीविकेहि]
3 भदंतेहि[3] वाष-निषिदियाये निषिठे
4 आ-चंदम-सूलियं (॥*)

II

1 गोपिका कुभा दशलथेना देवा[न]ं पि-
2 येना आनंतलियं अभिषितेना आजी-
3 विके[हि] [भदं]तेहि वाष-निसिदियाये
4 निसिठा आ-चंदम-सूलियं (॥*)

III

1 वडथिका कुभा दशलथेना देवानं-
2 पियेना आनंतलियं अ[भि]षितेना [आ]-

---

[1] From the facsimile in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 1, Plate I. For other references, see Lüders, *loc. cit.*

[2] The name *Daśaratha* appears to mean "one who is equal to ten *Rathins*"; cf. *atiratha*, *ardharatha*, etc.

[3] Both भन्त and भदन्त appear to be derived from भवत्. For the *āgama* of द, cf. Pāli सदत्थ=Sanskrit स्वार्थ. Some scholars think भदन्त=भद्रान्त (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 4f.) It is also suggested that *bhadanta* is derived from *bhadraṁ te* with which the monks responded to the greetings of the people.

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3 [जी]विके हि भदंतेहि वा[ष-निषि]दियाये
4 निषिठा आ-चंदम-षूलियं (॥*)[1]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—वहियका[इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेण (=अभिषेक-वर्षे) आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्र]भवद्भ्यः (=महनीयेभ्यः) वर्ष-निषद्यायै (=वर्षा-वासाय) निसृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम्। II—गोपिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्र]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्यायै निसृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम्। III—वडथिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्र]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्यायै निसृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् ॥

No. 44—Taxila Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of a Maurya King

TAXILA (=Takshaśilā), Rāwalpiṇḍi District, West Pakistan.

E. HERZFELD, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 251.

Language }
Script } Aramaic of about the first half of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT[2]

1 … … … … ut … …
2 l^{d}kmyrty ‘l…
3 kynvta[3] ‘l…
4 a^{r}k$_{n}$ zv *sh*kynvta[3]…
5 v labvhy[4] hu*h*[5]…

---

[1] In some cases, the word आजीविकेहि has been chiselled away in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī cave inscriptions. This may have been done at the time of Maukhari Anantavarman who dedicated one Barābar cave to Kṛishṇa and two Nāgarjunī caves to Śiva and Pārvatī.

[2] From the eye-copy in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, with the help of Herzfeld's transcript. The second half of all the lines is lost. The Indian Kharoshṭhī script was derived from Aramaic.

[3] They may be the same word, meaning "dwellings" and possibly we have to restore a *sh* at the end of line 2.

[4] The first two words mean "and to his father".

[5] According to Herzfeld, the word with *hu°* may be one belonging to the moral sphere of ideas, like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds". Cf. the Buddhist idea of *ayiro aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, such as *sammā diṭṭhi*, etc.

6 hvpty*kh*ty znh[1]...
7 zk bhvv ${}^{d}n_{r}$ rh[2]...
8 hvbs*h*tv ^{k}rzy hut...
9 mran **Prydr**...[3]
10 h...... *l*kvt*h*[4]...
11 vap bnvhy[5]...
12 lmran **Prydr**s*h*[6]...

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 45—Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription

MAHĀSTHĀN, Bogrā District, East Pakistan.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 85; B. M. BARUA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, pp. 57 ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

TEXT[7]

1 ···नेन (।*) स[ं*]वगि(गी ?)य[ा]नं [तळ दिन स]- ।[8] सम दिन । [सु]-

---

[1] The word means "this".

[2] If this be an Indian word, it may be the same as बहुव्रीहि

[3] I.e., *mārāna Priyadar[shi*]*, "our lord Priyadarśī". Herzfeld takes the title to refer to Aśoka Maurya. It is however known that Chandragupta was also called प्रियदर्शन. The record (palaeographically assigned to the first half of the 3rd cent B.C.) may therefore belong to Chandragupta Maurya. But, if reference is to be found to the Buddhistic *ayiro aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, the possibility of the record being one of Aśoka is greater. For a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Aśoka discovered near Kandahar in Afghanisthan, see *East and West*, Vol. 9, Parts 1-2, pp. 4-6 and Plate.

[4] Herzfeld is inclined to supply *vm* in the lacuna and to read *vmlkvth*, "and his queens" or less probably "his kingdoms".

[5] The line means, "and also his sons".

[6] I.e., *li-mārāna Priyadarsh[i*]*, "to our lord Priyadarśī".

[7] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Some of the सs here look like ष

[8] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary. Cf. Kālsī RE XIII, अठवषा । भिषित । षा, etc.

2 [म]ाते[1] । सुलखिते पुडनगलते[2] । ए[त]

3 [नि*]वहिपयिसति । संवगियानं [च] [दि*]ने *

4 [धा]नियं । निवहिसति । दग-तिया[यि*]यके* *

5 ***[यि]कसि । सुअ-तियायिक[सि][3] पि । गंड[केहि*]

6 *** [यि]केहि[4] एस कोठागाले कोसं***

7 ****

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[…महामात्राणां वच]नेन । षड्वर्गीयेभ्यः (यद्वा—संवर्गीयेभ्यः)[5] तिलः दत्तः, सर्षपं (?) [च] दत्तम् । सुमात्रः (=तदाख्यः पुरुषः) सुलक्ष्मीतः (=ऋद्धिमतः) पुण्ड्रनगरतः एतत् निवाहयिष्यति; षड्वर्गीयेभ्यः च दत्तं धान्यं निवक्ष्यति । [उ]दकात्ययिकाय (=तन्निवारणाय), देवात्ययिकाय (यद्वा—अग्न्यात्ययिकाय), शुकात्ययिकाय [च] अपि गण्डकैः (=मुद्राभिः) धान्यैः [च] एषः कोष्ठागारः कोषः [च परिपूरणीयौ] ॥[6]

---

[1] Bhandarkar: गलदनस । दुमदिन-[महा]माते; Barua: तलदनम । दुमं दिन समाते. Barua translates: By this (अनेन) [token], should there be any oil or tree given to the Shaḍvargikas, (the person concerned) shall cause that to be conveyed from Sumā, Sulakshmī and Puṇḍranagara.

[2] Puṇḍranagara, "city of the Puṇḍras", was probably the older name of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with Mahāsthān, the find-spot of the record.

[3] Bhandarkar: द[ं]गातियायिके [देवा]तियायिकसि सु-अतियायिकसि; Barua दगातियायिके [अगि]तियायिकसि. The last part of the first word may have been ०केसि. The word आत्ययिक means "emergency".

[4] Bhandarkar: [धानि]यिकेहि; Barua: [काकनि]यिकेहि. The Pāli literature speaks of धन-कोष्ठागार (treasury), धान्य-कोष्ठागार (granary) and वस्तु-कोष्ठागार (general stores).

[5] Bhandarkar: संवङ्गीयानां, "of the Saṁvaṅgīya people"; Barua: षड्वर्गिकानां, "of persons of the Shaḍvargika sect of the Buddhists". Saṁvarga however might have been the name of a locality.

[6] It is difficult to understand whether the keeper of the store-house is ordered to replenish the stores in apprehension of an impending scarcity or it was the persons receiving grains who had to pay them back.

No. 46—Piprāhwā Buddhist Vase Inscription

PIPRĀHWĀ[1], Bastī District, U.P.

BÜHLER, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 387ff.; FÜHRER, *An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, p. 3; PÈPPE, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 576 f.; SMITH-DAVIDS-HOEY, *ibid.*, pp. 586ff.; BLOCH, *ibid.*, 1899, pp. 42 f.; DAVIDS, *ibid.*, 1901, p. 398; PISCHEL, *Z. W. M. G.*, LVI, pp. 157 f.; *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 526; LÈVI, *Jour. des Savants*, 1905, pp. 540ff.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 679ff.; *ibid.*, 1906, pp. 149ff.; THOMAS, *ibid.*, pp. 452f.; SENART, *Jour. As.*, X, vii, pp. 132ff.; BARTH, *Jour. des Savants*, 1906, pp. 541ff.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 105ff.; BARTH, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, pp. 117ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 931.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.
Metre: Irregular

TEXT[2]

1 सुकिति-भतिनं[3] स-भगिनिकनं स-पुत-दलनं[4] (।*)
इयं सलिल-निधने[5] बुधस भगवते सकि[यानं][6] (॥*)[7]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सुकीर्ति-भ्क्त्योः स-भगिनीकयोः स-पुत्र-दारयोः ।
इदं शरीर-निधानं बुद्धस्य भगवतः शाक्यानां ॥

---

[1] Within half a mile of the Nepāl border, in the north-eastern extremity of the Bastī Dist.

[2] From the facsimile in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV.

[3] According to scholars, Sanskrit सुकीर्ति-भ्रातृणां (according to some सुकृति०). It is generally translated "of the brothers of Sukīrti"; but some scholars think that सुकृति indicates the Buddha himself. It may be suggested that सुकिति-भतिनं indicates "of Sukīrti and Bhakti."

[4] I.e., "with sons and wives".

[5] I.e., "receptacle of the corporeal remains or relics [of the Buddha]".

[6] The inscription is incised around the vase; यानं has been engraved above the line owing to want of space. The word is generally taken to be the same as Sanskrit शाक्यानां. Fleet however took it to be Sanskrit स्वकीयानां, "of the relatives".

[7] The absence of signs for lengthened vowels in the record led some scholars to believe that it is much anterior to Aśoka. The argument is by no means conclusive. Lengthened vowels are usually neglected in early records. It is moreover too small a record for any clear indication on the point. Thomas recognised in the epigraph a very irregular Āryā stanza, while Fleet wanted to scan the lines as उपगीति or उद्गीति

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No. 47—Sohgaurā Bronze Plaque Inscription

SOHGAURĀ, Gorakhpur District, U.P.

SMITH and HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1894, pp. 85ff.; BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 261; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 510ff.; BARUA, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XI, pp. 32ff.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, pp. 54ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 2; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 937; S. N. Chakravarti, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, VII, pp. 203ff.; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 1-3.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

TEXT[1]

1 सवतियन महमगन[2] ससने मनवसिति-क-
2 द[3] (।*) सिलिमते[4] वसगमे व एते दवे कोठगलनि
3 तिघवनि (।*) माथुल-च[च]-मोदम-भलकन छ-[5]
4 ल कयियति अतियायिकय (।*) नो गहिग(त)वय (॥*)

---

[1] From the original now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This record is supposed by scholars to be pre-Aśokan or even pre-Maurya. But there is no reason to believe that it is earlier than Aśoka. Above the lines are two three-storeyed structures together with the tree-in-railing, lotus-bud and moon-on-mount symbols. The structures refer to the two store-houses mentioned in the record.

[2] Read महमतन. Fleet translates: 'Notice for all the three great roads for vehicles!'

[3] This letter is usually read as *ḍa*.

[4] The name is possibly *Śrīmān* (cf. Bk. II, No. 76), but may also be *Śrīmātra*. The first letter of the following name cannot be read as *u*.

[5] Bühler: छल (=चारं, collection); Fleet: वल(=वार=storage); Jayaswal: छलि-कयियति (चरी॰=to be distributed). Bühler translates: 'These two store-houses with three partitions (तिघवनि), [situated] even in famous Vaṃśagrāma (Bansgaon, 6 miles west of Sohgaurā), require the storage of loads (भारक) of Madhuka (माथु=मधू), parched grain (लच=लाज), cummin-seed (अचुमोदा=अजमोदा) and Āmba (ग्राम) for times of urgent need.' Fleet: 'At the junction called Manavasi, these two store-houses are prepared for the sheltering (वाराग्र) of loads of commodities of Tiyavani=Tryaveṇī, Mathurā and Chañchu'. Barua: 'These two store-houses of fodder and wheat (तिन-यवनि for तियवनि) and loads of ladles, canopies, yoke-pins and ropes are used in times of urgent need.' Jayaswal: 'only to the tenants (सीरि-मात्र), only on the advent of drought (उषागमे), store-houses of Triveṇi'', etc. The readings *usagame*, *tiyavani* and *vala* are however clearly wrong.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

श्रावस्तीयानां महामात्राणां शासनं मानवाशीति-कटतः। श्रीमान् वंशग्रामः (=तदाख्य-ग्रामद्वयस्थितौ) एव एतौ द्वौ कोष्ठागारौ त्रिगर्भौ (=त्रितलौ)। [एतौ महामात्रैः] माथुर-चञ्च-मयुदाम-भल्लकानां [ग्रामानां] क्षारः (=शस्यादि-वितरणं) कार्येते आत्ययिकायां (=दुर्भिक्षादि-विपत्काले)। [सुभिक्षकाले कैश्चित्] नो ग्रहीतव्यम्॥

No. 48—Inscription[1] on the Silver coins of Sophutes[2] (Saubhūti)

(*circa* 330-300 B. C.)

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 7; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 3f.

First Side[3]

Head of the king or a warrior to right, in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath; wing on cheek-piece.

Second Side

Cock standing to right; Caduceus in left upper field; inscription in Greek characters in right:—

[ΣΩ]ΦΥΤΟΥ (=Sō*ph*utou=[coin] of Sophutes).

---

[1] Though the characters are not actually "inscribed" on coins, many numismatists refer to the coin-legends as "inscription" which would then mean any writing; cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 1ff.

[2] At the time of Alexander's invasion Sophutes ruled a district on the banks of the Akesines (=Asiknī=Chenāb). "These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 B.C., and Sophutes presumably submitted to him. The portrait of Sophutes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 B.C., according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jhelam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophutes."—Smith, *loc. cit.* See, however, *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 338, 414, 463, 623. Strabo calls him a *nomarkh* possibly because he had offered allegiance to Alexander.

R. B. Whitehead in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1943) has tried to prove, on the basis of the similarity of this type with certain coins found near the Oxus, that the Sophutes coins actually belong not to any Indian ruler but to some king of Central Asia. Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, VII, pp. 23-26. His arguments are however unconvincing and inconclusive. Lévi believes that the name is associated with the Saubhūta country mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

[3] From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate I, No. 1.

BOOK II

Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya Period down to the Gupta Age

CHAPTER I

NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIGENOUS DYNASTIES AND CONNECTED RECORDS

(i) CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA

No. 1—Barhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śungas

Barhut[1], former Nāgaudh State, Madhya Pradesh.

Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 128f., No. 1, Plates XII and LIII; R. L. Mitra *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1880, pp. 58ff.; Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 138f. and Plate; *Z. D. M. G.*, XL, p. 60, No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 227, No. 1; Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1f.; Lüders, *List*, No. 687.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.[2]

TEXT[3]

1 सुगनं[4] रञे रञो गागी-पुतस विसदेवस
2 पौतेण गोति-पुतस[5] आगरजुस[6] पूतेण
3 वाछि-पुतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां
4 सिला-कंमंतो च उपंण (॥*)

---

[1] The name is also written Bharhut, Bhārhut and Bharaut.

[2] The lower part of the *akshara* व is of the triangular shape.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 139, and *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, Plate V, No. 20.

[4] Cunningham and Mitra took it to stand for स्रुघ्न-राज्ये, "in the kingdom of Srughna". The absence of the Śuṅga king's name in the inscription may suggest that the Śuṅga power was then on the decline.

[5] Cunningham equated it with Sanskrit कौत्सीपुत्रस्य

[6] Cunningham and Mitra equated it with Sanskrit अग्रराजस्य

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञः गार्गी-पुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य[1] पौत्रेण गौप्ती-पुत्रस्य अङ्गारद्युतः पुत्रेण वात्स्यीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणम्। शिलाकर्मान्तः (=प्रस्तर-निर्मित-प्राकारादिः) च [तेन] उत्पन्नः॥

No. 2—Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra.—Regnal Year 14

BESNAGAR[2], Bhilsa District, Madhya Pradesh.

VOGEL, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1908-09, p. 126; RAPSON, *Ancient India*, p. 157; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIII, p. 104; RAYCHAUDHURI, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, pp. 99ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 669.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* end of the 2nd century B.C.

TEXT[3]

Part I

1 [दे]वदेवस वा[सुदे*]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं
2 कारिते इ[अ] हेलिओदोरेण भाग-
3 वतेन दियस पुत्रेण तख्खसिलाकेन
4 योन-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस[4]
5 अंतलिकितस उप[ं*]ता सकासं रञो

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[1] King Viśvadeva appears to have been the feudatory of a Later Śuṅga king of Vidiśā. Note that the Śuṅgas were still ruling when Simuka defeated the last Kāṇva king Suśarman about 30 B. C.

[2] Ancient Vidiśā, capital of Ākara or Daśārṇa (East Mālwā).

[3] From the facsimile in *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, Plate II, and *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1908-09. For several papers on this record, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909 and 1910.

✓ [4] Note the difference between the epithets of the Indian king and the Greek king. Titles like महाराज and राजातिराज (cf. later महाराजाधिराज) were popularised by the foreigners. Many coins of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas have been found in the Panjāb. Bhāgabhadra may be identified with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

6 कासी-पु[त्र]स[1] [भ]ागभद्रस त्रातारसं[2]
7 वसेन च[तु]दसेंन[3] राजेन वधमानस[4] (॥*)

Part II

1 त्रिनि अमुत-पदानि [इअ*] [सु]-अनुठितानि
2 नेयंति [स्वगं] दम चाग अप्रमाद[5] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य गरुड-ध्वजः (=शिखरस्थ-गरुडमूर्तिसनाथः शिलामयः ध्वज-स्तम्भः) अयं कारितः इह हेलियोदोरेण (Heliodoros) भागवतेन (=वैष्णवधर्मान्तर्गत-भागवतमार्गानुसारिणा) दियस्य (Dion) पुत्रेण ताक्षशिलाकेन (=तक्षशिला-निवासिना) यवन-दूतेन आगतेन महाराजस्य अन्तलिकितस्य (Antialkidas) उपान्तात् (=समीपात्) सकाशं राज्ञः काशी-पुत्रस्य (=काश-गोत्रीया०) भागभद्रस्य त्रातुः वर्षेण चतुर्दशेन राज्येन [च] वर्द्धमानस्य। II—त्रीणि अमृत-पदानि इह स्वनुष्ठितानि नयन्ति स्वर्गं—दमः त्यागः अप्रमादः [च] ॥

No. 2A—Barli Stone Inscription of the time of Bhāgavata

Barli, Ajmer District, Rājasthān.

K. P. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 67-68; D. C. Sircar, *J. B. R. S.*, XXXVII, Parts 1-2, pp. 1-5; *ibid.*, XL, Part 1, pp. 8-16.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of about the close of the 2nd century B.C.

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[1] Bhandarkar reads कोसीपुतस (कौत्सीपुत्रस्य). But कौत्सीपुत्र would have been कोच्छीपुत in Prakrit. The paternal *gotra* of Bhāgabhadra's mother seems to have been Kāśa. For the absence of *gotrāntara* in some forms of ancient Indian marriage, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1945, pp. 48ff.

✓ [2] This word which is a translation of Greek *Soteros* and found on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings shows that a Greek (possibly Heliodoros himself) was responsible for the draft of the record.

[3] Read ०दसेन

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar reads in this line: वासिना मभ्र[दे]से नइराजे नवध[ं]मा[नुसा]-[सनाय*]

[5] Cf. *Mbh.*, V, 43, 22: दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम्। Cf. अप्पमादो अमतपदं पमादो मच्चुनो पदं (*Dhammapada*, II, 1).

TEXT[1]

1 (A) द्धं[2] (B) रय भगव- (C) त...
2 (A) ठ[भ] (B) चतुरसिति[3] व- (C) [व]...
3 (A) काये (B) साला मालिनि- (C) [ये]...
4 (A) रं निसि- (B) ठं माझिमिके- (C) [न]...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् (?) ॥ राजनि भागवते...स्तम्भाः चतुरशीतिः...कायां शाला, मालिन्यां... निसृष्टं माध्यमिकेन (=मध्यमिकावासिना)...

No. 3—Ghosūṇḍī Stone Inscription of King Sarvatāta

GHOSŪṆḌĪ, near Nagarī, Chitorgaḍh District, Rājasthān.

Kavirāja SHYĀMAL DĀS, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, LVI, Part. i, pp. 77 ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 27; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 6.

Language: Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT[4]

1 [कारितो अयं राज्ञा भागव*][ते]न[5] गाजायनेन पाराशरी-पुत्रेण स-

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[1] From impressions and the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI.

[2] The intended reading may be सिद्धं. Jayaswal : वीराय भगवते. He believed that the passage refers to Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism.

[3] Ojha suggested that this word indicates Year 84 of the Jain Nirvāṇa era (*Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 2-3), which is never known to have been used in early records. Jayaswal referred the year to an imaginary era starting in 374 or 373 B.C. The word may also refer to a unit of 84 villages, in which case the preceding letters may stand for a geographical name.

[4] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, with the help of the facsimile and text of the Hāthibāḍā inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 203 f.

[5] व is clear before ते in the Hāthibāḍā record. Read कारितोयं

2 °[र्वतातेन अश्वमेध-या*]जिना[1] भगव(द्*)भ्यां[2] संकर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां

3 [अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा*]भ्यां[3] पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायण-वाटका[4] ।।*)

Nos. 4, 5 & 6—Badvā Stone Pillar (Yūpa) Inscriptions of the Maukharis.—Kṛita Year 295 (=238 A.D.)

Badvā, former Kotāh State, Rājasthān.

A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 52.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[5]

No. 1.

1 सिद्धं द्धम् (।*) क्रितेहि[6] २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ[ा*]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य[7] पञ्चे[8] दि०

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[1] The Hāthibāḍā inscription supplies सर्वतातेन अश्वमेधयाजिना after पाराशरीपुत्रेण. Sarvatāta has been supposed to be a Kāṇva king. He however seems to have been a local ruler. The name may be actually Sarvatrāta.

[2] Cf. ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः ।
ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीङ्गना ॥ विष्णुपुराण ।६।५।७२

[3] The Hāthibāḍā inscription supplies अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वराभ्यां after वासुदेवाभ्यां

[4] Read ०वाटकः. *I.e.*, a stone-enclosure for the place of worship (or, an enclosure for the Śālagrāma) called the Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka. The enclosure is supposed to be the structure now known as Hāthibāḍā at Nagarī.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

[6] Read कृतैः. The passage means कृतेषु २९५ वर्षेषु अतीतेषु, "when 295 years of the Kṛita era had passed away." It has been supposed that the era was invented (कृत) by astronomers or founded by Kṛita. It was an era of Skytho-Parthian origin, brought by the Mālavas from their original home in the Jhang District, Panjāb, to Rājputānā before the time of Śaka Usavadāta (c. 118-23 A.D.). It then became known as the era used by the Mālava tribe. With the growth of the tradition of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (capital of the country later called Mālava), who is no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (c. 376-414 A. D.), conqueror of Mālava from the Śakas, the era was gradually connected with Vikrama and was eventually known as the Vikrama Saṁvat beginning from 58 B.C. It should be noted that the use of an era was popularised in India by the Skytho-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas. See notes on Bk. IV, No. 21; also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 125, note.

[7] Read: फाल्गुन

[8] Read पञ्चमे. दि is the abbreviated form of दिवसे

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श्रि-महासेनापतेः[1] मोखरेः[2] बल-पुत्रस्य बलवर्द्धनस्य यूपः (।*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं[3] गवां सहस्रं[१०००][4] (।*)

No. 2.

1 सिद्धं द्धम् (।*) क्रितेहि[5] २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ[ा]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे[6] दि० श्री-महासेनापतेः मोखरेः[2] बल-पुत्रस्य सोमदेवस्य यूपः (।*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं[3] गव[ां] सह[स्रं][१०००][4] (।*)

No. 3.

1 क्रितेहि[5] २००(+*)९०(+*)५ फ[*ा]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे[6] [दि]० श्री-महासेनापते[ः*] [मो]खरे-

2 बल-पुत्रस्य[2] बलसिंहास्य[7] यूपः[8] (।*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं[3] गवां सहस्रं[4] [१०००] (।*)

(ii) MADHYADEŚA AND EASTERN INDIA

No. 7—Parkham Image Inscription

PARKHAM, now Mathurā Museum.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. I. R.*, XX, p. 41, Plate VI; VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, p. 83; STEN KONOW, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 147; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 550f.; *ibid.*, VI, pp. 173ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 29-32; *Journ. Dep.*

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[1] Read श्री०. The title *Mahāsenāpati* was sometimes used by feudatory rulers. Bala may have been subordinate to the Mālavas of Nagarī (old Mālavanagarī, in the Tonk District, Rājasthān.

[2] Read मौखरेः बलस्य पुत्रस्य. It is improbable that Bala's three sons were *Mahāsenāpati* at the same time.

[3] Read दक्षिणा. त्रिरात्र-सम्मित is the same as the त्रिरात्र sacrifice.

[4] Altekar : सहष्रं(स्रं). There is a symbol after सहस्रं in all the three inscriptions—a triangle at the head of a vertical line. It may indicate the number 1000.

[5] Read कृतैः

[6] Read फाल्गुन-शुक्लस्य पञ्चमे

[7] Read ०सिंहस्य

[8] Altekar : यूष(प):

Lett., IV, Calcutta University, 1921, pp. 47ff.; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, October, 1919, pp. 419 ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 150.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* second half of the 1st century B.C.[1]

TEXT[2]

(Right side) [म*][नि]भद पुगरिका[3] * * * रजो ज ?)[4] (।*)
(Between the legs) अठि * * * * पि * (।*)[5]
(Left side) कुनिकतेवासिना गोमितकेन कतो (॥*)[6]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

मणिभद्रः पुगरिकायां (यद्वा—पुगरिकासु, पुगरिकाणां) यक्ष-राजः (यद्वा— नाग-राजः)। अर्थप्रियेण (?) स्थापितः। कुनिकान्तेवासिना गोमित्रकेण कृतः॥

No. 8—Pāṭnā Image Inscriptions

PĀTNĀ, Bihār

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. R.*, XV, pp. 2 f.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 88 ff.; 214 f.; 516 ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *ibid.*, pp. 210 ff.; SMITH and BARNETT, *ibid.*, pp. 512 ff.; H. P. SASTRI, *ibid.*, pp. 552 ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 25 ff.; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*,

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[1] Note the angular shape of प. Jayaswal and his followers believed that the image is a portrait statue of the Śaiśunāga king Kuṇika Ajātaśatru. After the publication of Chanda's learned article in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, Jayaswal's theory may be passed over in silence. That the Parkham and Patna images represent Yakshas has been conclusively proved by Gargoly.

[2] From facsimiles in *J.B.O.R.S.* and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*

[3] Vogel and Chanda read पुगरिना; but in that case the last *akshara* is only half the size of the other *aksharas*. The intended reading may be पुगरिकाये or पुगरिकासु or पुगरिकान.

[4] The *akshara* before र has been suggested by some to be ग. It may possibly also be read as ख. The reading intended may be नागरज or यखरज.

[5] The *akshara* after अठ may be पि. The intended reading seems to be अठपियेन थपित

[6] Different readings :—Vogel :···[नि] भदपुगरिना[क]··· ; ग अठ···पि ; ···कुनि[क]तेवासिना [गोमितकेन] कता. Sten Konow : श्रीम् भदपुगरिका ग···रज ; अठ···ई···Jayaswal : निभद प्रशेनि अजा*शत्रु राजो सिरि ; ४ ध (=१०) दो (=१०) ४ क्रि (=८) ; कुणिक शेवासिनागो माग[धा]नं राजा.

IV, pp. 47 ff.; R. C. Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 29 ff.; O. C. Gangoly, *Mod. Rev.*, October, 1919, pp. 419 ff.; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 957-58.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 1st century A.D.

I[1]

[यखे][2] अचछनीवीके[3] (=यक्षः अत्यक्षयनीविकः ?)

II

यखे[4] [स]वटनंडे[5] (=यक्षः संवृतनन्दः ; यद्वा—संवर्तनन्दः ; यद्वा—०आनन्दः)

No. 9—Ayodhya Stone Inscription of Dhana[deva]

Ayodhyā, Fyzābād District, U. P.

J. D. Ratnakara, *Nāgarīprachāriṇī Patrikā*, V, Pt. 1, pp. 99-104; G. H. Ojha, *ibid.*, pp. 201 ff.; K. P. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, X, pp. 202-08; *ibid.*, XIII, pp. 247-49; N. K. Bhattasali, *Mod. Rev.*, February, 1925, p. 202; A. Banerji-Sastri, *ibid.*,

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[1] From the photographs, facsimiles and eye-copies in *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV. The triangular form of व in वी, the curved bar of क in के and base of न in नं, the developed slanting form of च—all go to show the unsoundness of the theory of Jayaswal and his followers that the statues are of two Śaiśunāga emperors and that the *aksharas* are pre-Mauryan. These are evidently much later images of Yakshas. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 67) assigns them stylistically to the 2nd century B.C. Cunningham assigned them to the 1st century A.D., apparently on palaeographic grounds. I am inclined to rely more on palaeographic than on stylistic grounds.

[2] Only the upper part of these two *aksharas* are clear, the ground line of य, as also the lower part of ख, being obscured by the horizontal lines.

It must be noted that Cunningham, the earliest decipherer of the inscription, read यखे. Later writers have read भगे, भग or गते and have tried to explain away the difficulties of such readings.

[3] Cunningham: अचुसनीगीक ; Jayaswal: अचो छोनीधीशे ; Barnett: अचेछनीवीके ; Chanda: अचछनीवीक ; Majumdar: लेच्छै[वि*] ४०(+*)४. In my opinion Jayaswal and Majumdar are beside the mark. For अचछ=अत्यचय, cf. मोगल्लान=मौद्गल्यायण.

[4] Jayaswal: सप or सब

[5] Or ०नंदे. Jayaswal: ०खते (or ०खेते) वट(or वेट)-नंदी ; Chanda: यख स (?) वटनंदि ; Majumdar: यखे सं वजिनां ७०

January, 1925, p. 59; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, VII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 160-63; D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 1st century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेध-याजिनः सेनापतेः[2] पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन[3] कौशिकीपुत्रेण धन…[4]

2 धर्मराज्ञा[5] पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं[6] कारितं (तम्) (॥*)

No. 10—Pabhosā Cave Inscriptions of the time of Ūdāka.—Regnal Year 10.

PABHOSĀ, near Kosam, Allāhābād District, U. P.
HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1887, p. 104; A. FÜHRER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 242f.; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 904-05.

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[1] From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, X. The equalization of the upper verticals of consonants except ल, the constant use of *serif* and the angular forms of म, ज, प, फ, स, ल and ष show beyond doubt that the record cannot be much earlier than the first century A.D.

[2] Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice is referred to in the *Mahābhāshya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which also styles him as *Senāpati*. The title appears to have been popular even after his accession to the throne. Pushyamitra possibly never assumed any royal title even after his accession to imperial power. Cf. the case of the Peshwas.

[3] I.e., sixth in descent from Pushyamitra probably from the side of the mother. This interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record. Sanskrit usage would require पुष्यमित्रात्; but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit. The interpretation "sixth brother of Pushyamitra" is out of the question.

[4] We may have धनदेवेन, धनदेन, धनकेन, धननन्दिना, धनभूतिना, धनमित्रेण, धनदत्तेन, धनदासेन, etc. But the father's name फल्गुदेव makes the case of धनदेवेन a little better. He was apparently a local ruler of the Ayodhyā region.

[5] Read धर्मराजेन.

[6] A building (for the accommodation of an image of the deceased); or, a structure or pillar (ध्वज-स्तम्भ) on the cremation ground in memory of Phalgudeva.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.[1]

No. I

(on a rock outside the cave)

TEXT[2]

1 राज्ञो गोपाली-पुतस
2 बहसतिमितस[3]
3 मातुलेन गोपालिया-
4 वैह[ा]दरी-पुतेन [आसा][4]
5 आसाढसेनेन लेनं
6 कारितं ऊदाक[स][5] दस-
7 म-सवछरे * * हि * त[6] अरहं-
8 [त*]। … …. …. (॥*)

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[1] Führer assigns the records to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and Bühler to *circa* 150 B.C. The characters have however some peculiarities in common with the inscriptions of the Śakas of Mathurā. They exhibit angular forms of *aksharas* and also the *serif*; cf. त in lines 1-2, न in line. 2, etc., in No. I. Note also the developed sign for medial *i*, and the curved base of न and developed medial *u* in No. II.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

[3] He appears to be the king whose coins have been discovered at Rāmnagar (ancient Ahichchhatra, capital of Pañchāla), Bareilly District, and Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī, capital of Vatsa), Allāhābād District, U. P. See Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 146, 155, 185. This king may possibly be identified with Bahasatimita, king of the Magadhas, mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st century B C.). For two names of Mitra kings on the Bodhgayā rail pillars and on coins found at Kumrahar (Gayā District), see Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 327. The line is carried further by the Mora inscription describing the daughter of Bahasatimita as the wife of the king (possibly of Mathurā) and as the mother of living sons. Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 120; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 525.

[4] These redundant letters of the name were afterwards erased.

[5] Führer: उदा०. स is partially preserved. Ūdāka was apparently a king of the Kosam region. He has been identified with the Śuṅga king who succeeded Vasumitra. This record however cannot be placed so early as the 2nd century B. C.

[6] Führer: कश्यपीयानं; but the last letter is certainly त, not न; या is different in shape from या in line 3; श्य is doubtful. The reading may be: १० अहिकत०

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः गोपाळी-पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतिमित्रस्य (यद्वा—बृहत्स्वातीमित्रस्य) मातुलेन गोपाळिका-वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन लयनं (=गुहावासः) कारितम् ऊदाकस्य दशम-संवत्सरे अहिच्छत्रार्हतां [सुपरिग्रहे=॰ग्रहाय] ॥

No. II

(inside the cave)

TEXT[1]

1 अधिछत्राया राञो शोनकायन-पूत्रस्य[2] वंगपालस्य

2 पुत्रस्य राञ[ो] तेवणी-पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य[3] पुत्रेण

3 वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण अ[ा*]षाढसेनेन कारितं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अधिच्छत्रायाः (=अहिच्छत्रायाः[4]) राज्ञः शौनकायनी-पुत्रस्य वंगपाळस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः तैवर्णी-पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [लयनम्] ॥

No. 10A—Kosam Stone Inscription

MASHARFA near Kosam, Allahabad District, U.P.
D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 158-9 ; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. B. R. S.*, XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 1-5.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT[5]

1 नमो भगव[तो][6] 2 सथवाहस

---

[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

[2] Read शोनकायनी. Faint traces of a medial *i* are visible. The metronymics may have something to do with the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society. But they are certainly directly connected with Indian polygyny. A metronymic distinguished a person from the issues of his many step-mothers.

[3] Read भाग॰.

[4] The more popular अहिच्छत्र is a Prakritized form of अधिच्छत्र.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind*, XVIII.

[6] Sahni : भगवते.

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3 मानिभदस[1] (।*)
4 गहपतिकस
5 एजावति-पुतस
6 वारिस[2] पुतस गहपतिको
7 सेलिया-पुतो
8 कुसपाळो(ल)-नामा (।*)
9 तस पुतेन
10 गहपतिकेन
11 गोतिपुतेन
12 अशिकायं कारिता
13 वेदिका (।*) पियतं
14 [भगवा] (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः भगवते सार्थवाहाय[3] माणिभद्राय (=मणिभद्र इति यक्षाय)। गृहपतिकस्य इज्यावती-पुत्रस्य वारिणः पुत्रः गृहपतिकः शैलिका-पुत्रः कुशपाल-नामा। तस्य पुत्रेण गृहपतिकेन गौप्तीपुत्रेण अशिकायां (=अशिकाख्य-स्थाने)[4] कारिता वेदिका [मणिभद्र-मन्दिरे] (यद्वा—मणिभद्र-प्रतिमा-स्थापनार्थ-पीठः)। प्रीयतां भगवान् [मणिभद्रः] ॥

No. 10B—Jagatpur Brick Inscriptions of Śīlavarman

JAGATPUR, Dehradun District, U.P.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, *J.O.R.*, XXI, pp. 1-31; XXII, p. 100; *Indian Archaeology 1953-54—A Review*, ed. by A. GHOSH, p. 11.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī of the third century A.D.

Metre: श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

---

[1] Sahni takes *Māṇibhadra* to mean 'a devotee of Yaksha Maṇibhadra'. But Māṇibhadra is just another form of the Yaksha's name.

[2] These letters had been omitted and were later incised above the line.

[3] The Yaksha Maṇibhadra or Māṇibhadra was especially worshipped by the merchants and seems to have been conceived as a merchant or a leader of caravans; cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 65, 22. See also *Journ. Or. Inst.*, II, pp. 352, 354.

[4] Aśikā may be the old name of Masharfa in the vicinity of Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī). Sahni takes *aśikā* to stand for *āśmikā* and translates *aśikāyaṁ......vedikā* as "this railing of stone"!

TEXT[1]

No. 1

1 सिद्धम्[2]

युगेश्वरस्याश्वमेधे युगशैळ-महीपते(ः ।*)
इष्टका वार्षगण्यस्य नृपतेश्शीलवर्म्मण(ः ॥*)[3]

No. 2

नृपतेर्व्वार्षगण्यस्य पोण-षष्ठस्य धीमत(ः ।*)
चतुर्थस्याश्वमेधस्य चित्यो(ऽ*)यं शीलवर्म्मण(ः ॥*)[4]

No. 10C—Bhadrak Stone Inscription of the time of Gaṇa—Regnal Year 8

A locality near BHADRAK, Balasore District, Orissa.
D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, pp. 169-74.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of the third century A. D.

TEXT[5]

1 [6]महराज-सिरि-ग[णस सं ८ ।] मूळजपे[न] देवा ३ दता (।*)
2 * * वप[7] ८० (।*) महाकुळपति-अय्य-अगिसमेणं पानिदे वडिदं पडिछिदं (।*)
3 ....[8][भद] अपवस महासर खळि अडसम [।]

---

[1] From the text quoted and Plates published by Ghosh and Ramachandran.

[2] This is followed by a symbol often found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (see No. 49 below).

[3] The inscribed bricks belonged to king Śīlavarman of the Vṛishagaṇa or Vārshagaṇya *gotra*. He is called 'lord of Yuga' and 'lord of the Yuga hill'. It is difficult to determine whether Yuga-śaila and Yuga were the names Śīlavarman's capital and kingdom. Ramachandran sometimes reads वर्षगण्यस्य which is unwarranted.

[4] Śīlavarman performed no less than four Aśvamedhas. He was the sixth in descent from Poṇa who seems to have been the progenitor of his family. This line of kings possibly succeeded in founding a kingdom about the present Dehradun region on the ruins of the Kushāṇa empire. The bricks were used to build the *chitya* of the Śīlavarman's fourth horse-sacrifice. The word has been used in the sense of *chaitya*, "an altar," or "a sacrificial shed". In this sense, both *chitya* and *chityā* are sometimes used in literature. Ramachandran sometimes wrongly reads पनषंष्ठस्य (पूर्वषष्ठस्य).

[5] From impressions.

[6] There are traces of the *siddham* symbol at this place.

[7] Probably a land measure like *āḍhavāpa* is intended.

[8] Traces of the damaged letters here suggest a word like *adhivāsika*.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य श्रीगगस्य सं ८ (=संवत्सरे अष्टमे)। मूलजपेन देवाः ३ दत्ताः (=तिस्रः देव-प्रतिमाः उत्सर्गिताः)। [आढ]वापाः ८० (=अशीत्याढवापात्मिका भूमिः च प्रदत्ता)। [तत् सर्व्वं] महाकुलपत्यार्य्याग्निशर्म्मणा (=तदाख्य-मन्दिराध्यक्षेण) पानिदे (=तदाख्य-स्थाने) वंटितं (=भूमिवण्टनं=भूमिभागः) प्रतीच्छितं (=परिगृहीतम्)। ......अधिवासिकाः (=अमुक-स्थान-वास्तव्याः) भद्रः अपवर्षः महासारः खली अटशर्मा [इति दानकर्म्मणः साक्षिणः] ॥

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDO-GREEKS[1]

No. 11—Inscription on some Coins of Demetrios (c. 190—160 B.C.)[2]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 9, No. 1[3]

First Side[4]

Bust of king to right, diademed, wearing elephant's scalp.

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[1] The Bactrian Greeks (=Yavanas) were a factor in Indian politics from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.; but they had gradually to give way to the Skytho-Parthians from about the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Sometimes several Indo-Greek kings of more than one royal house ruled contemporaneously from their capitals at places like Kāpiśi, (capital of Kāpiśa=Kafiristan), Pushkarāvatī (Charsadda), Takshaśilā and Śākala (Sialkot). Duplication of kings and their relation or contemporaneity are sometimes suggested on the basis of similarity or dissimilarity of coin types. But in some cases they may be due to local or other reasons. See *supra*, p. 83, n. 1; *infra*, p. 111, n. 3.

[2] About the middle of the 3rd century B.C., Diodotos I, governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleukidan emperor of Syria. He was succeeded by Diodotos II whose successor was Euthydemos. Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiokhos II (the Seleukidan emperor who had given him a daughter when the independence of Bactria was recognised), conquered portions of Northern and Western India including probably Kābul, the Punjab and Sind about 190 B.C. The scalp of the Indian elephant refers to conquests in India.

[3] For the coins noticed in these pages, consult also other Catalogues of Coins, such as the British Museum Catalogue of Gardner and the Punjab Museum Catalogue of Whitehead and also works like those of Cunningham. The wide extent of the empire of Demetrios is suggested by the existence of a city named Demetriaspolis in Arakhosia and of another named Dattāmitrī (after Dattāmitra=Demetrios) in Sauvīra (eastern part of lower Sind). He has been identified with Timita of a Besnagar seal. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 319.

[4] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate I, No. 9.

Second Side

Young Herakles[1] standing, facing, crowning himself with right hand, and holding club and lion's skin in the left ; monogram ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(right) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (=*basilēōs*)
(left) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (=*Demetriou*).[2]

No. 12—Inscription on some oblong Copper Coins of Pantaleon (c. 160-155 B.C.)[3]

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 10, No. 1

First Side[4]

Leopard,[5] standing to right, in square incuse ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] (=*basilēōs*)
(below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (=*Pantalēontos*)

Second Side

Female figure[6] to left, dancing, clad in loose robe and trousers,[7] with long ear-rings ; flower in right hand[8] ; no monogram ; inscription in Brāhmī characters :—

(right) **रजने** (left) **पतलवस** (=**राज्ञः पन्तलेवस्य ।**)

---

[1] Herakles (Roman Hercules) is the Greek god of strength.

[2] *Basilēōs Demetriou*=[the coin] of king Demetrios.

[3] Pantaleon was a king of the north-western part of India about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The oblong shape and Brāhmī script are peculiarly Indian. He was probably related to Agathokles (c. 155-135 B.C.), Antimakhos (c. 150-135 B.C.) and Apollodotos I (c. 140-120 B.C.), all possibly belonging to the house of Demetrios. The provenance and script of Pantaleon's coins show that he ruled over a wide area for a short time. The suggestion that Pantaleon and Agathokles were kings of Western Paropanisadae and Arakhosia (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 546) is rendered doubtful by their use of Brāhmī.

[4] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate II, No. 1. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of king Pantaleon".

[5] Maneless lion, according to Smith.

[6] She is generally regarded as a dancing girl. Coomaraswamy suggests Śrī or Lakshmī (*Eastern Art*, I, pp. 175 ff.).

[7] The dress is described as "oriental costume" by Whitehead.

[8] Possibly the lotus held in the hand is what is called *līlā-kamala*.

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No. 13—Inscription on some Coins of Eukratides (c. 175-155 B.C.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 29

First Side[2]

Bust of king to right, diademed and with helmet in the shape of high-crowned *Kausia* (flat cap), adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest; astragalus border; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
(=*basilēōs mēgalou*)
(below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (=*Eukratidou*).

Second Side

The Dioskuroi[3] standing, facing, each holding a long spear, and wearing a sword; monogram E and Y combined; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) रजस महतकस (below) एउक्रतिद[स)
(=राज्ञः महतः एवुक्रतिदस्य ।)

No. 14—Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander

(c. 115-90 B.C.) and of Vijayamitra—Regnal year 5

SHINKOT, Bajaur Tribal Territory[4]

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, p. 7; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 318ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 114-15; Sten Konow, *N.I.A.*, January, 1940, pp. 639-48; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 52ff.

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[1] Eukratides became the lord first of Bactria and then of North-Western India. He was contemporary with the early kings of Euthydemos's line and wrested many parts of the Kabul Valley and North-Western India from the latter.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate II, No. 9. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of the great king Eukratides". *Rajasa mahatakasa* in the Indian translation was soon changed to *maharajasa*. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 12, No. 17.

[3] The Greek twin gods Kastor and Pollux like the Indian Aśvinikumāras. They were typically represented as horsemen and were patrons of games and equestrian exercises, Kastor being a horse-tamer and Pollux a boxer.

[4] The place is about 20 miles west of the Panjkora-Swat confluence beyond the borders of the former North-West Frontier Province.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī[1]

TEXT[2]

Group I

A

(*on the rim of the lid*)

......मिनेद्रस[3] महरजस कटिअस दिवस ४(+*) ४(+*) ४(+*)१ (+*)१[4] प्र[ण]-[स]मे[द]...

---

[1] In Gr. I the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes; but in Gr. II the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. The first has ग with a rounded head; in the second it has an acute angle. The letter न in Gr. I has a long sweep in its top curve as in Aśoka's edicts; in Gr. II however the curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance as in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The letter स of the first Group is generally of the closed type as in Aśoka's edicts and Graeco-Bactrian coin-legends, while in Gr. II the letter shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop as in the records of the Śaka period. These characteristics have led Majumdar to think that there is a gap of more than 50 years between the two Groups. He places Gr. I in the 2nd and Gr. II in the first century B.C. According to Sten Konow, the record does not mention any feudatory of Menander who himself installed the relics and Viyakamitra, the same as Vijayamitra, restored the relics about a century after Menander. None of the suggestions appears to be acceptable. We are inclined to suggest that Vijayamitra was the son or more probably the grandson of Viyakamitra (Vīryaka° or Vīryāṅkamitra), a feudatory of Menander. He was the father of the *Apracharāja* Indravarman whose coins have been discovered (*Num. Chron.*, 1944, pp. 99 ff.). This Indravarman was the father of Aspavarman who was a *strategos* first under Azes II and then under Gondophernes (21-46 A.D.). The approximate chronology of these rulers would thus be as follows: Viyakamitra—close of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century B.C; Vijayamitra—2nd and 3rd quarters of the 1st century B.C.; Indravarman—3rd and 4th quarters of the 1st century B.C.; Aspavarman—1st half of the 1st century A.D. This seems to suggest that Menander could not have flourished so early as the middle of the 2nd century B.C. as is usually supposed (see note on No. 15 below) The absence of the mention of Vijayamitra's overlord in the latter part of the inscription seems to suggest that Vijayamitra was ruling at a period when the Greek power was already on the decline after Menander's death.

[2] From Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

[3] The date portion at the beginning is lost. Note the Indianisation of the name.

[4] The third figure is inscribed below the line. It is to be noted that the number 14 is here not expressed as in Brāhmī with 10 and 4. The months' names were popularised in Indian epigraphy by foreigners.

A_1

(in the centre of the lid)

....[प्रति*][थवि]त (।*)

A_2

(inner face of the lid)

प्रण-समे[द] [शरिर*] [भगव*][तो] शकमुनिस (।*)[1]

B^2

(inside of the casket)

वियकमित्रस[3] अप्रचरजस (।*)

Group II

C

(centre of the lid)

1 विजय[मित्रे]ण[4]...
2 पते प्रदिथविदे (।*)

---

[1] According to Sten konow, sections A, A_1 and A_2 only belong to Menander's time.

[2] Sten Konow reads section B between पंचविश्रये and इयो in section D, line 2.

[3] The additional stroke at the foot of स may indicate that the *akshara* is स्य. Viyakamitra appears to have been a feudatory of Menander. प्राण-समेत refers to the Buddhist belief that the Buddha's relics could perform miracles.

[4] ण is clear, but ignored by Majumdar. There were at least two *aksharas* after ण, the lower parts of which are visible. Konow : विजयमित्र [प्रवर]. Vijayamitra, successor of Viyakamitra, has been identified with the king of that name whose son's coins bearing legends in Greek and Kharoshṭhī characters and belonging to the first century B. C. have been discovered in Taxila. See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, p. 168, Plate XVII. He reads the legend on the coins as विजयमित्र-पुत्रस इत्रवर्मस अप्रचरजस (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1944, pp. 99-104).

D

(*inside of the casket*)

1 इमे शरिर पलुगभुद्रओ न सकरे अवित (।*) स शरिअत्रि कलद्रे नो[1] शध्रो न पिंडोयकेयि पित्रि ग्रिणयत्रि (।*)[2]

2 तस ये पत्रे अपोमुअ वषये पंचमये ४(+*)१ वेश्रखस मसस दिवस पंचविश्रये इयो

3 प्रतिथवित्रे विजयमित्रेन अप्रचरजेन भग्रवतु शकिमुणिस समस[ं]बुधस शरिर (।*)

E

(*on the back of the casket*)

विश्पिलेन अणंकतेन[3] लिखित्रे (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Gr. I : A [संवत्सरे]··· मीनेन्द्रस्य महाराजस्य कार्त्तिकस्य [मासस्य] दिवसे १४ प्राण-समेतं [शरीरं] A$_1$ [भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः] प्रतिष्ठापितम्। A$_2$ प्राणसमेतं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः। B वीर्यकमित्रस्य अप्रत्यग्राजस्य[4] (=महाराजासमराजस्य=सामन्तस्य। यद्वा—अपत्यराजस्य)॥ Gr. II : B विजयमित्रेण····पात्रं प्रतिष्ठापितम्। C इदं शरीरं प्ररुग्ण-भूतकं (=भग्नं भूतं) न सत्कारैः आदृतम्। तत् शीर्यते कालतः, [अत्र कः अपि] न श्रद्धः (=श्रद्धालुः) न [च] पिण्डोदकानि पितॄन् ग्राहयति। तस्य एतत् पात्रं वर्षके पञ्चमके ५ वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे पंचविंशके इह [पुनः] प्रतिष्ठापितं

---

[1] Sten Konow : इमे शरिर पलुग भुत् ठन सकरेअति ; तस शरिअति कलद्रे नो शध्रो न [पिंतो]यकेयि पिति ग्रिणयति. 'This relic, its place having become damaged, is caused to be repaired. Its periodical offering is discontinued: not does anybody let the *Pitaras* get *Srāddha*, not *Piṇḍodaka*.'

[2] Majumdar : न

[3] Sten Konow : अणंकयेन. According to this scholar, *anaṁkaya*=Greek *anamkaios* was used to indicate the king's advisors, court and friends and became something like an honorific title (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1939, p. 265). Both the reading and interpretation are unconvincing.

[4] *Apracharāja* has been interpreted as "king without a rival" "king of the west (*a-prāchya*)", etc.

विजयमित्रेन अप्रत्यग्राजेन, भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य [नवं] शरीरं [च अस्मिन् पात्रे प्रतिष्ठापितम्]। E विश्विलेन आज्ञाकृता (=आज्ञाकारिणा) लिखितम् ॥

No. 15—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 22

First Side[2]

Bust of king to right, helmeted; inscription in Greek characters: –
(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (=*basilēōs sōteros*)
(below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (*Mēnandrou*)

Second Side

Pallas Athene[3] to left, holding aegis in left hand and hurling thunderbolt with right hand; monogram; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) महरजस त्रतरस
(below) मेनद्रस
(=महाराजस्य त्रातुः मेनन्द्रस्य ॥)

---

[1] He seems to have extended his power over some parts of Western India. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 80 A.D.) refers to the coins of Appolodotos and Menander current in his time at Barugaza (Broach). Numismatists usually assign Menander to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.; but Gardner placed him about 110 B C. (Smith, *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 258). He has been identified with the Yona (=Yavana or Greek) king Milinda who became a disciple of the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena, according to the *Milindapañho* which places him 500 years (i.e. in the 5th century) after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* that occurred in 544 B. C. according to the Ceylonese tradition Milinda's capital was at Śākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab). He possibly ruled about the end of the second century B.C. The name is found as Milindra in the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kshemendra and the Tibetan Tangyur collections (Smith, *op. cit*, p. 4n.).

[2] From Smith's Catalogue, Plate V No. 1. The Greek inscription means: "[the coin] of king Menander, the saviour."

[3] The Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom (=Roman Minerva).

No. 16—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Strato I[1] and [his mother] Agathokleia the Queen-regent (c. 90-85 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 21

First Side[2]

Bust of queen to right, bare-headed; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ] [ΘΕ]ΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (=*basilisses thēotropou*)[3]
(below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (=*Agathoklēias*)

Second Side

Herakles seated to left on rock; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) [महरजस] त्रतर]स ध्रमिकस
(below) [स्त्र]तस
(=महाराजस्य त्रातुः धार्मिकस्य स्त्रतस्य ॥)

---

[1] He ruled probably in the Eastern Punjab from about 85 to about 80 B. C. He is supposed to have been the son of Menander and to have been ousted by Heliokles (c. 130-80 B.C.) from Nikaea (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 699). This Heliokles need not have been the son and immediate successor of Eukratides.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate IV, No. 11.

[3] It is interesting that the obverse refers to the queen-regent and the reverse to the minor king. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of queen Agathokleia true to the gods." She may have been the daughter of Agathokles and the wife of Menander.

No. 17—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Antialkidas (c. 110-80 B.C.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 15, No. 1

First Side[2]

Bust of king to right, diademed: inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΕΦΟΡΟΥ (=*basilēōs nikēphorou*)
(below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ (=*Antialkidou*)

Second Side

Zeus[3] on throne, to left, laureate, holding long sceptre in left hand; and, in right hand, a small figure of Nikē[4] who holds palm and a wreath, towards which the forepart of a small elephant[5] to left, with bell round neck, extends its trunk; monogram; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) **महरजस जयधरस**
(below) **अंतिअलिकितस**
(**=महाराजस्य जयधरस्य अन्तियलिकिद्स्य ॥**)

---

[1] Antialkidas belonging to the house of Eukratides ruled in the Taxila region about the end of the second century B C. He is mentioned in the Besnagar inscription of the 14th year of Bhāgabhadra who must be placed some years later than Pushyamitra (c. 184-148 B.C.) and Agnimitra (c. 148-140 B.C) and possibly after their two successors who ruled for 17 years according to the Purāṇas. He might have sought assistance of the Vidiśā king against the aggression of the great conqueror Menander, king of Śākala and a scion of the rival house of Euthydemos.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate III, No. 1. On some copper specimens modified later forms of *sigma* and *omega* are noticed.

[3] Roman Jupiter, the parallel of Indian Indra.

[4] The Greek goddess of victory; cf. the title *nikēphoros*=जयधर. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of the victorious king Antialkidas."

[5] The elephant which reminds us of Indra's Airāvata possibly indicates an approach towards the identification of Zeus with Indra.

No. 18—Inscription on some Coins of Hermaios[1] (c. 20-30 A.D.) and [his queen] Kalliope

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 31

First Side[2]

Busts of king and queen to right, both diademed ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (=*basilēōs sōteros Ērmaiou*)

(below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ (=*kai Kalliopes*)

Second Side

King helmeted and diademed, on prancing horse to right, with bow and spear at his back ; monogram ; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) **महरजस त्रतरस हेरमयस**

(below) **कलियपय**

(=**महाराजस्य त्रातुः हेरमयस्य कलियपायाः [च] ॥**)

---

[1] He seems to have belonged to the house of Eukratides and to have ruled in the first half of the first century A. D. He was the last Greek king of the Kabul region and was supplanted by the Parthians, probably by Gondophernes. These joint issues may indicate a union of the rival houses of Eukratides and Euthydemos.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VI, No. 11. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour, and of Kalliope."

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No. 19—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Hermaios and of the Kushāṇa Yavuga Kujula Kasa[1] (c. 25-55 A.D.)

SMITH,[2] *Catalogue*, p. 33

First Side

Bust of Hermaios to right, diademed; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΤΗΡΟ]ΣΣΥ[3] ΕΡ[ΜΑΙΟΥ] (=*basilēōs sterossu Ērmaiou*)

Second Side

Herakles facing, diademed; with right hand he holds club resting on ground, and with left hand lion's skin; circular inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

कुजुळ-कसस [कूषन-यवु]गस ध्रम-थिंदस[4]

(**=कुजुळ-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य [=कुषाणवंशीय-नायकस्य] धर्म-स्थितस्य ॥**)

---

[1] He has been identified with Kadphises I. *Yavuga* is supposed to be a Turkish word meaning "a prince". The Kushāṇas gradually ousted the Greeks and the Skytho-Parthians from the sovereignty of the Kabul region and the north-western part of India. The joint issues may indicate that Kadphises I at first accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Greeks of Kabul. They may be similar to the coins of the East India Company issued in the name of Shāh 'Alam II (Whitehead, *Cat.*, II, Nos. 2964-67). In Kabul the Greeks were supplanted by the Parthians and the Parthians by the Kushāṇas. Kadphises I did not conquer the region of the Indus.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VI, No. 14.

[3] Read ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. ΣΥ was regarded by Cunningham as a prefix to the king's name. The Greek inscription means: '[the coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour;" but in some cases *sōtēros* is wrongly translated as मह्तस.

[4] On Kadphises' own coins (see *infra*) we sometimes get सच-ध्रम-ठितस (=सत्य-धर्म-स्थितस्य) which possibly refers to his devotion to the religion of the Buddha.

No. 20—Swat Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros

A Paṭhān village in the Swāt Valley ; now Panjab Museum. F. W. Thomas, *Fest. Ernst Windisch*, p. 362 ; Sten Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 4.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshṭhī of *circa* 1st century B. C.

TEXT[1]

1 थेउदोरेन मेरिदर्खेन प्रतिठविद्र इमे शरिर शकमुणिस भग्रवतो बहु-जण-[हिति]ये[2] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

'थेवदोरेण +मेरिदर्खेण (=विषयपतिना=प्रदेश-शासकेन ; Greek *meridarkhes*) प्रतिष्ठापितम् इदं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) शाक्यमुनेः (=बुद्धस्य) भगवतः बहुजन-हिताय ॥

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SKYTHO-PARTHIANS AND THE KUSHĀṆAS

(i) Inscriptions Dated in the Older Skytho-Parthian Reckoning and Connected Records

No. 21—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Maues

(c. 20 B.C.-20 A.D.)[3]

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 39

First Side[4]

Zeus standing to left, clad in himation ; grasping long sceptre with left hand; right arm extended; inscription in Greek characters:—

---

[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind* , II, i.

[2] Thomas : ॰जतिष्टितिये ; Konow : ॰जणस्तितिये

[3] This date of Maues is based on the supposition that he is the same as Moga of the Taxila record (*infra*, No. 27). He seems to have originally been a subordinate of Vonones of East Iran and to have carried to India the use of the latter's era which started from 58 B.C. and was later called the Kṛita, Mālava or Vikrama era. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125 ff. Maues imitated the coin-types of Demetrios and Strato I.

[4] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VIII, No. 2.

(above, in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΜΑΥΟΥ (=*Mauou*)

Second Side

Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand and palm bound with fillet in left hand; monogram in right field; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above, in semicircle) **रजदिरजस महतस**

(below) [मो]अस[1]

(=**राजातिराजस्य महतः मोयस्य [=मोगस्य] ॥**)

No. 22—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azes I[2] (c. 10-35 A.D.)

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 43

First Side[3]

Zeus standing to left; right hand extended; long sceptre with fillet in left hand; inscription in Greek characters[4]:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below ΑΖΟΥ (=*Azou*)

---

[1] Another Indian form of the name is *Moga*. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Maues, the great king of kings." The title is derived from *Khshāyathiyānam Khshāyathiya* of Old Persian inscriptions.

[2] He possibly succeeded Maues=Moga in the Gandhāra region and conquered the Eastern Punjab from Hippostratos. He was probably the son of Spalirises of East Iran and the son-in-law of Maues and succeeded to the Indian possessions of Maues. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 126.

[3] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VIII, No. 9. On some specimens the square *omicron* is noticed.

[4] The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Azes, the great king of kings."

Second Side

Winged Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand, and palm with fillet in left hand; monogram to right; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) **महरजस रजरजस महतस**

(below) **अयस**

(**=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयस्य ॥**)

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azilises[1]

(c. 30-40 A.D.)

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 49

First Side

King on horse-back to right, with lance; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ (=*Azilisou*)[2]

Second Side

Pallas Athene to left, thunder-bolt in right hand and aegis in left hand; monogram in the left and Kharoshṭhī स्त in the right field; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) **महरजस रजरजस महतस**

(below) **अयिलिषस**

(**=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयिलिषस्य ॥**)

---

[1] He was succeeded by Azes II (c. 35-75 A.D.). Aspavarman was a *strategos* (=सेनापति or governor) first under Azes II and then under Gondopharnes, while his nephew Sasa under the latter and Pakores.

[2] The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Azilises, the great king of kings."

No. 24—Mathurā Lion-Capital Inscriptions of the time of Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A.D.) and Śoḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttra) District, U.P.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XXVI, pp. 542-44; F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 141 ff.; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i, p. 48 (No. XV).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

Group I

A (i)

1 महक्ष[त्र]वस रजुलस
2 अग्रमहेषि् अयसिअ
3 कमु[स]अ[3] धित
4 खर्र(र्हं?)ओस्तस युवरञ
5 मत्र नदद्रि(सि?)अकस[ए?][4]

---

[1] From the Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IX, and *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II i. The seemingly unnecessary subscript r modifies the sound of the superscript consonant

[2] The first section may be and has been differently interpreted: "By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Āyasī Komūsā (masculine), mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaosta, Nandasi-Akasā [by name]" (Thomas); "The chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasia Komuia, the daughter of the Yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Nada Diaka" (Konow). *Kshatrapa* is from Old Persian *Khshathrapāvan*, "a provincial governor". The late Marāṭhī royal title *Chhatrapati* is an echo of *Chhatrapa*, the Prakrit form of *Kshatrapa*. The relation between the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa was something like that between the Rājan and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations. Rājūla and Rañjuvula are different froms of the same name.

[3] Konow: कमुइअ. Kharraosta is from Old Persian *khshathra-osta*, 'the blessing of sovereignty'. Konow identifies him with Kharaosta, son of Arṭa.

[4] Konow: नद दिअकस [तये].

A (ii)

6 सध मत अबुहोल[ए]
7 पितमहि[1] पिश्प्रस्रिअ अ-
8 त्र हयुअरन सध हन धि[त][2]
9 अतेउरेन होरक-प[3]-
10 रिवरेन इश्र प्रढ्वि-प्रदे-
11 श्रे निसिमे[4] शरिर प्रतिठवितो
12 भक्रवतो शकमुनिस बुधस
13 म(?)किहि(?)र(त ?)य[5] सश्प [अ]भुसवित(?)[6]
14 थुव च सघरम च चतु-
15 दिश्रस सघस सर्व-
16 स्तिवतन परिग्रहे (॥*)[7]

C

1 कलुइ-अ-
2 वरजो

D

1 नउलुदो (।*)

---

[1] Better read °महिअ.

[2] Konow takes Hana to be the daughter of Hayuara.

[3] Konow and Lüders think होरक=होरमुर्त, a Skythic rendering of दानपति. But cf. *hūr* in Arabic and Persian meaning 'a virgin' or 'a celestial virgin'.

[4] Bühler explained निसिम (=निःसम) as an equivalent to स्तूप, and Thomas as निःसीम, a स्तूप outside the सीमा.

[5] Konow : मुकि[श्रि]रय, etc., "after having performed solemnities over the illustrious king Muki (=Maues) and his horse." Thomas : म(स?)किटे(हि?)र(?)य ; Indraji : मुकिहितय (=मुक्तिहिताय). The reading and interpretation of line 13 are doubtful.

[6] Thomas : सश्पए भुसवेति ? (=शाश्वतं भूयात् इति). Better read अश्प

[7] Konow reads section E after A.

Group II

B

1 महक्षत्रवस
2 वजुलस्य[1] पुत्र[2]
3 शुडसे क्षत्रवे[3]

E

1 खर̊(ह̊)ओस्तो युवरय
2 खलमस कुमर
3 मज कनिठ
4 समनमोत्र-

E (b)

1 क (।*) करित

K and L

1 अयरिअस
2 बुधत्रेवस
3 उत्रएन अयिमित(स ?)-

H

1 गुहविहरे

H(a)

1 धमदन (?)

F

1 बुधिलस नक्रअस
2 भिखुस सर्वस्तिवत्रस (।*)

---

[1] Read रजुल॰
[2] Konow reads section C here.
[3] Konow reads section D here.

G

1 महक्ष[त्र]वस्य कुसुलअस पदिकस मेव(?)किस[1]
2 मियिकस क्षत्रवस पुयए (॥*)

E (a)

1 कमुइओ (।*)

Group III

M

1 क्षत्रवे शुडिसे
2 इमो पढ़वि-
3 प्रलेश्रो

I

1 वेयउदिर्न[2] कधवरो बुसप-
2 रो कध-
3 वरो
4 वियउ-

J (1 and 2)

1 र्व * * * * * * पलिछिन (?)[3]
2 निसिमो करित नियतितो

J (3)

1 सर्वस्तिवतन परि(?)ग्रहे

---

[1] This Patika may have been identical with the person of the same name mentioned in No. 27 below. Mevaki (Maues?) may be the same as Moga of that record. The families of all these Śaka chiefs may have been interrelated. But a difficulty in identifying Patika of the two records is that the date of the present inscription, in which Soḍāsa is called a Kshatrapa, is earlier than the Mathura inscription of year 72 (15 A.D.) when Soḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa. Kusuluka Patika is here called a Mahākshatrapa; but in the Taxila epigraph of year 78 (21 A.D.) he is represented as a *Mahādānapati* under his father, Kshatrapa Liaka Kuśuluka. Kusuluka Patika of this record thus seems to have been the father of Mahâkshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and grandfather of Mahādânapati Patika of the latter record.

[2] वेयउ seems to be the same as वियउ in section I, line 4.

[3] Konow reads here उर्वरपरेण पलिच्छिन, 'limited by Urvarapara.' Thomas however notes that 7 or 8 *aksharas* before पलि are quite obscure owing to the stones having peeled away. Thomas : पलिष्टे(?)न. Konow's reading छ here as well as in No. 33, line 2, is ustified by the form of the letter in the Central Asian documents. See *Khar. Ins.*, III, Plate XIV, Nos. 35-37.

N

1 अयरिअस बुधिलस नक्ररक्रस भिखु-
2 स सर्वस्तिवत्रस पग्र-
3 न महसघिअन प्र-
4 म(?)ज्ञ-विवत्रे खलुलस (॥*)

O

1 सर्वबुधन पुय (।*) धमस
2 पुय (।*) सघस पुय (।*)

P

1 सर्वस सक्रस्त-
2 नस पुयए (।*)

Q

1 खर्दअस
2 क्षत्रवस (।*)

R

1 रक्षिलस
2 क्रोनिनस (।*)

J (a)

1 खलशमु-
2 शो (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Group I : A (i). महाक्षत्रपस्य राजूलस्य अग्र-महिषी, आयसेः कोमुसाः दुहिता, खरवस्तस्य युवराजस्य माता [या, तया] नदसियकसया—

A (ii). सार्द्धं मात्रा आबुहोलया, पितामह्या पिशपस्या, भ्रात्रा हयुयरेण, सार्द्धं हना [इति] दुहित्रा, आन्तःपुरेण 'होरका-परिवारेण (=अन्तःपुरस्य स्त्रीसङ्घेन [च]) अस्मिन् पृथिवी-प्रदेशे निःसीमे (=स्तूपवहिःस्थे परंतु तत्संलग्ने तत्स्वत्वके च स्थाने) शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः बुद्धस्य, [सर्वेषां] मुक्ति-हिताय (?) अभ्युत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः=कारितः) स्तूपः च सङ्घारामः च चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य सर्वास्तिवादानां (=०वादिनां) परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) ॥

C ०कालुय्यवरजः

D नवूलदः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

Group II : B महाक्षत्रपस्य राजूलस्य पुत्रे शोडाशे क्षत्रपे [शासति],

E खरवस्तः युवराजः, खळमसः कुमारः, मजः कनिष्ठः [च इति] समनुमोद-

E(b) काः [वक्ष्यमानस्य धर्मदानस्य] ; कारितम्

K and L आचार्यस्य बुद्धदेवस्य [शिष्येण] उदयेन आजिमित्र(यद्वा—आयिमेः)-

H, H (a). गुहाविहारे धर्मदानं

F बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय (=नगर-वास्तव्याय)[1] भिक्षवे सर्वास्तिवादाय (=तस्य परिग्रहाय ।

G महाक्षत्रपस्य कुसुलुकस्य (कूसुलुक-पुत्रस्य ?) पतिकस्य, मेवकेः (मेवकि-पुत्रस्य ?) मियिकस्य [च] पूजायै ।

E(a) कामूयीयः [इति नवकर्मिकः?] ।

Group III : M क्षत्रपे शोडासे [शासति] अयं पृथिवी-प्रदेशः

I, J (1&2).—विजयोदीर्णम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः, पुत्रापुरम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः, [तं स्कन्धावारद्वये] त्रिजयोर्व ...परीक्षिणा (=तदाख्यपुरुषेण) निःसीमः (=स्तूपवहिःस्थं परंतु तदधीनं तत्स्वत्वकं च स्थानं) कारितः, निर्यातितः (=दत्तः) [च]

J (3). सर्वास्तिवादानां (=०वादिनां) परिग्रहे,

N आचार्याय वुद्धिलाय नागरकाय भिक्षवे, प्राग्राणां माहासाङ्घिकानां प्रामाण्यविस्वे[2] +खलूराय (? = मल्लभुवे = निकषसदृशाय) ॥

O सर्व-बुद्धानां पूजा । धर्मस्य पूजा । सङ्घस्य पूजा ।

P सर्वस्य शक-स्थानस्य (=शकदेशस्य ; Skythia, Indo-Skythia)[3] पूजायै ।

Q, R खर्दकस्य क्षत्रपस्य [पूजायै] । रक्षिलस्य, क्रोणिनस्य [च] [पूजायै] ॥

J (a) खलशमुशः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

---

[1] Possibly Nagara or Nagarahāra, modern Jalālābād. We may also have: आचार्याय बुद्धदेवाय (=तस्य परिग्रहाय) उदयेन···धर्मदानम् । बुद्धिलस्य···सर्वास्तिवादस्य [पूजायै] ।

[2] I e., "with reference to the knowledge of proof of the vanguard of the Māhāsāṅghikas (a Buddhist sect that was antagonistic to the sect of the Sarvāstivādins)." Konow makes प्रमां ज्ञपयितुम्, "to teach the truth".

[3] Fleet makes स्वक-स्थान and Majumdar शक्र-स्थान. Some take सर्वं as a proper name.

No. 25—The Mathura Votive Tablet Inscription of the time of Śodāsa—Year 72(=A.D. 15)

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at MATHURĀ

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 199; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 59; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243-44.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 नम अरहतो वर्धमानस[2] (।*)

2 स्व[ा]मिस महक्षत्रपस शोडासस स[ं]वत्सरे ७०[3] (+*)२ हेम[ं]त-मासे २ दिवसे
९ हरिति-पुतस पालस भयाये सम(न*)-स[ा]विकाये[1]

3 कोछिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुतेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आर्यवति[5]
[प्र]तिथापिता (।*) प्रिंय***[6]

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[1] From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

[2] Vardhamāna, Jina or Mahāvīra was the 24th Jain *tīrthaṅkara*. An *arhat* is described as सर्वज्ञो जितरागादिदोषस्त्रैलोक्यपूजितः। यथास्थितार्थवादी च देवोर्हन् परमेश्वरः॥ Vardhamāna was the actual founder of Jainism. The name Kaṅkālīṭīlā means the mound of Kaṅkālī, one of the 64 Yoginīs according to Jain works.

[3] Bühler suggested that the first figure of the date may be 40 (see, however, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 55, n. 2 where he gives up that view) or 70. It is 40 according to Rapson (*C.H.I.*, I, p. 575). Though it may be confused with the figure for 40 on the Kshatrapa coins (*Ind. Pal.*, Taf. ix, Col. v), there is no doubt that it is the same figure for 70 which is found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (*op. cit.*, Col. vii); see also *this very figure* in the Plate for the record No. 42 of the same Mathurā series (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212) where Bühler definitely reads it as 70. Most scholars (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 257, n.) now agree that the figure is to be read as 70. For the controversy between Rapson and Lüders, see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 118f; XI, p. 260f. The year has to be referred to the old Skytho-Parthian era which we identify with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. See note on No. 33 below.

[4] The restoration is due to Bühler.

[5] Bühler : आयवती. The name seems to refer to the figure of the Ārya or Arhat on the Āyāgaśilā.

[6] Bühler : प्राय*भ* The reading intended seems to be प्रियतां भगवती

4 आयवंति[1] अरहत-पूजाये (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हते वर्धमानाय। स्वामिनः[2] (=प्रजापालकस्य) महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे [द्विसप्ततितमे] ७२ हेमन्तमासे [द्वितीये] २ (=चातुर्मासिकस्य हेमन्तर्तोः द्वितीये मासे)[3] दिवसे [नवमे] ९ हारीती-पुत्रस्य पालस्य भार्यया श्रमण-श्राविकया (=जैनभिक्षु-शिष्यया) कौत्स्या (=कौत्सगोत्रजया) अमोहिन्या सह पुत्रैः पालघोषेण, प्रौष्ठघोषेण, धनघोषेण [च] आर्यवती (=जैनानां आयागपटाख्या पूजाशिला) प्रतिष्ठापिता। [प्रियतां भगवती] आर्यवती अर्हत्-पूजायै ॥

No. 26—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śodāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURA, U. P.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., V, p. 188, No. 29; CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III, p. 30; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 247.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[4]

1 स्वामिस्य महाक्षत्रपस्य शोंडासस्य[5] गंजवरेण[6] ब्राह्मणेन शेग्रव-सगोत्रेण [पुष्क*]-

2 रणि इमाषां यमड-पुष्करणीनं पश्चिमा पुष्करणि उदपानो आरामो स्तम्भो इ[मो*]

3 [शिला]पट्टो च ·· ···· (॥*)

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[1] Bühler : आर्यवती

[2] See notes on *infra*, No. 62.

[3] The ancient Indian year was divided into three seasons, viz., *grīshma* (Chaitra-Vaiśākha-Jyaishṭha-Āshāḍha), *varshā* (Śrāvaṇa-Bhādra-Āśvina-Kārttika) and *hemanta* (Mārgaśīrsha-Pausha-Māgha-Phālguna), each ending with a *chāturmāsī* (cf. notes on Bk. I, No 28 above and on No 40 below). Here is a compromise between the Greek (cf. date of No. 14 above) and Indian (cf. Śātavāhana inscriptions, *infra*) systems of dating.

[4] From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III.

[5] Possibly Śoḍāsa and Śoṇḍāsa were two forms of the name; cf. Rājūla = Rañjuvula.

[6] This word is originally Persian. The *Rājatar.*, VII, 42 (Stein, *Intro.*, pp. 37-38) speaks of an office concerned with *gṛiha-kṛitya* (domestic affairs) placed in charge of a *gañjavara* (treasurer) and five *dibiras* (secretaries). *Dibira* is another Persian word.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य गञ्जवरेण (=कोषाध्यक्षेण ब्राह्मणेन शौग्रव-सगोत्रेण पुष्करिणी—आभ्यां यमळ-पुष्करिणीभ्यां पश्चिमा (=पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थिता) पुष्करिणी, उदपानः (=कूपः), आरामः, स्तम्भः, अयं शिलापट्टः च [कारितः] ॥

No. 26A—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śodāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

From a well at Mora, 7 miles from Mathurā, U. P.

Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XX, p. 49, Plate V, No. 4; J. Ph. Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Math.*, p. 184, No. Q. 1; H. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 194.

Language: Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī
Metre: Bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita

TEXT[1]

1 [Svastika] महक्षत्रपस राजूवुलस पुत्रस स्वामि[स्य[2] महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे*]...
2 भगवतां वृष्णीणां पंचवीराणां[3] प्रतिमाः शैळ-देवगृ[हे स्थापिताः*]...
3 यस्तोष[ा*]याः शैलं श्रीमद्गृहमतुलमुदधसमधार (?)[4] – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
5 आर्चादेशां(?)[5] शैळां पंच ज्वलत इव परम-वपुषा ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – (1*)
6 – – – – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – . – – ⏑ – ⏑ –
7 – – – – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – (॥*)

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

[2] In Sanskrit : महाक्षत्रपस्य राजूवुलस्य पुत्रस्य स्वामिनः

[3] For the five deified Vṛishṇi heroes, see the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,, LXXIX, 1-2 :

सङ्कर्षणो वासुदेवः प्रद्युम्नः साम्ब एव च ।
अनिरुद्धश्च पञ्चैते वंशवीराः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥

See J. N. Banerjea, *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art*, X, pp. 65-68.

[4] The meaning of the section is not clear. The reading is also not beyond doubt.

[5] The meaning of the passage is doubtful.

No. 26B—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, U. P.

R. P. CHANDA, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 5, pp. 169-73; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 208; D. C. SIRCAR, *J.B.R.S.*, XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 45-48.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1-5 ....[2]

6 वसुना भगव[तो वासुदे*]

7 वस्य महास्थान[के देवकु*]-[3]

8 लं तोरणं वे[दिका प्रति*]-

9 ष्ठापितं(तम्)[4] (।*) प्रीतो भ[गवान् वासु*]-[5]

10 देवः स्वामि[स्य(नः) महाक्षत्र*]-

11 पस्य शोडास[स्य शासनं*][6]

12 संवर्त्तयतां(ताम्)[7] (॥*)

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Only traces of some letters in this part are visible.

[3] Chanda : महास्थान...[चतु:शा]लं ; Lüders : ...[शै]लं

[4] Others read °ष्ठापितो. Chanda : वेदिका:

Chanda : भ[वतु वासु]°

[6] Lüders : ऐश्वर्यं or आयुर्बलं. Chanda suggests a word meaning 'dominion' but used in the dual number.

[7] Chanda reads संवर्त्तयातां and suggests the emendation संवर्त्तयातां

No. *27*—Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of Patika—Year 78 (=A.D. 21)

THUPKIA, near Taxila, Rawalpindi District, West Punjab

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, pp. 221ff.; Bhagawanlal INDRAJI, *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 551ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 55f.; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 28 (No. XIII).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 [संवत्स]रये[2] अठसततिमए २०(+*)२०(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४(+*)४ महरयस महंतस [मो]गस प[ने*]मस[3] मसस दिवसे पंचमे ४ + *)१ एतये पुर्वये क्षहर[स][4]

2 चुखसस च क्षत्रपस लिअको कुसुलुको नम तस पुत्रो [पति][को*] तखशिलये नगरे (।*) उतरेण प्रचु-देशो क्षेम नम (।*) अत्र

3 (दे*)शे[5] पतिको अप्रतिठवित भगवत शकमुनिस शरिरं (प्र*)[ति]थ[वेति][6] [सं]घरमं च सर्व-बुधन पुयए मत-पितरं पुयय[ंतो]

4 क्षत्रपस स-पुत्र-दरस अयु-बल-वर्धिए भ्रतर सर्व [च] [ञतिग]धवस[7] च पुययंतो महदनपति पतिक सज उव[झ]ए[न*][8]

5 रोहिणिमित्रेण य इम[मि?] संघरमे नवकमिक (॥*)

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[1] See *supra*, No. 21. From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II; *Ep. Ind*, IV

[2] The conjunct त्स is read by some as त्श

[3] The restoration is due to Dowson. The Macedonian month Panemos is equivalent to the Indian Āshāḍha-Śrāvaṇa (July).

[4] Bhagwanlal and others: क्षहर[तस]. In that case, the meaning would be: "the Kshaharāta and the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa (mod. Chach, N. W. of Taxila)."

[5] The restoration is due to Bühler.

[6] The restoration is due to Dowson.

[7] Bühler suggests the emendation *ñatiga-baṁdhava*. But *ñatigadhavasa* may stand for Sanskrit *jñātik-ādhivāsān*. *Adhivāsa* means a neighbour.

[8] See F. W. Thomas in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6 Konow who found the word जउवजए, "by the Jaüva order", after Patika's name, has accepted (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p 257, note 6) this reading and the translation of the passage as "the great gift-lord Patika together with the उपाध्याय Rohiṇīmitra who is overseer of works in this सङ्घाराम" The original suggestion was जउ वजए=जय: वर्ध्यंते.

Second Side

6 पतिकस क्षत्रप लिअक (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके अष्टसप्तति[त]मके ७८ महाराजस्य महतः मोगस्य [Maues] +पनेमस्य (=यवनानां मासविशेषस्य ; Macedonian Panemos) मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ=पूर्वोक्त-दिवसे] क्षहरस्य चुखसस्य च [देशस्य] क्षत्रपस्य, लियकः कुसुलकः नाम [यस्य], तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः तक्षशिलायां नगरे [स्थितः]। उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (=उत्तरस्थ-विभाग-पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम। अत्र देशे पतिकः अ-प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (=देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति। सङ्घारामं च सर्व-बुद्धानां[1] पूजायै, मातापितरौ पूजयन्, क्षत्रपस्य स-पुत्र-दारस्य आयुर्बलवृद्धये, भ्रातॄन् सर्वान् च ज्ञातिकाधिवासान् (=ज्ञातिकान् प्रतिवेशिकान् च) च पूजयन् [प्रतिष्ठापयति] महादानपतिः पतिकः, सार्द्धम् उपाध्यायेन रोहिणीमित्रेण यः अस्मिन् सङ्घारामे नवकर्मिकः (=निर्माणसंस्कारादिकार्यनियुक्तः) ॥

पतिकाय क्षत्रपः लियकः (=पतिकमुद्दिश्य क्षत्रपेण लियकेन फलकः अयं प्रेषितः) ॥

No. 28—Takht-i-Bāhī[2] Stone Inscription of Gondophernes—[Regnal] year 26; Year 103(=A.D. 46)

TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ, near Mardān, Yūsufzai territory, Peshawar District, West Pakistan

DOWSON, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1871; *J. R. A. S.*, 1875, pp. 376ff.; 1877, pp. 144ff.; CUNNINGHAM, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1873 (*Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 242); *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, V, 1875, pp. 58ff.; SENART, *Journ. As.*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 144ff.; BOYER, *ibid*, 1940, X, iii, pp. 457ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 282; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 62 (No. XX).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

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[1] According to Buddhist conception, there are many past Buddhas and one future Buddha.

[2] There is no absolute certainty that the stone was discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī. It was possibly found at Shāhbāzgaṛhī. Both the places are situated in the same neighbourhood. Shāhbāzgaṛhī is 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles north-west of Mardān in Yūsufzai.

TEXT[1]

1 महरयस गुटुव्हरस[2] वष २०(+*)४(+*)१(+*)१

2 संब[त्सरए] [ति]शतिमए १(×*)१००(+*)१(+*)१(+*१ वेशखस मसस दिवसे

3 [प्रठमे] [पुञे] (ब*)[ह]ले पक्षे ब(बि?)लसमिस [बो(गो?)]यणस

4 [परि]वर शध-दग स-पुअस केणमिर(स?)बोअणस

5 एझुंण[3] कप[4] * * * * * स पुअए (।*) मदु-

6 पिदु पुअए (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य गुडुव्हरस्य [राज्य]-वर्षे [षड्विंशे] २६, संवत्सरके [च] त्रिशत[त]मके (=त्र्यधिक-शततमे) १०३, वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे प्रथमे पुण्ये बहुले पक्षे[5] बलस्वामिने +बोयनस्य परिवारः (=प्राकारः; यद्वा—क्षुद्र-वासगृहं) श्रद्धा-दानं - सपुत्रस्य केनमिर-बोयनस्य, +एझुंन (=कुमार?)-कप····स्य [च] पूजायै; मातापित्रोः पूजायै (=संमाननाय) ॥

No. 29—Inscription on some Coins of Gondophernes (c. 21-50 A.D.)[6]

SMITH, *Catalogue* p. 54

First Side[7]

King diademed on horseback to right; monogram to right; inscription in Greek[8] characters :—

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

[2] Two *aksharas* are erased between टु and व्ह

[3] Boyer read एभ्रुषुन and saw in this word the name of a prince. Konow reads एर्भुंण which is according to him a Khotani word meaning कुमार

[4] Konow, who ignores the fact that some 8 letters are lost between प and स, reads *Kap[sha]sa*, as he thinks that there are traces of a श or ष under प. He identifies Kapsha with Kadphises I. The stone however, as noticed by Cunningham, was used as a *Śilā* (a flat stone for grinding condiments on) and some letters are apparently lost owing to the rubbing by the muller. The reading of lines 3-5 is doubtful in many places.

[5] This shows that the month was regarded as Pūrṇimānta.

[6] See No. 28. He was a Parthian king of Southern Afghanistan, but later conquered the Indus Valley. He is known from Christian traditions to have been a contemporary of Saint Thomas (first half of the 1st century A.D.). See notes on Bk. III, No. 21.

[7] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate IX, No. 8.

[8] *Sigma* on these coins has a developed form.

BACIΛEΩ[C] [BACIΛEΩN] [MEΓAΛOY] YNΔOΦ[EPPOY]
(=*basileōs basileōn mēgalou Undophērrou*)[1]

Second Side

Pallas Athene standing to right, with spear and shield[2]; monogram to right; Kharoshṭhī monogram reading मि and वं (?); inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) महरज-रजतिरज-[त्रतरस] [देवव्रतस[3]]

(below) [गु]दव्ह(?)रस

(=महाराज-राजातिराज-त्रातुः देवव्रतस्य गुन्दुपर्णस्य ॥)

No. 29A—Inscription on some Billon[4] Coins of Gondophernes and Aśpavarman

R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 150

First Side

King on horseback to left with right hand extended; some symbols; inscription in Greek characters corrupt and illegible.

Second Side

Zeus to right; some symbols; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(left) इन्द्रवर्मपुत्रस
(above) स्त्रतेगस
(right) जयतस त्रतरस
(below) अश्पवर्मस

(=इन्द्रवर्मपुत्रस्य स्त्रतेगस्य[5] जयतः त्रातुः अश्ववर्मणः ॥)

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[1] I. e. "[the coin] of Undopherres, the great king of kings".

[2] Not the aegis, usually represented as bordered with serpents and set with the Gorgon's head and signifying a life-charm.

[3] The reading देवव्रत is due to Rapson (*J.R.A S.*, 1903, p. 286). Some specimens clearly read गुदुव्हरस (*C H.I.*, Plate VIII, No. 51). व्ह was formerly read as फ. Rapson later took व्र to be a modified व and Sanskritised the word as *Devapāta* (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 309 n.). Some scholars take ह्व to be a modified फ.

[4] Billon is an alloy of silver with copper, tin or the like.

[5] *Stratega*=Greek *strategos*=Sanskrit *senāpati*. Aśpavarman was ruling in the N.W.F.P. region as a viceroy of Gondophernes. He was previously ruling the same area as a subordinate of Azes II. This is indicated by coins bearing the name of Azes on the obverse and of Aśpavarman on the reverse (Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-33)

No. 30—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Kujula Kadphises I (c. 25-55 A.D.)[1]

Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 65f.

First Side

Bust of Hermaios[2], diademed; very corrupt inscription in Greek[3] characters intended for :—

KOPANO-KOZOUΛO-KAΔΦIZOY (= *Koshano-Kozoulo-Kadphizou*)[4]

Second Side

Herakles standing, facing; right hand resting on club, lion-skin over left arm; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

[कुजुल-कस,स कुषन-[यवुगस] [ध्रम-ठिदस]

(=कुजुल-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य धर्म-स्थितस्य ॥)

---

[1] See *supra*, No. 19. He possibly ruled over the region extending from the Jaxartes to the borders of the Indus region.

[2] On some coins the head resembles very closely that of Augustus in his later years (c. 12 A.D.). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[3] Note the peculiar character P indicating *sh* and the letter U for Y.

[4] I e., "[the coin] of Kozoula-Kadphises, the Kushāṇa." Some coins have the Greek inscription :—

XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛA KAΔAΦEΣ (= *Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes*) and the Kharoshṭhī inscription :—खुषनस यउअस कुयुल-कफ्सस सचध्रमठितस (=कुषाणस्य यवुगस्य कुजुल-कफ्सस्य सत्य-धर्म-स्थितस्य). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66, No. 6. According to Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 66), the full Kharoshṭhī legends on some coins are :—

(a) महरयस रयरयस देवपुत्रस कुयुल-कर-कफ्सस (=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुजुल-कर-कफ्सस्य);

(b) कुयुल-कर-कपस महरयस रयतिरयस (=कुजुल-कर-कपस्य महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य);

(c) महरजस महतस कुषण-कुयुल-कफस (=महाराजस्य महतः कुषाण-कुजुल-कफस्य);

(d) महरजस रजतिरजस कुयुल-कफस (=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य कुजुलकफस्य).

The title देव-पुत्र is of Chinese origin Kujula Kara Kadphises is usually supposed to be different from Kujula Kadphises I. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-41.

No. 31—Inscription on Some Gold Coins of Wema Kadphises (II)[1] (c. 55-75 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 68

First Side[2]

Upper part of king, diademed, to right; emerging from clouds; without the usual cap or helmet[3]; flames arising from his shoulders; club in the right and elephant-goad in the left hand; monogram behind the head; inscription[4] in Greek characters:—

BACIΛEYC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC (=*basilēus Ooemo Kadphises*).

Second Side

Two-armed Siva, facing, head to left, with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin[5] over left arm; grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand;[6] monograms to right and to left; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

[महरजस*] [रज]दिरजस सर्वलोग-इश्वरस महिश्वरस व्रिम-कथ्फिशस[7] [त्रतरस*] (=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य [यद्वा—महीश्वरस्य] विम-कथ्फिशस्य त्रातुः ॥)

---

[1] He was the successor of Kujula-Kadphises I and extended his dominions over a large portion of Northern India.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XI, No. 5.

[3] On some copper coins we have: king diademed, wearing high cap and long coat, standing to left, with right hand over altar; trident with battle-axe to left in left field; monogram in right field.

[4] The inscription means: "[the coin] of king Ooema Kadphises." On some copper coins, the Greek legend is OOHMO KAΔΦICHC BACIΛEYC BACIΛEωN CωTHP MEΓAC (=*Ooemo Kadphises Basilēus Basilēon Sōter Mēgas*). Note the developed form of the Greek letters. He seems to be the ruler referred to in the so-called *Sōter Mēgas* coins. They were issued possibly by one or more kings who contended for sovereignty during the troubled period following Wema's death.

[5] Cf. Śiva's name कृत्तिवास.

[6] On some copper coins we have:—Śiva two-armed, standing, facing, in front of bull standing to right; holding trident in right hand.

[7] The subscript *r* is used to modify the pronunciation of व. Rapson reads कल्पिशस (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 316) which is supported by the Central Asian Kharoshṭhī documents. Is the real reading कळ्पिशस = कड़्पिशस ?

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No. 32—Panjtar Stone Inscription of a Kushāṇa King.[1] —Year 122 (=A.D.65)

Panjtār (72°31′ E, 34°4′ N), below the Mahāban Range between the Swat and the Indus near the borders of the Peshawar and Hazara Districts, West Pakistan.

Cunningham, *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, 1854, p. 705, Plate 4; *ibid.*, XXXII, 1863, pp. 141, 145, 150; *A.S.I.*, V, pp. 616f., Plate XVI, 4; Senart, *J.A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130, no. i; IX, xiii, 1899, p. 535; Bühler, *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368; *W.Z.K.M.*, X, p. 173; R. D. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 31, 44; Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 1010 f.; 1914, pp. 372; pp. 1002f.; Stael Holstein, *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 81n., pp. 758 f.; N. G. Majumdar, List, No 47; Konow, *S.B.A.W.*, 1916, pp. 802f.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 134; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 70 (No. XXVI).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 सं १(×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १(+*)१ श्रवणस मसस दि प्रढमे १ महरयस गुषणस रज[मि]

2 स्पसुअस[3] प्रच-[देशो*][4] मोइके उरुमुज-पुत्रे करविदे शिवथले (।*) तत्र दे मे[5]

3 दनमि तरक १(+*)१ (।*) पञकरे ण(णे?)व असत[6] शिवथल रम * * म*.

---

[1] We may identify this king with one of the semi-independent governors of the Indian possessions of Wema Kadphises. He may have been responsible for the issue of the *Sōter Mēgas* coins without using his personal name. Note the absence of the ruler's personal name in this inscription as well as in No. 34 below. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-41.

[2] From Cunningham's eye.copy in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The original stone is missing, and the reading especially of line 3 is doubtful.

[3] The first *akshara* may also be read as स्पे, क or के.

[4] The eye-copy suggests the restoration.

[5] Cunningham : खव दे मे ; Konow च मे.

[6] Cunningham : हसुख.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे द्वात्रिंशत्यधिक-शततमे] १२२ श्रावणस्य मासस्य दि[वसे] प्रथमे १, महाराजस्य कुषाणस्य राज्ये 'स्वसुवस्य प्राच्यदेशः (= पूर्वभागः) [तत्र] मोयिकेन उरुमुज-पुत्रेण कारितं शिवस्थलं (= शिवमन्दिरम्)। तत्र द्वौ मे (= मोयिकस्य ?) दाने [स्तः] तरुकौ (= वृक्षौ) २। पुण्यकरं नवम् अमृतं (= चिरस्थितिकं) शिवस्थलम्········

No. 33—Kalawan Coper-plate Inscription

—Year 134 (=A.D. 77)

KALAWĀN, near Sirkap (Taxila), Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. p. 259.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 सवत्सरये १(×*)१००(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४ अजस[2] स्रवणस मसस दिवसे लेविश्रो २० (+*) १ (+*) १ (+*) १ इमेण क्षुणेण चंद्रभि उअसिअ

---

[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

[2] See *infra*, No. 34. According to Marshall, the expression अजस or अयस means "of the era of Azes." Fleet pointed out the absence of royal titles and rejected the theory. Konow at first proposed to take it as an equivalent of Sanskrit आद्यस्य, "of the first [Śrāvaṇa]", there having been two in the year including the intercalary one, though it is impossible to have an intercalary Śrāvaṇa in the year 134 and an intercalary Āshāḍha in the year 136 of the same reckoning (cf. No. 34 below). He also showed that it cannot stand for आर्यस्य in the language of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. He now wants to explain अयस as meaning "of Azes," i.e. in the year so-and-so, Azes style (i.e. of the era used by Azes). The suggestion is not convincing. The reading सक १९१ in the Taxila silver vase inscription (*infra* No. 36) to which Konow refers is problematical, and I do not think अयस is satisfactorily explained even if we accept the reading. The original of No. 36 has no trace of any letter before क, though the photograph shows another क before it. For another date क ४००, see Majumdar, *Guide*, II, p. 92. क seems to stand for कले=काले. The style, e.g., of the Taxila copper plate of Patika which reads संवत्सरए अठसततिमए

2 ध्रंमस ग्रहवतिस धित भद्रवलस भय छडशिलए शरिर प्रइस्तवेति गहथू-

3 वमि सध भ्रदुग नंदिवढणेण ग्रहवतिग सध पुत्रेहि शमेग सइतेग च धितुण च

4 ध्रमए सध ष्णपएहि रजए इद्रए य[1] सध जिवणंदिग शमपुत्रेण अयरिएण[2] य स[र्व]स्ति-

5 वअग परिग्रहे रठ-णिकमो पुयइत सर्व-स्वत्वग[3] पुयए (।*) णिवणस प्रतिअए होतु (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके [चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३४ अयस्य [Azes II] श्रावणस्य मासस्य दिवसे त्रयोविंशे २३—अनेन क्षणेन चंद्राभी [इति] उपासिका, धर्मस्य गृहपतेः दुहिता, भद्रपालस्य भार्या, छत्रशिळके[1] शरीरं (=भगवतः बुद्धस्य देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति गृह-स्तूपे[5] सार्द्धं भ्राता नन्दिवर्धनेन गृहपतिना, सार्द्धं पुत्राभ्यां शमेन सजितेत च, दुहित्रा च धर्मया, सार्द्धं स्नुषाभ्यां लज्जया इन्द्रया च, सार्द्धं जीवनन्दिना शम-पुत्रेण आचार्याणां च सर्वास्तिवादानां (=°वादिनां) परिग्रहे, राष्ट्रनिगमौ (=जनपदं नगरं च) पूजयित्वा, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै। निर्वाणस्य प्रत्याये (=लाभाय) भवतु ॥

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७८ महरयस महंतस मोगस पनेमस मसस दिवसे पंचमे would prove that अयस also refers to a king, though he is not called a महरय and महंत. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in comparing these dates with the *atīta-rājya* years of Govindapāla and Lakshmaṇasena. Azes II lost the region to foreigners who were not favoured by the people. Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 434, and *supra*, No. 32. The founder of this Skytho-Parthian era is not known; but I do not think it possible to connect its origin with Azes on the strength of the word अजस or अयस. Azes II is often considered to have been a predecessor of Gondophernes (21-44 A.D.) and his reign period is assigned to c. 1-19 A D. (R. B. Whitehead, *Num. Chron.*, 1944, pp. 99-104). Eslewhere we have suggested that the old Skytho-Parthian era was started from the foundation of an independent kingdom in East Iran by Vonones, that its use was carried to India by his Śaka feudatories and that Azes II was being mentioned as the reigning king by some people even after his overthrow by Gondophernes. The Kushāṇas probably conquered the country from the Parthians on behalf of Azes II and the fiction of the latter's rule continued for some time. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, 131.

[1] *I.e.* च

[2] Read अयरिअण

[3] The Sanskrit word is सत्त्व ।

[4] This may be the name of a locality (modern Kalawan?) or of a Vihāra.

[5] *I.e.*, "in the *Stūpa* (a conical or bell-shaped shrine containing a relic) in her house."

No. 34—Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushāna King—Year 136 (=A. D. 79)

TAXILA, Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 295; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 77 (No. XXVII).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 स १(×*)१०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ (+*) १ अयस अषडस मसस दिवसे १० (+·) ४ (+*) १ इश दिवसे प्रदिस्तवित भगवत्तो धतु[ओ] उर[स]-

2 केण इंतव्हिअ-पुत्रण[2] बहलिएण[3] णोअचए णगरे वस्तवेण (।*) तेण इमे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धतुओ धमर-

3 इए[4] तक्षशि(ल*)ए तणुवए बोसिसत्व-गहमि[5] महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्रस खुषणस अरोग-दक्षिणए

4 सर्व-बुधण पुयए प्रचग-बुधण[6] पुयए अरह(त*)ण पुयए सर्व-स(त्व*)ण पुयए मत-पितु पुयए मित्रमच-ञति-स-

5 लोहि(त*)ण पुयए अत्वणो अरोग-दक्षिणए णि[व]णए (।*) होतु अ[व]दे सम-परिचगो (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे षट्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३६ अयस्य [Azes II] आषाढस्य मासस्य दिवसे [पञ्चदशे] १५—अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः (=देहावशेषाः) औरशकेन

---

[1] From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For references, *ibid.*, pp. 70f. See *supra*, No. 33. The king may have been one of the issuers of the *Sōter Mēgas* coins (p. 129, n. 4) who appears to have contended for the throne with Kanishka I (acc. 78 A. D.). The discovery of the earlier records of Kanishka I in the eastern part of U. P. may suggest that he was originally employed about the eastern fringe of the empire of the Kushāṇas.

[2] May be लोतव्ह्रिय०.

[3] Some take Urasaka as a proper name and Bahalia as "belonging to Balkh".

[4] Dharmarāja is an epithet of the Buddha. A Dharmarājikā seems to be a Stūpa with the Buddha's relics.

[5] Bodhisattva is one who is destined to be a Buddha in future. Gautama was a Bodhisattva in his previous births and also before his enlightenment.

[6] Read प्रचेग०. See *supra*, p. 68, n. 5.

(=उरशा-देशीयेन) इन्तप्रिय-पुत्रेण (यद्वा — ०पुत्राणां=तत्स्थानजातानां [केनचित्]) बाहलिकेन नवाजये (?) नगरे वास्तव्येन। तेन इमे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः धार्मराजिके (=धर्मराजिका-स्तूपे) तक्षशिलके (यद्वा — 'शिलायां) +तनुवके (=स्वकीये) बोधिसत्त्व-गृहे — महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुषाणस्य आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (=आरोग्य-दान-प्राप्तये), सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै, प्रत्येकबुद्धानां पूजायै, अर्हतां पूजायै, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै, मातापित्रोः पूजायै, मित्रामात्य(=०स्वगृहवासि० ; यद्वा — प्रतिवेशि०)-ज्ञाति-सलोहितानां (=०रक्तसम्बन्धयुक्तानां) पूजायै, आत्मनः आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै निर्वाणाय [च]। भवतु आयातः सम्यक्परित्यागः।

No. 35—Khalatse Stone Inscription of Uvimikastu(?)
—Year 187 (? =A. D. 130 ?)

KHALATSE, Ladakh, Kāshmīr.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 81 (No. XXIX) ; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 139 n.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 सं १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) +२० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) ४ (+*) [१ (+*) १ (+*) १]
1 महरजस उविमिकस्तु(व्टु?)सस[2] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे सप्ताशीत्यधिकशततमे] १८७ महाराजस्य उविमिकस्तुसस्य (यद्वा — उविमिकस्तोः स ……) ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The record may be incomplete.

[2] Konow reads उविम-कव्यिसस and identifies the king with Wema Kadphises (II). But his reading and interpretation are doubtful. The second *akshara* may also be read as च, रि or ति and the third as द or द्दे. The fifth *akshara* is doubtful. The date may also be the year 184. The identity of the alien king mentioned in the record cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 36—Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of Jihoṇika—Year 191 (=A. D. 134)

SIRKAP (Taxila), Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 82 (No. XXX).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 क[2] १ (× *) १०० (+ *) २० (+ *) २० (+ *) २० (+ *) २० (+ *) १० (+ *) १ महरज* * * * *स[3] पुत्रस जिहोणिकस चुखसस क्षत्रपस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

का[ले (=संवत्सरे) एकनवत्यधिकशततमे] १९१ महाराजस्य [मणिगुलस्य ?] पुत्रस्य जिहोणिकस्य चुखसस्य (=चुखसाख्य-प्रदेशस्य)[4] क्षत्रपस्य (=राजाधीन-प्रदेशशासकस्य) ॥

(ii)—INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN KANISHKA'S RECKONING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

No. 36A—Kosam Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I (78-102 A. D.)—Year 3 (=A. D. 81)

KOSAM, Allahabad District, U. P.

K. G. Goswami, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 210-12.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

[2] क appears to have the same value as सं. It may, as formerly suggested by Konow, be an abbreviation of कलि=Sanskrit काले, "in the year." I do not think that we can restore सक (=शक). See *supra*, p. 131, n. 2.

[3] Konow restores महरज-भ्रत-मणिगुलस. Jihoṇika has been identified with the Satrap Zeionises of the coins, who was son of the Satrap Maṇigala and is supposed to have been a contemporary of Azes II. This Jihoṇika was apparently the son of a Mahārāja and may have been the grandson of Zeionises. The old Skytho-Parthian era was for sometime being used in certain areas side by side with the Kanishka era during the suzerainty of the house of Kanishka I. Cf. the simultaneous use of the Mālava and Gupta eras in Western India during the suzerainty of the Guptas.

[4] See *supra*, No. 27. Chukhsa is identified with the Plain of Chach near Taxila.

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TEXT[1]

1 महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे ३[2] हे २ दि ८ बोधिसत्वो(त्त्वं) प्रति-

2 ष्ठापयति भिखुनि बुद्धमिता त्रेपिटिका भगवतो बुद्धस चंकमे[3] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हे[मन्त-मासे द्वितीये] २ (=पूर्णिमान्त पौषे) दि[वसे अष्टमे] ८ बोधिसत्त्वं (=बोधिसत्त्व-प्रतिमां) प्रतिष्ठापयति भिक्षुणी बुद्धमिता त्रैपिटका (=त्रिपिटकाचार्या) भगवतः बुद्धस्य चङ्क्रमे ॥

Nos. 37-39—Sārnath Buddhist Image Inscriptions of the time of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A. D.)—Year 3 (=A. D. 81).

SĀRNĀTH, near Banaras, U. P.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 173ff.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

No. 1

TEXT[4]

1 महारजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २० (+ *)२

2 एताये पूर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्यवुद्धिस्य सद्धेयवि-

3 हारिस्य भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रेपिटकस्य

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

[2] Goswami reads the date as the year 2. Kanishka I was the founder of an era, that is to say, his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors for some reason (e. g., assumption of power by the successor during the life time of the predecessor owing to the latter's prolonged illness, infirmity due to old age, etc.). This era seems to be the other early Indian era (beg. 78 A. D.), known as 'Śaka' owing to its constant use by the West Indian Śakas. Traditions assigning Kanishka to the 2nd century A. D. probably refer to Kanishka II of the Āra inscription. Kanishka I's dates range between years 1 and 23. He may have been originally in charge of the easternmost district of the Kushāṇa empire. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 141ff.

[3] The *chaṅkrama* of a *vihāra* is a peice of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down for exercise and meditation. See Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, trans., p. 45, n. 4.

[4] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

4 बोधिसत्वो छत्रयष्टि [च] प्रतिष्ठापितो
5 बाराणसिये भगवतो च[ं]कमे सहा मात[ा*]-
6 पितिहि सहा उपध्यायाचर्येहि[1] सद्धेविहारि-
7 हि अंतेवासिकेहि च सहा बुद्धमित्रये त्रेपिटिक-
8 ये सहा क्षत्रपेण[2] वनस्परेन खरपल्ला-
9 नेन च सहा च च[तु]हि परिषाहि सर्वसत्वनं
10 हितासुखार्थं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हेमन्त-[मासे तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्णिमान्त-माघे) दिवसे [द्वाविंशे] २२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां (=तिथौ पूर्वोक्त-दिवसस्य)[3] भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धं-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य ; Pāli सद्धि०) भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य (=त्रिपिटकविदः) बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्वस्य विग्रहः) छत्रयष्टिः च [शिलामयौ] प्रतिष्ठापितौ वाराणस्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे (=गन्धकूटीविहारालिन्दे)—सह मातापितृभ्यां, सह उपाध्यायाचार्यैः सार्द्धं-विहारिभिः अन्तेवासिकैः (=शिष्यैः) च, सह बुद्धमित्रया त्रैपिटक्या, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन च, सह च चतसृभिः परिषद्भिः[4]—सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् ॥

No. 2

TEXT

1 भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो ।[5]
2 महाक्षत्रपेन खरपल्लानेन सहा क्षत्रपेन वनष्परेन ॥[6]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥

---

[1] Vogel : उपझायाचेरेहि

[2] Actually however Vanaspara was the Kshatrapa and Kharapallāna the Mahākshatrapa (cf. *supra*, No. 24, n.). They were ruling over the easternmost province (including the Banaras region) of Kanishka's empire.

[3] Expressions like एतस्यां पूर्वायां, एतस्य पूर्वायां, एतस्यां दिवस-पूर्वायां, etc. suggest that पूर्वा, 'the above', was used with reference to the तिथि.

[4] The four classes of Buddhists are Bhikshu, Bhikshuṇī Upāsaka and Upāsikā.

[5] A short slanting stroke is visible after तो. Vogel thinks that one or two letters are lost here. It is possible that the sign actually signifies a half-stop.

[6] Two short slanting strokes are found below न. They probably indicate a full-stop.

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No. 3

TEXT[1]

1 महारजस्य क[णिष्कस्य] सं ३ हे ३ दि २०(+*) [२*]
2 एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रेपिट[कस्य*]
3 बोधिसत्वो छत्रय[ष्टि] [च] [प्रतिष्ठापितो *][2] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३ (=तृतीये) हे ३ (=हेमन्तर्तोः मासे तृतीये) दि २२ (=दिवसे द्वाविंशे)—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रयष्टिः च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

No. 40—British Museum Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 10 (=A. D. 88)

H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 240

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्ध[ं] (॥*) महराजस्य देव[पुत्रस्य]
2 काणिष्कस्यं[4] सवत्सरे [१०][5]
3 ग्रि २ दि ९ एतये पू[र्वये]
4 उतरायं न[व]मिकायं [हा]-[6]
5 [र्म्ये]न्दत (।*) प्रिंयतां[7] देवि ग्राम[स्य] (॥*)

---

[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

[2] This word is lost with the exception of the medial *i* sign of ति.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, IX.

[4] The अनुस्वार should have been engraved on the following *akshara*.

[5] There seems to be no space for another symbol after 10.

[6] The reading हार्म्यं is not beyond doubt.

[7] Omit the अनुस्वार above प्रि.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे [दशमे] १० ग्री[ष्म-मासे द्वितीये] २ (=पूर्णिमान्त-वैशाखे[1]) दि[वसे नवमे] ९ एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] उत्तरायां नवमिकायां (=उत्तर-नवमिका-ग्रामे ; यद्वा —नवमिकाग्रामस्य उत्तरांशे) हर्म्यं दत्तम् । प्रियतां देवी ग्रामस्य ॥

No. 41—Sui Vihar Copper-plate Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 11 (=A. D. 89)

SUI VIHĀR, a ruined *Stūpa*, near Bahāwalpur, West Pakistan; now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1870, pp. 477f.; BAYLEY, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 65; HOERNLE, *Ind Ant.*, X, pp. 324ff.; BHAGAWĀNLĀL INDRAJI, *ibid.*, XI, pp. 124f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, i (1922), pp. 459ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 136; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 141 (No. LXXIV).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 महरजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य क[निष्कस्य] संव[त्स]रे एकदशे सं १० (+*) १
दइसिंकस्य[3] मस[स्य] दिवसें[4] अठविशे दि २०[5] (+*) ४ (+*) ४

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[1] There was no unanimity regarding the beginning of a season, as the two *Paurṇamāsīs* that follow those referred to above (notes on Bk. I, No 28; cf. above, No. 26), were also recognised by some as *Chāturmāsīs*. It must however be noticed that the universal custom of the Buddhists was to observe *Varshā* from the day following the Ashāḍhī Pūrṇimā up to the Kārttikī Pūrṇimā (Childers, *op. cit.*, *vassc*, *vassūpanāyikā*). Note also the duration of Vishṇu's slumber during the four months of the rainy season from Āshāḍha-śukla 11 to Kārttika-śukla 11. See notes on Bk. III, No. 52. Cf. also आषाढ़-शुक्ल-द्वादश्यां पौर्णमास्यामथापि वा। चातुर्मास्यव्रतारम्भं कुर्य्यात् कर्कट-संक्रमे ॥ अभावे तु तुलार्केपि मन्त्रेण नियमं व्रती। कार्त्तिके शुक्ल-द्वादश्यां विधिवत् तत् समापयेत् ॥ (*Varāha Purāṇa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*). See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 26, verses 14-17: पूर्वोऽयं वार्षिको मासः श्रावणः सलिलागमः। प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चत्वारो मासा वार्षिकसंज्ञिताः ॥···कार्त्तिके· समनुप्राप्ते त्वं रावणवधे यतः। एष न समयः सौम्य प्रविश त्वं स्वमालयम् ॥

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. ns. Ind.*, II, i.

[3] Read दइसिकस्य as the name of the month is Daisios. Daisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Jyaishṭha-Āshāḍha.

[4] Read दिवसे

[5] The figure for 20 is clear. The reading 10 in *C. I. I.* is possibly a misprint.

2 [अत्र]त्र[1] दिवसे भिक्षुस्य नगदतस्य ध[र्म]-कथिस्य[2] अचर्य-दमत्रत-शिष्यस्य अचर्य-भवे-प्रशिष्यस्य[3] यठिं[4] अरोपयत इह द[म]ने[5]
3 विहरस्वमिणिं[6] उपसिक [व]ळनंदि-[कु]टिंबिनि बळजय-मत च इमं यठि-प्रतिठनं ठप[इ]चं अनु परिवरं ददरिं[7] (।*) सर्व-सत्वनं
4 हित-सुखय भवतु (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दैसिकस्य (=दैसिकाख्यस्य ; Makedonian : Daisios) मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे दि २८—अत्र दिवसे भिक्षोः नागदत्तस्य धर्मकथिनः (=धर्मतत्त्वव्याख्यातुः) आचार्य-दमत्रात-शिष्यस्य आचार्य-भव-प्रशिष्यस्य यष्टिम् आरोपयति इह दमने विहारस्वामिनी उपासिका—बळनन्दि-कुटुम्बिनी (=०भार्या), बळजय-माता च इदं यष्टि-प्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयित्वा (=विहाय[8]=यष्टिपीठात् अधिकम्) अनु (=तदनु=साम्प्रतं) परिवारं (=प्राकारं) ददाति। सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखाय भवतु ॥

No. 42—Zeda Inscription of Kanishka I

—Year 11 (=A.D. 89)

ZEDA, near Uṇḍ, Rawalpindi Dist., West Pakistan

CUNNINGHAM *A. S. I.*, v, 1875, p. 57f. ; SENART, *J. A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135ff. ; BOYER, *ibid.*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 466ff. ; E. THOMAS, *J.R.A.S.*, 1877, p. 9, n. 1 ; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 535 ; BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46, 72 ; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 1 ff. ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 145 (No. LXXV) ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *List*, No. 95.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

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[1] This word was read अत्रे by Bayley, अन्त्र by Dowson, अत्र by Indraji, व्यत्र by Hoernle and Majumdar, and उत by Bühler (*ZDMG*, XLIII, p. 133) and Johansson, (*Actes du huitième Congrès des Orientalistes*, III, ii, p. 128, n. 1). Read अत्र

[2] र्मं looks like ख

[3] Read भत्र

[4] The word indicates monumental pillars which are even now called *lāṭh.* Majumdar suggests that there is reference to a relic of Nāgadatta, i e. the pilar contained the corporeal relics of Nāgadatta. Konow suggests यष्टिम् आरोपयत:

[5] Damana seems to have been the older name of the locality around Sui Vihār, possibly an old Śuchi-vihāra.

[6] Read स्वमिनि.

[7] Read ददति

[8] Or, यष्टिपीठं कारयित्वा, if we have आरोपयत: in line 2.

TEXT[1]

1 सं १० (+*)१ अषडस मसस दि २० उतर-फगुणि[2] इशे क्षुणमि

2 खदे(णे?) कुए[3] [वेरो]डस[4] मर्झकस[5] कणिष्कस रजमि [तोयं]द[6] च भुइ दणमुख
हिपेअधिअस[7] स[र्वस्ति]वदतिवधस पु[ज?]ने लिअक-

3 स क्ष[त्र?]पस[8] उप[क]चअ म[दु] (।*) कत दण अनुग्र[हेण] [वुध]स[9] संघमित्र-
रजस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकादशे] ११ आषाढस्य मासस्य दि[वसे विंशे] २० उत्तरफल्गुने (=उत्तरफल्गुन्यां नक्षत्रे)—अस्मिन् क्षणे खातः कूपः वेरोडस्य मर्झकस्य, कणिष्कस्य राज्ये । तोयदा (=प्रपा ?) च भूयः दानमुखं (=दानवरं =दानं) हिपेयधियस्य सर्वास्तिवादातिवृद्धये—पूजने (=पूजायै) लियकस्य क्षत्रपस्य, उपकृत्यायाः (=तदाख्यायाः) [दातुः] मातुः [च] । कृतं दानम् अनुग्रहेण वृद्धस्य (=बौद्धस्थविरस्य) सङ्घमित्रराजस्य ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The stone is rough and damaged; the reading and interpretation of lines 2-3 are uncertain in many places.

[2] In Āshāḍha, the *Nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī falls on the 5th-8th days of the Śukla-paksha. The month therefore seems to have been Pūrṇimānta. See notes on No. 28 above and No. 69 below.

[3] Cunningham read घनं उस्प, Senart भनं उक, Boyer खनं उस्फ, Lüders खणे कुए ; खदे कुए is Konow's reading corresponding to Sanskrit खातः कूपः.

[4] Cunningham read खरडस, Senart * चस, Boyer मु*चस, Lüders वेंर(रो?)डस, and Majumdar वेमडस. Konow reads मुरोड and connects it with Śaka मुरुण्ड, 'a master, lord'.

[5] Cunningham read मडुंकस and Boyer and Lüders मडंकस. Konow takes मर्झक to be an older form of the Khotani-Śaka word *malysaki*, i. e. *malzaki* which is possibly equivalent to गृहपति.

[6] Cunningham read the passage धयं ददभस इदसुखस्तपे अ दे अस...; Senart : ...ददभइ द[न]सुख * [पि अधिअ]स [दअदअस] ति[ध]...; Boyer : तोयदलभइ दनसुख सपेअधिअ ससगुषे सति वुधि. Konow translates, "and moreover a water-giver, the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda."

[7] Konow finds in it a Greek name like Hippeos, Hippias.

[8] Boyer : चल्नपस ; Senart : चहरस.

[9] Boyer read पुनर्धसं सघमित्रस दन, "gift of Saṁghamitra, in order to increase his merit".

No. 43—Manikiala Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 18 (=A.D. 96).

MĀṆIKIĀLA, Rāwalpiṇḍī Dist., West Pakistan

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, 1834, pp. 557 f.; CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 129; *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 703 ff.; *A. S. I.*, ii, 1871, pp. 161 ff.; DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1863, pp. 250ff.; SENART, *J. A.*, IX, vii, 1896, pp. 1 ff.; LÜDERS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 645 ff.; PARGITER, *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 641 ff., BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46 f.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 373 f.; 1003 f, STAEL-HOLSTEIN, *ibid*, pp. 757, 759; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1928, p. 67; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, pp. 149f. (No. LXXVI).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

A : 1 सं १०(+*)४(+*)४ [B : कतिंयस मस(स*) दिवसे २०][2] [एत्र] पुर्वए महरजस कणे-

2 ष्क[स्य] गुषण-वश-संवर्धक लळ

3 दडणयगो वेइपशिस क्षत्रपस

4 होरमु[र्तो][3] स तस अपनगे[4] विहरे

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i. Lines 1-6 form the main part of the record; lines 7-9 are at the left; line 10 is at the upper left corner; line 11 is above the main part; and line 12 is at the right above B.

[2] This portion is engraved in the second line on the right side of the record. Konow : मस्फि ; Pargiter : मञ

[3] Staël-Holstein suggested गुषाण or गुषाणु (which he explained as the gen. plu. of गुषि) corresponding to KOÞANO (i. e. कुशानु) on the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors.

[4] According to Lüders, होरमुर्त्तो is a Skythian word corresponding to Sanskrit दानपति. Cf. "an incarnate image of Ahura" (Senart); "attached to *horās* or *muhūrtas*" (Pargiter).

[5] Senart took अपनग to represent अल्प-नाग, i. e. "in the विहार of the small नाग." Pargiter took it to be आपणके, "in the market place."

5 होरमुर्तो एत्र णण भगव-बुद्ध-झुव[1]
6 [प्र]तिस्तवयति सह तए[न][2] वेश्पशिएण खुदेचिए[न][3]
C : 7 बुरितेण च विहरकर[व्ह]एण
8 संवेण च परिवरेण सध (।*) एतेन कु-
9 शलमुलेन बुधेहि च ष[व]एहि[4] [च]
D : 10 समं सद[5] भवतु
E : 11 भ्रतर स्वरबुधिस अग्रप[डि]अशए
F : 12 सध बुधिलेन नवकर्मिगेण (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे अष्टादशे] १८ कार्त्तिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे [विंशे] २०—अत्र पूर्वायां [तिथौ] महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्ये]। कुषाण-वंश-संवर्धकः ललः दण्डनायकः,[6] [यः] वेश्पसेः[7] क्षत्रपस्य होरमुर्त्तः (=दानपतिः)—सः तस्य आत्मके (=आत्मीये) विहारे होरमूर्त्तः—अत्र नाना भगवद्-बुद्ध-स्तूपान् प्रतिष्ठापयति सह त्रयेण—वेश्पशिकेन खुदेचियेन (=खुदेचिवासिना?), बुरितेन च विहारकारकेण, साम्बेन च—परिवारेण सार्द्धम्। एतेन कुशलमूलेन (=स्तूपरूपेण सत्कार्येण [जातं पुण्यं]) बुद्धैः च श्रावकैः च समं (=सह) सदा भवतु भ्रातुः स्वरबुद्धेः अग्र-प्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्य भागाय)—सार्द्धं बुद्धिलेन नवकर्मिकेण (=निर्माण-संस्कारादि-कार्यनियुक्तेन)॥

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[1] Read : घुव. Lüders : ठुव ; Pargiter : जव ; Konow : झव (relics?).

[2] Pargiter : तएन=तेन ; Senart : तएण=त्रयेण.

[3] Senart खुडचिएन ; Lüders : खुजचिएन ; Pargiter : खुदेंचिटएन.

[4] Senart read स्पवस्पहि, Pargiter स्पखकहि and Majumdar ष्रठकहि. Lüders takes षवकहि to represent Sanskrit श्रावकैः.

[5] Senart read सच सद, Pargiter सवसन and Lüders सक्सन.

[6] *Daṇḍanāyaka* literally means 'the commander of an army'; but persons enjoying the designation were often governors of districts.

[7] The first part of this name and of Piśpasi in *supra*, No. 24, seems to correspond to Sanskrit विश्व.

No. 44—Set-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription of Kanishka I (A D. 78-102)

SET(or SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Goṇḍa and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [म][हाराजस्य*][2]..............[दे*]-
2 [वपु][त्रस्य*] [कणिकस्य?] [सं..........दि...]
3 [भिक्षुस्य*..........[3]] [सङ्घेय*]ि [व]हा[ि]र-
4 [स्य] [भिक्षुस्य*][पुस्यवुद्धिस्य*] [सङ्घेयविहारि*]-
5 स्य [भिक्षुस्य*] [बलस्य*] [त्रेपिट]कस्य
6 दानं बोधि[स]त्वो छत्रं दण्डश्च
7 श्रावस्तिये [भगवतो*] [चं*]क[मे] कोसंब-
8 [कुटिये*] [आचार्य्यानं][4] [सर्वास्ति*]वादिन[ं*][5]
9 [परिग्रहे] (॥*)

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[1] From the facsimile and photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. This record is practically the same as *infra*, No. 45; cf. also *supra*, Nos. 37-39. Nos. 44-45 prove that Śrāvasti stood on the site of modern Sahet-Mahet.

[2] As a line of the record appears to contain about 12 *aksharas*, I think it possible that there was the word राजातिराजस्य between महाराजस्य and दे in line 1.

[3] The existence of the name of another Bhikshu in line 3 would give an approximately equal number of *aksharas* in all the lines.

[4] Only the *ā*-sign and the superscript *r* of र्य्या are visible.

[5] Only the superscript *s* and the *i*-sign of स्ति are visible.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्परे .....दिवसे १६] भिक्षोः ......सार्द्ध-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्ध-विहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कोशाम्बकुट्यां (=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्यानां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे ॥

No. 45—Set-Mahet Buddhist Image Inscription of Kanishka I (A.D. 78-102)

SET(SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Goṇḍa and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 180f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य सं * * * * दि][2] १० (+*)९ एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्य[वु*]-
2 [द्धिस्य*][3] सद्धेयविहारिस्य[4] भिक्षुस्य ब[ल]स्य त्रपिटकस्य दान[ं] [बो]धिसत्वो छात्रं दाण्डश्च श्रावस्तिये भगवतो चंकमे
3 [5]कोसंबकुटिये [अचर्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादिनं परिगहे (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे ·····दिवसे ऊनविंशे] १९—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्ध-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम् (=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII

[2] Only traces of the lower parts of these letters remain.

[3] The name can be confidently restored with the help of the Sārnāth image inscriptions (Nos. 37-39).

[4] The literary Pāli from of the word is सद्धिविहारी.

[5] This line begins from below the *akshara* नं of the word दानं in the preceding line.

No. 45A—Mathura Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I —Year 23 (=A. D. 101)

Mathurā Museum, U. P.

B. Ch. CHHABRA, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 42-44.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 महरस्य कनि[2] २०(+*)३ ग्र १[3] एतस्य पुर्वयं वहारिस्य[4] मस्यगु[त्त]स्य[5] धिता पु[शद][ता*]

2 (a) बोधिसत्व

(b) प्र[ि]तष्ट[पयति]

3 स्व[के] विहरे (।*) [सर्वसत्वनं] [हितसुखाय भवतु*] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनि[ष्कस्य संवत्सरे त्रयोविंशे] २३ ग्री[ष्म-मासे प्रथमे] १ [दिवसे....] एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] व्यवहारिणः (=व्यवहारिकस्य) मत्स्यगुप्तस्य दुहिता पुष्यदत्ता बोधिसत्त्वं (=बोधिसत्त्व-प्रतिमां) प्रतिष्ठापयति स्वके (=स्वकीये=स्वनिर्मिते) विहारे। [सः] सर्वसत्त्वानां [हित-सुखाय भवतु] ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII.

[2] The intended reading is apparently महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.

[3] ग्र=ग्री is a contraction of ग्रीष्म-मासे; but the reference to the particular दिवस is omitted through oversight.

[4] This has been read as महारस्य and corrected as महाराजस्य. But the first *akshara* does not look like म. For वहारिस्य, the intended reading seems to be वोहारिस्य=Sanskrit व्यवहारिण:=व्यवहारिकस्य, i. e. 'of the magistrate'.

[5] The reading intended is probably मत्स्यगुप्तस्य. The subscript in त्त is traceable partially. The name Matsyagupta literally means 'one who is protected by the fish (i. e. the Matsya *avatāra* of Vishṇu)'.

No. 46—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, pp. 69f.

First Side[1]

King standing to left, bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders; grasping spear in left hand and holding in right hand an elephant-goad over altar; sword at waist; inscription in modified Greek script and Old Persian language:—

ÞAONANOÞAO KANHÞKI KOÞANO (=*Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano*)[2].

Second Side

Four-armed Śiva, standing, facing with head to left, holding in upper right hand thunder-bolt[3], in lower right hand an elephant-goad[4], in upper left hand trident and with lower left hand on hip; antelope[5] on its hind-legs in right field; monogram to left; inscription in Greek characters:—

OHÞO (=*Oesho*)[6].

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[1] From representation is Smith's Catalogue, Plate XI, No. 9.

[2] I. e., "Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of kings." On some copper coins we have the Greek legend :—

BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN KANHÞKOY (=*Basileus Basilèōn Kaneshkou*, "[the coin] of Kanishka, the king of kings"). *Shaonano Shao* is the same as Old Persian *Khshāyathiyānām Khshāyathiya*, Modern Persian *Shāhān Shāh*, Indian षाहानुषाहि

[3] Cunningham suggested 'a small hand-drum.'

[4] On some coins we have in the lower right hand of the god a water-vessel with mouth downwards.

[5] Gardner suggested 'a goat.' Possibly it is the crude representation of a seated bull.

[6] The word has been supposed to indicate Bhaveśa; but *O* seems to represent *H* or *V*. *Oesho* may possibly be taken as Sanskrit वृष (cf वृषाङ्क, etc.) which was perhaps considered as a name of Śiva. Cf. the *Pushkalāvatī-devatā* coins with the figure of a bull standing for Śiva (with the legend TAVPOS and *ushabhe=Vṛishabhaḥ*); also the same on Mihirakula's coins with the legend *jayatu vṛishaḥ* (Gardner, *Catalogue*, p. 162, Plate XXIX, No. 15; Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 236, Plate XXV, No. 5). Śiva in his animal (i.e bull) form was known to the Greeks as the god of Gandhāra. Hesychius says *Gandaros, o Taurokrates par Indois*. See J. N. Banerjea, *Dev. Hind. Icon.*, p. 142. On the reverse of Kanishka's coins, we have representations of the fire-god AΘÞO (=Athsho, modern

No. 47—Kurram Copper Casket Inscription —[Śaka] Year 21 (=A.D. 99)

KURRAM, near Peshāwar, N. W. F. P.

V. Natesa AIYAR and F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 15ff.; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 (A) [सं २० (+*)१ मस]स[2] अवदुनकस[3] दि २० इ[शे] क्षुनंमि (B) श्वेड्वर्म[4] यश-पुत्र तनु[व]कंमि रंजंमि (C) [नव-विह*]रंमि अचर्यन सर्वस्तिवदन परि- (D) [ग्रहं]मि थुबंमि भग्रवतस शक्यमुनिस

2 (A) शरिर प्रदिठवेदि (।*) यथ[5] वुत भग्रवद (B) अविज-प्रचग्र संकंरं संकर-प्रचग्र विञन (C) [वि]ञन-प्रचग्र नम-रुव नमरुव-प्रचग्र षड्[य]- (D) [दन] षड्यदन-प्रचग्र फष पष-प्रचग्र

3 (A) वेदन वेदन-प्रचग्र तष्ण[6] तष्ण-प्रचग्र उवदन (B) उवदन-प्रचग्र भव भव-प्रचग्र जदि जदि-प्रच[ग्र] (C) जर-मर[न]-शोग्र[7]-परिदेव-दुख-दोर्मनस्त-उपग्रसः[8] (।*) (D) [एवं] [अस] केवलस दुख-कंधस संमुदए भवदि (।*)

Persian Atash), the moon-god MAO (=*Mao*), the sun-god MIIPO (Miiro), MIYPO (Miuro) [or MIΘPO (Mithro)] or MIOPO (Mioro), i. e. Neo-Sans. *Mihira*, the mother-goddess NANA (*Nana*), NANAIA (*Nanaia*) or NANAÞAO (*Nanashao*), the war-god OPΛAΓNO (=*Orlagno*, i. e. Bahram), the fire-god ΦAPPO (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*); the sun-god HΛIOΣ (*Elios*); the wind-god OAΔO (*Oado*, i. e. Vado, Sanskrit वात); CAKAYMO BODDO (=Śākyamuni Buddha); MOZDO OANO (=Ahura Mazda); the Greek fire-god HΦAICTOC (ephaistos). CAΛHNH (Salene), MANAOBAΓO (Manaobago), etc Some scholars identify Nana with Anaitis, the tutelary goddess of Balkh, or Nana adored by the Khaldeans. Cf. Bibi Nānī worshipped in Baluchistan and Nainā Devī of the lower Himalayas (*Census of India*, 1931, I, i, p. 455). For many of these deities, see Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" in *Ind. And.* XVII, 1888, pp. 89 ff., and comments on Stein's views in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, II, 1888, pp. 237-44.

[1] From the Facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II. i.

[2] Originally सं २० ममस was engraved.

[3] Makedonian Audunaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Pausha-Māgha.

[4] Thomas: त्युचवसंयशपुत्रस नवकंमिश्रस संघ

[5] Thomas: यठ उतं

[6] Cf. षाष in No. 33, line 4.

[7] Thomas: शोय

[8] Thomas: दोमनवि(स्ति) उवेग संभवति

4 (D) सर्व-सत्वन पुयए अय च प्रतिच-संमुपते (।*) (A) लिखिद महिफतिएन सर्वसत्वन पुयए (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकविंशे] २१ मासस्य अवदुनकस्य (=अवदुनकाख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य ; Audunaios) दि[वसे विंशे] २०—अस्मिन् क्षणे श्वैलवर्मा यशः-पुत्रः तनुवके (=स्वकीये) रम्ये नव-विहारे आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति। यथा उक्तं भगवता—"अविद्या-प्रत्ययात् (=०कारणात्) संस्काराः, संस्कार-प्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञान-प्रत्ययात् नाम-रूपे, नाम-रूप-प्रत्ययात् षडायतनानि, षडायतन-प्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्श-प्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदना-प्रत्ययात् तृष्णा (=तर्षः), तृष्णा-प्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादान-प्रत्ययात् भवः, भव-प्रत्ययात् जातिः, जाति-प्रत्ययात् जरा-मरण-शोक-परिदेव-दुःख-दौर्मनस्योपायासाः।[1] एवम् अस्य केवलस्य (=समग्रस्य) दुःख-स्कन्धस्य (=दुःख-समूहस्य) समुदयः (=उत्पत्तिः) भवति।" सर्व-सत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्य-समुत्पादः [श्वैलवर्मणा लेखितः]। लिखितः [च] महीपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै॥

No. 47A—Isapur Yupa Inscription of the time of Vasishka—[Saka] Year 24 (=A.D. 102)

ISĀPUR, near Mathurā, U. P.

J. Ph. VOGEL, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1910-11, pp. 40 ff.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धम् (॥*) महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपु-

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[1] The quotation, said to be a saying of the Buddha, is the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula possibly belonging to some canonical text. Konow translates : "in interconnection with delusion the *saṁskāras*: with the *saṁskāras* consciousness; with consciousness name and form ; with name and form the six organs ; with the six organs touch ; with touch sensation ; with sensation thirst ; with thirst grasping ; with grasping life ; with life birth ; with birth decay, death, lamentation, suffering, dejection, dispair." Cf. *Milindapañho*, B.S.P., p. 102. Pāli अविज्जापच्चया, etc. Here य stands for य ; cf. उपायासः (=नैराश्यं) ; see also पर्याय=पज्जायो, परियागो (Ratnachandra, अप्रमेयो=अप्पमेगो, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 111; *Jainasiddhāntakaumudī*, p. 27).

[2] From the facsimile published in *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*

2 त्रस्य षाहेर्व्वासिष्कस्य राज्य-संवत्सरे च-
3 तुर्व्विंशे २० (+*)४ गृष्मा(ग्रीष्म) -मासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे
4 त्रिंशे ३०[1] अस्यां पूर्व्वायां रुद्रिल-पुत्रेण द्रोण-
5 लेन ब्राह्मणेन भारद्वाज-सगोत्रेण मा-
6 ण-च्छन्दोगेन इष्ट्वा सत्रे(त्त्रे)ण द्वादशरात्रेण
7 यूपः प्रतिष्ठापितः (।*) प्रियन्तामग्नयः (॥*)

No. 48—Sānchī Buddhist Image Inscription of Vāsishka—[Śaka] Year 28 (=A.D. 106)

Sāñchī, Raisen Dist., Madhya Pradesh

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 369-70; Lüders, *ibid.*, IX, p. 244; *List*, No. 161; Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 326ff.; 1910, p. 1913; N. G. Majumdar in *The Monuments of Sāñchī* by Marshall and Fouchar, Vol. I, p. 386.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [महाराज*]स्य र[ा]जा[ि]तराजस्य [देव*]पुत्रस्य षा[ि]ह-वा[ि*]सष्कस्य[3]
सं २०[4] (+*) ८ हे १ [दि ५] [ए*]तस्या[ं*] पुर्वा[यां*] भगव-

---

[1] The date corresponds to Āshāḍha-sudi 15 (Pūrṇimā).

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

[3] Bühler: वासुष्क. He has been identified with Jushka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and Vajhishka of No. 51. The *Rājatar*, suggests that Hushka (Huvishka), Jushka and Kanishka (II) ruled contemporaneously. षाहि=Shāh=Khshāyathiya (p. 147, n. 2).

[4] The figure was originally read by Bühler as 20; but later he consulted Cunningham and read it as 70 of the looped variety. There is however no resemblance between this figure and the looped sign for 70 in the Mathurā record No. 22 (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 204) to which Bühler refers. The date is supposed by Smith and Lüders to be 68. This "घ without bar" type of 20 is found on the coins of the Western Satraps and in the Nānāghāṭ and Gaḍhā inscriptions. That Huvishka began to rule earlier than the date of this record is proved by *infra*, No. 49.

2 [तो*] ······स्य[1] जम्बुछाया-शैळ[ा]ग्र[स्थ?]स्य[2] धर्मदेव-विहारे प्रति[ष्ठ]ापिता खरस्य[3] धितर मधुरिक*[4]

3 ······णं[5] देयधर्म-परि[त्यागेन]····

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य षाहि-वासिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे अष्टाविंशे] २८ हे[मन्त-मासे प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्त-मार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः जम्बुच्छायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य (यद्वा —०शैल-गृहस्य ; यद्वा —०शैलाग्रीयस्य) धर्मदेव-विहारे (=धर्मदेवस्य विहारे) प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य दुहित्रा मधुरिकया [अने]न देयधर्म-परित्यागेन······ ॥

No. 49—Mathura Stone Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] year 28 (=A.D. 106)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā Dist., U.P.

K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVIII, pp. 4ff.; H. K. DEB, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, pp. 117ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 60f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[6]

1 सिद्ध [symbol][7] (॥*) संवत्सरे २० (+*) ८ गुर्प्पिये दिवसे १ अयं पुण्य-

2 शाळा प्राचिनोकन सरुकमान-पुत्रेण खरासले-

---

[1] Bühler's suggested restoration is शाक्यमुनिस्य. A word like प्रतिमा is to be added.

[2] May be शैल-ग्ट[ह]स्य.

[3] Bühler suggests the alternative reading वेर which is unlikely, as there is no trace of the *serif* of व.

[4] Bühler reads धितरे मधुरिका

[5] The intended reading is अनेन.

[6] From the facsimile in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, 1932. See *infra*, No. 56, for the date of this king.

[7] See *infra*, No 52, notes.

3 र-पतिन वकन-पतिना[1] अक्षय-नीवि दिन्न[ा] (।*) तुतो[2] वृ[द्धि]-
4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुदिशि पुण्य-शा[ला]-
5 यं ब्राह्मग-शतं परिविषितव्यं (।*) दिवसे दिव[से]
6 च पुण्य-शालाये द्वार-मुले धारियै साद्यं-सक्तना[ं][3] आ-
7 ढका ३ लवृण-प्रस्थो[4] १ शक्त-प्रस्थो[5] १ हरित-कलापक-
8 घटक[ा][6] ३ मल्लक[ा] ५ (।*) एतं अनाध[ा]नां कृतेन द[ातव्य]
9 बभक्षितन पिबसितनं (।*) य चत्र पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य
10 षाहिस्य हुविष्कस्य (।*) येषा च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य
11 भवतु (।*) सर्वायि[7] च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु (।*) अक्षय-निवि दिन्ना
12 ..... [र]ाक-श्रेण[ी]ये पुराण-शत ५००(+*) ५० समितकर-श्रेणी-
13 [ये च*] पुराण-शत ५०० (+*) ५० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे [अष्टाविंशे] २८ गुर्पिये (=यवनानां गुर्पियाख्ये मासि; Gorpiaios)[8] दिवसे [प्रथमे] १—इयं [या] पुण्यशाला (=धर्मशाला), प्राचीनीकेन सरुकमाण-पुत्रेण (यद्वा—प्राचीना=पूर्व्वदिग्वर्त्तिनी [यद्वा—पुरातनी]. कनसरुकमाण-पुत्रेण; यद्वा—प्राचीनीकनस्य रुकमाण-पुत्रेण; यद्वा— प्राचीनीकानां सरुकमाण-पुत्रेण) खरासलेर-पतिना वकन-पतिना[9] [तस्यै] अक्षयनिविः[10] दत्ता। ततः वृद्धितः मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य (=शुक्ल-पक्षस्य)

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[1] H. W Bailey traces *Bakanapati* to Iranian origin and explains it as "an official in charge of temples (or, a temple)" (*B.S.O.A.S*, XIV, p. 421).

[2] Read ततो.

[3] Read खाद्य(or सद्यः)-सक्तूनां. क्त looks like क्ष of क्षतेन

[4] Possibly लवुण was intended. Read लवण

[5] Read शुक्त. Others read शकु

[6] Taken separately घटका may mean water-jars.

[7] Read सर्वाये

[8] Makedonian Gorpiaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Bhādra-Āśvina. Note that this date is earlier than that of *supra*, No. 48.

[9] Kharāsalera and Vakana are possibly place names. The latter may be Wakhan (37N, 74E) in Central Asia. Prāchīnīka came to Mathurā for some unknown mission.

[10] The *Akshayanīvi* or °*nīvī* was a permanent endowment which could not be withdrawn and whose interest alone could be enjoyed. The *Sreṇis* were banking and trading corporations. *Purāṇa* is the ancient punch-marked coin of silver (32 Ratis=58·56 gr.), also called *Kārshāpaṇa*. See *infra*, No. 58, p. 158, and notes.

चतुर्द्दश्यां[1] पुण्यशालायां ब्राह्मण-शतं परिवेशयितव्यं (=भोजयितव्यं); दिवसे दिवसे च पुण्यशालायाः द्वारमूले धार्यं (=स्थापनीयं, स्वाद्य-सक्तूनाम् (यद्वा—सद्यः०) आढकाः[2] [त्रयः] ३; लवण-प्रस्थः [एकः] १, शुक्त-प्रस्थः (=अम्लरस०) [एकः] १, हारित-कलापक-घटकाः[3] [त्रयः] ३, मल्लकाः (=पान-पात्राणि) [पञ्च] ५। एतत् अनाथानां कृतेन (=कृते) दातव्यं बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानाम् [अपि च] (यद्वा—एतत् अनाथानां कृते न दातव्यं, [परंतु] बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानां [च])। यत् च अत्र पुण्यं तत् देवपुत्रस्य षाहेः हुविष्कस्य। येषां च देवपुत्रः प्रियः तेषाम् अपि पुण्यं भवतु। सर्वस्याः च पृथिव्याः पुण्यं भवतु। अक्षयनीविः दत्ता……श्रेण्यां पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्ध-पञ्च] ५५०; समिताकर-श्रेण्यां (=गोधूमचूर्णविक्रयि०) च पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्ध-पञ्च] ५५० ॥

No. 50—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 33 (=A.D. 111)

MATHURĀ, Muthurā Dist., U. P.

LÜDERS, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 39; BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 181f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[4]

1 महारजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं ३० (+*)३ ग्र[5] १ दि ८ भि[क्षु]स्य बलस्य त्रेपिटकस्य अन्तेवासि[नी]ये भिक्षुणीये त्रे[पिटका॰]ये बुद्धमित्राये

2 भागिनेयीये भिक्षुणीये धनवतीये बोधिसत्वो प्रतिथा[वितो] [म]धुरवणके[6] सहा मातापिति[हि]····(॥*)

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[1] Konow takes शुद्ध (cleared off) with वृक्षित: and चतुर्दिशि (open) with पुण्यशाला

[2] *Āḍhaka* is usually 256 handfuls (about 16 or 20 Bengal seers; 1 seer=80 *tolās*=a little above two pounds). *Prastha* is usually ¼ of an *Āḍhaka*. But the designations indicated different measures in different areas.

[3] Jars of a preparation of different green vegetables?

[4] From the photograph and rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

[5] Read ग्री.

[6] The *akshara* म and the *u* sign of धु are not clear. Bloch reads the first *akshara* as मा. Madhuravana is the same as Madhuvana or Madhurā (modern Mathurā).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] [त्रयस्त्रिंशे] ३३ ग्री[ष्म-मासे प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्त-चैत्रे) दि[वसे] ८ (=अष्टमे) भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य अन्तेवासिन्याः (=शिष्यायाः) +भिक्षुण्याः (=स्त्री-भिक्षोः) त्रैपिटक्याः बुद्धमित्रायाः भागिनेय्या भिक्षुण्या धनवत्या बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्व-विग्रहः) प्रतिष्ठापितः मधुरवनके (=मथुरायां) सह मातापितृभ्याम्··· ॥

No. 51—Āra Stone Inscription of Kanishka II

—[Śaka] Year 41 (=A.D. 119)[1]

ĀRĀ, near Attock, Punjab, West-Pakistan

R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 58ff. ; LÜDERS. *ibid.*, 1913, pp. 132 ff. ; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 143 ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 165 (No. LXXXV).

Language : Prakrit
Script : Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 महरजस रजतिरजस देवपु[त्रस] [क]इ[स]रस
2 व[झि]ष्प-पुत्रस[3] कनिष्कस संवत्सरए एकचप[रि]-
3 [शए] सं २०(+*)२०(+*)१ जेठस मसस दिव[से]१[4] इ[शे] दिवस-क्षुणमि ख[दे]

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[1] Kanishka II is sometimes identified with Kanishka I. The absence of father's name in any of the latter's numerous records and that of any record of a year between 23 and 41 render the theory untenable. Kanishka II seems to be the Kanishka whom traditions place in the 2nd century A.D. and make a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and others. The exact reign period of Kanishka II and his relations with Huvishka are not known.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

[3] Banerji : वसिष्प० ; Lüders and Konow : वझेष्क. His probable identification with Vāsishka of No. 48 and Jushka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may eugest that ष्क was intended by ष्प, the difference between the two forms being slight. See *supra*, Nos. 47A-48.

[4] Konow : दि २० (+*)४ (+*)१. There is a gap between व and से owing to some defect of the stone.

4 [कुपे] दषव्हरेन[1] पोषपुरिअ-पुत्रण मतर-पितरण पुय[ए]
5 [हि]रंणस[2] सभर्य[स] [स]पुत्रस अनुग्रहर्थए सर्व[सप]ण
6 जति[षु] छ(?)तए[3] (।*) इमो च लिखितो[4] म[धु]....(॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य +कैसरस्य (=कैसर इति रोमक-सम्राड्-विरुद-भृतः ; Cæsar, Kaiser) वासिष्क-पुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकचत्वारिंशे सं ४१ ज्यैष्ठस्य मासस्य दिवसे [प्रथमे] १ – अस्मिन् दिवस-क्षणे (=दिवस-पूर्वायां=दिवसस्य तिथौ ; यद्वा—दिवसस्य क्षणविशेषे) खातः कूपः दाषपरेण पौषपुरिक-पुत्राणां (यद्वा—पौरुषपुरिक० ; यद्वा—०पुत्रेण)[5] मातापित्रोः पूजायै, हिरण्यस्य सभार्यस्य सपुत्रस्य अनुग्रहार्थाय (=०ग्रहलाभाय), सर्व-सत्त्वानां जातिषु (=जन्मनि जन्मनि) छदाय (=रक्षायै)। इदं च लिखितं मधु....(=तदाख्येन) ॥

No. 52—Mathura Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Saka] Year 44 (?=A.D. 122?)

KANKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, Mathurā, U. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 387, No. 9; *ibid.*, II, p. 212, n. 37; R. D. BANERJI, *ibid.*, X, p. 114, No. 7.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] Sometimes read दषव्होतेन, दषभेरन

[2] Konow : अत्मपस

[3] Konow : ह्तिए and मे धम...

[4] *Cf.* the *i*-sign of लि in line A 4 of No. 47 and of पि in line 2 of No. 55.

[5] *Putra* may have been used here in the sense of 'an original inhabitant'. Poshapura may be modern Peshāwar

TEXT[1]

1 स्ध [symbol][2] (॥*) नम [अ?]र[ह]तत्र[3] (।*) महरजस्य हुवक्षस्य सवसरे ४०[4](+*)४ पन गृ[स्य]-मस ३ दिविस २ ए[त]-

2 य पूर्वय……गने अर्यचेटियिग-कुले हरितमाल-कढि[यक-शखय][5]…….. [वा*]-चकस्य हगनंदिस्य शिसगन…………तगसेण दन…[6]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः अर्हद्भ्यः (यद्वा—अर्हत्तमाय) ॥ महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [चतुश्चत्वारिंशे] ४४ पुनः (=विशेषेग) ग्रीष्ममासे [तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्गिमान्त-ज्यैष्ठे) दिवसे [द्वितीये] २—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ]…वारणगणे?) आर्यचेटीयक-कुले हरितमालगढीयक-शाखायां ·· वाचकस्य भगनन्दिनः शिष्यकेण · तकाशेन दत्ता [प्रतिमा] ॥

No. 53—Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 48 (=A.D. 126)

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 412 ; No. 5

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X.

[2] For another contraction of सिद्ध', see *infra*, No. 57. This seems to be the way in which the variants of the auspicious symbol at the beginning of later records developed. The following symbol, found in several Kushāṇa records, resembles an Aśokan टा with the opening to left. It is supposed to be a full-stop or म् (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212. n.; XXI, p. 56). It may be connected with the सिद्धम् symbol.

[3] The last *akshara* may be intended for नं or स. Bühler and Banerji: शरसतम(=शूरसत्तम).

[4] Banerji read अष्टपन (i. e., 58) in place of Bühler's ४०(+*)४ हन. The first symbol has also been supposed to be ७०. The second may be a variant of ८

[5] Bühler : ०चेटिये कुले and कढियशाख ; Banerji : ०कढियातो शा···

[6] Bühler : हगिनंदिश्र शिसोग···नागसेणस्य नि··· ; Banerji : हगिनादिस्य शिसोगन· नगसेनो दनं

TEXT[1]

1 मह[ा]राजस्य हु[वि]च्चस्य[2] सवचर ४० (+*)८ व २ दि १० (+*) ७ एतस्य पुवायं [कोट्टिये गणे] [बम][दा*]-

2 [सि]ये [कु]ले पचनगरिय-शाकाय [ध]ञवलस्य[3] शिशि[निये] धञ[शि]रि[ये] निवतन

3 [ब]धुकस्य वधुये शवलात-पो[त्रिये] यशा[ये] दान स[ं]भवस्य प्रोदिम प्र-

4 त[स्थ]पित[4] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [अष्टचत्वारिंशे] ४८ व[र्षा-मासे द्वितीये] २ (=पूर्णिमान्त-भाद्रपदे) दि[वसे सप्तदशे] १७—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] कोट्टीये गणे ब्रह्मदासीये कुले पञ्चनगरीय-शाखायां धान्यपालस्य शिष्यायाः धान्यश्रियाः निवर्त्तनात् (=अनुरोधात्) बन्धुकस्य वध्वाः शर्वत्रात-पौत्र्याः यशायाः दानं सम्भवस्य[5] प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ॥

No. 54—Mathura Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 51 (=A.D. 129)

Jamalpur mounds, MATHURĀ, U.P.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 113; No. 6.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[6]

1 महारजस्य दवपुत्रस्य हुवष्कस्य सवत्सरे ५० (+*)१ हेमन्त-मास १ दव... [एतस्यां] पु[र्व्वा]यां [भिक्षुणा] [बु]द्धवर्म[णा][7] [भग*]वतः श[क्य][मुनेः*]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The find-spot of the record was possibly Mathurā.

[2] च्च is evidently a mistake for ष्क (cf. *supra*, No. 52).

[3] Banerji read धुभवल, धुभशिरि, वुधुक and शवतन

[4] These *aksharas* stand below the middle of the previous line.

[5] Sambhavanātha is the third Jain *tīrthaṅkara* whose *lāñchhana* is the horse. His image is usually connected with the Yaksha Trimukha, the Yakshiṇī Śāsanadevī or Duritāridevī, the Kevala tree Śāla and the chowrie-bearer Satyavīrya.

[6] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X.

[7] Banerji : भिचनो बद्धवर्मण: शक्य

2 प्रतिमा प्रतिष्टापित सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजात्र्थ[म्] (।*) अ[नेन] [दे]यधर्म-परित्यागेन उपध्यायस्य सघदासस्य [निवनावा]प्तये(ऽ*)स्तु मा[तापितो च] (।*) [बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं ?]

3 बुद्धवर्मस्य सर्व-[दु]खोपशम[ा]य सर्व-सत्व-हित-सुखार्थ[ं] [म]हाराज-दे[वपुत्र-वि]हरे (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ हेमन्त-मासे [प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्त-मार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे····एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्थम्। अनेन देयधर्म-परित्यागेन [जातं पुण्यं] उपाध्यायस्य सङ्घदासस्य निर्वाणावाप्तये अस्तु, मातापित्रोः च। बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मणः सर्वदुखोपशमाय सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थं महाराज-देवपुत्रविहारे (=मथुरायां हुविष्क-प्रतिष्ठापित-विहारे)॥

No. 55—Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 51 (=A.D. 129)

Ruined Stūpas, KHAWĀT (Wardak)[1], Afghanistan

J. DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, pp. 231-68; F. E. PARGITER, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 210 f.; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 170 (No. LXXXVI).

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 सं २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) १ म(स*)स्य अर्थ(?)मिसिय[3] सस्तेहि १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ इमेण गडिग्रेण कमगुल्य-पुत्र वग्र-मरेग्र[4] स्र इय खवदम्म्रि कदलयिग्र वग्रमरिग्र-विहरम्म्रि थुस्तिम्रि[5] भग्रवद शक्यमुणे शरिर परिठवेति (।*)

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[1] The place is about 30 miles to the west of Kābul. Khawat is the same as Khavada of the record.

[2] From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For other references, see *ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] Konow reads मस्ये अर्थमिसिय सस्तेहि. He takes the last word to be identical with Khotani Śaka *sasta*, the Past Participle of the base *sad*, 'to shine', 'to appear', which is used about the sun. सस्तेहि १५=when 15 had appeared. Senart proposes संस्था=अहोरात्र. This word is used in the sense of day in several Kharoshṭhī records. Makedonian Artemisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Vaiśākha-Jyaishṭha.

[4] Some read वग्रमरेग्रस्य इश. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* is used in these records to modify the sounds of the consonants.

[5] Read थुवंम्रि which is Konow's reading.

2 इमेण कुशल-मुलेण महरज-रजतिरज-ह्वोवेष्कस्य अग्र-भग्रए भवतु (।*) मद-पिदर मे पुयए भवतु (।*) भ्रद्र मे हष्थुणः[1]-मरेग्रस्य पुयए भवतु (।*) यो त्र[2] मे भुय ञतिग्र-मित्र-संभतिग्रण पुयए भवतु (।*) महिय त्र वग्र-मरेग्रस्य अग्र-भग्र-पड्रियंशं[ए]

3 भवतु (।*) सर्व-सत्वण अरोग-दक्षिणए भवतु (।*) अविय[3] नरग्र-पर्यंत यव भवग्र यो अत्र अंतरं अंडजो जलयुग शप(फ?)तिग[4] अरुप्यत सर्विण पुयए भवतु (।*) महिय त्र रोहण सद सर्विण अवषड्रिगण सपरिवर त्र अग्र-भग-पड्रियंश[ए] भवतु मिथ्यगस्य[5] त्र अग्र-भग भवतु (॥*)

4 एष विहरं अचं च,र्यण महसंघिगण परिग्रह (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ मासस्य +अर्थमिस्याः (=अर्थमिस्याख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य ; Artemisios) +सस्तेहि १५ (=दिवसे पञ्चदशे)—अनेन +घटिकेन (=अस्यां घटिकायां) कमगूल्य-पुत्रः वग्र-मरेगः—सः इह खवदे (=खवदाख्ये प्रदेशे) कृतालयकः (=कृतावासः)—वग्रमरेग-विहारे स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (=देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति। अनेन कुशल-मूलेन (=इदं पुण्यस्य मूलं) महाराज-राजातिराज-हुविष्कस्य अग्र-भागाय भवतु ; मातापित्रोः मे पूजायै भवतु ; भ्रातुः मे हष्थुणः-मरेगस्य पूजायै भवतु ; एतत् च मे भूयः ज्ञातिक-मित्र-संभ्रातृकाणां (=०बान्धवानां) पूजायै भवतु। मम च वग्र-मरेगस्य अग्रभाग-प्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्यभागरूपांशाय) भवतु। सर्व-सत्त्वानाम् आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (=०दानप्राप्तये) भवतु। अपि च नरकपर्यन्तात् (=अधस्तनलोकानां शेषसीमातः समारभ्य) यावद् भवाग्रं (=स्वर्गलोकं)—यः अत्र अन्तरे अण्डजः, जारायुकः (=जरायुजः), शष्पादिकं (=उद्भिज्जः), अरूप्यात्मा (=स्वेदजः)[6]—सर्वेषां पूजायै भवतु। मम च रोहाणां (=वंशधराणां) सदा सर्वेषाम् अपाषण्डिकानां (=धार्मिकाणां) सपरिवारं च अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु, मिथ्यागस्य (=वितथधर्म-सेविनां) च अग्रभागः भवतु। एषः विहारः आचार्याणां माहासाङ्घिकानां परिग्रहः॥

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[1] See *Khar. Ins*, III, Plate XIV, Nos. 81, 93.

[2] Some read शोच.

[3] Pargiter suggests the correction अरिय.

[4] Konow : शेतिग.

[5] Konow : मिथ्यगस्त.

[6] Cf. पशवश्च मृगाश्चैव व्यालाश्चोभयतोदतः। रक्षांसि च पिशाचाश्च मनुष्याश्च जरायुजाः॥ अण्डजाः पक्षिणः सर्पा नक्रा मत्स्याश्च कच्छपाः। यानि चैवम्प्रकाराणि स्थलजान्यौदकानि च॥ स्वेदजं दंशमशकं यूका मक्षिकमत्कुणम्। ऊष्मणश्चोपजायन्ते यच्चान्यत् किञ्चिदीदृशम्॥ उद्भिज्जाः स्थावराः सर्वे बीजकाण्डप्ररोहिणः। ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ता बहुपुष्पफलोपगाः॥ (मनुसंहिता।१ ४३-४६). अरूपम्=अल्परूपम्=क्षुद्राकारः ; अरूपी + आत्मा (देहः) [यस्य]. Buddhist works refer to (1) *aṇḍaja*, (2) *jalābuja*, (3) *saṁsedaja* or *sedaja* and (4) *opapātika* (Sanskrit *aupapātika*, 'born of accident', i. e. without the agency of parents).

No. 56—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Huvishka (c. 106-138 A.D.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 76

First Side[2]

Half-length figure[3] of king, rising from clouds, richly dressed, with round jewelled helmet or cap, to left; with ends of the diadem hanging down behind; club and sceptre in hands; inscription in Greek characters:—
ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (=*Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano*)[4]

Second Side

War-god (Mahāsena), standing, facing, clad in Indian waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in right hand a standard surmounted by a bird[5] and with left hand resting on sword at his side; monogram to left; inscription to right in Greek characters:—
MAACHNO (=*Maaseno*=Sanskrit *Mahāsena*=Kārttikeya)[6]

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[1] Huvishka's inscriptional dates range between the years 28 and 60.

[2] From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XII, No. 8.

[3] On some gold coins we have a very large head (or bust) of the king, covered with round jewelled helmet with spreading crest and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind; a large ornamental ear-ring in the ear, and flames springing from shoulders. On some specimens we get half-length figure of the king to left, rising from clouds, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand and club in right hand before face. Sometimes we have *aṅkuśa* for sceptre, which refers to the king as an elephant-rider as seen on his copper coins.

[4] *I.e.*, 'Huvishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of the kings'.

[5] This is the *Śikhi-dhvaja* of Kārttikeya. The bird is evidently a peacock. On some specimens, we have *Skando-Komaro* (Skando-Kumāra), *Maaseno* (Mahāsena), and *Bizago* (Viśākha), conceived as three different deities whose figures appear on the coins. See below.

[6] On the reverse of Huvishka's coins, we have representations of the god AΘÞO (=*Athsho*) with hammer in the right and tongs in the left hand (cf. Greek Hephaistos and Indian Viśvakarman); the goddess of abundance APΔOXÞO (*Ardokhsho*), the moon-god MANAO-BAΓO (*Manao-bago*) or MAO (*Mao*), the sun-god ANIO (*Anio*), MIIPO (*Miiro*) or MIOPO (*Mioro*), the goddess NANAÞAO (*Nanushao*), the goddess OANAO (*Oanao*) or OANINΔA (*Oaninda*), the god OHÞA (*Oesha*, i.e. Śiva), the war-god ÞAOPHOPO (*Shaoreoro*; Persian *Shāhrewar*; cf. Greek Ares), HRAKΛES (Herakles), the fire-god ΦAPPO (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*) and the four-armed god OOÞNA (*Ooshna*, possibly Vishṇu, not Śiva as generally suggested)

No. 56A—Mathurā Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Vāsudeva—[Śaka] Year 64 or 67 (= 142 or 145 A.D.)[1]

PALIKHRA, Mathura, U.P.

M. M. NAGAR, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Hyderabad, 1941, pp. 163-64; D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 181 ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 ………त्स्य वासुदेवस्य सं ६०(+*) [४ or ७] वर्षा-मासे द्विती(ये*) २ दिवसि(से)
2 …. ……नं सर्वंष यत्नोपनान पूजार्थं [ं*]
3 …………न परिग्रहा(य*) अचरियन महासघिका[नं*]
4 ……… [नि]स्य प्रतिमा सगिहा मातापित्रेण अभसितनं
5 ……… कुदुत्रिकानं [गुह]सेने[न]…[3]

On a few specimens we have on the reverse the word गणेश in Brāhmī characters; but the god represented is an archer, standing to right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards. The inscription and representation seem to refer to Śiva. Of course it may be pointed out that sometimes on Huvishka's coins we have the representation of Mao with the legend *Ardokhsho* and that of Ardokhsho with the legend *Mao*. But the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is known to be a post-epic god. For Śiva Tripurāntaka with two hands carrying bow and arrow, see Gopinatharao, *El.H Icon.*, pp. 168, 171, Plate 38. Śiva is the 'lord of the *Gaṇas*' in early literature. Of other Indian gods and goddesses represen- ted on Huvishka's coins, we may mention OMMO (*Ommo*, *i. e.* the Mother-goddess Umā = Dravidian *Amma*, 'mother', sometimes identified with Nana; cf. J. N Banerjea, *Dev. Hind. Icon.*, pp. 139-40). A group of two gods, viz. SKANDO KOMARO (Skanda-Kumāra) and BIZAГO (Viśākha), is represented on some coins while others have the group of three, viz., Skanda-Kumāra. Viśākha and MAACHNO (Mahāsena). These were originally different divinities later identified with Kārttikeya. A Kushāṇa seal-matrix, attributed by Cunningham to Huvishka, represents a four-armed figure of Vishṇu with the king standing reverentially looking up at the god with his hands in the *añjali* pose. See Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[1] His reign period is *circa* 152-76. A.D., as his inscriptional dates range between the years 74 and 98. After him, the Kushāṇas appear to have gradually lost much of the Punjab and U.P. to local dynasties like that of the Nāgas. The Nāgas, especially of Mathurā, became a notable power in the 3rd century A.D.

[2] See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

[3] Apparently the word पतिठापिता is lost here.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

…[देव]पुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे [चतुःषष्टितमे यद्वा सप्तषष्ठितमे] ६४ (यद्वा—६७) वर्षामासे द्वितीये (=पूर्णिमान्तभाद्रपदे) २ दिवसे…[सत्त्वानां सर्वेषां यत्रोत्पन्नानां] पूजार्थं…. [सर्व-बुद्धा]नां परिग्रहाय आचार्याणां माहासंघिकानां · [शाक्यमु]नेः प्रतिमा स-गृहा मातापितृभ्यां [सह] अभासितानां…कुटुम्बकानां गुहसेनेन [प्रतिष्ठापिता] ॥

No. 57—Mathurā Image Inscription of Vāsudeva—[Śaka] Year 80 (=A.D. 158)

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, U.P.

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 392, No. 24; Lüders, List, No. 66; R. D. Banerji, X, p. 116, No. 10.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 स्धि[2] (॥*) महरजस्य व[ा]सुदेवस्य स[ं] ८० हमव[3] १ दि १० (+*)२ एतस पुव[ी]यां सनक[दसस?]

2 धि[त्र] संघतिधिस वधुये बलस्य……(॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं[वत्सरे अशीतितमे] ८० हेमन्त-[मासे प्रथमे] १ दि[वसे द्वादशे]१२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां सनकदासस्य दुहिता सङ्घातिथेः वध्वा बलस्य [माता]… ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X. Line 2 begins from below the middle of line 1.

[2] See *supra*, p. 156, n. 2.

[3] Bühler : हयव. Read हेमंत.

No. 57A—Kosam Stone Slab Inscription of Bhadramagha—[Śaka] Year 86 (=A.D. 164)[1]

Hasanābād, near Kosam, Allahābād District, U.P.

D. R. Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of the Northern Class of c. 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 [स्वस्ति][3] महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रम[घस्य*][4]
2 [संवत्सरे*] ८० (+*) ६[5] वर्षा-पक्ष ३ दिवस ५
3 * * * कस्य[6] शम(प?)रस्य पुत्र-हेमाङ्गन[7]
4 * * * * [दत्ता][8] अयाया[9] देवदार[10] ।

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[1] Sahni reads 88, refers the year to the Gupta era and assigns the record to 407 A.D. Palaeographically however the record seems to be earlier. At that date, moreover, no महाराज of Kosam could have failed to mention the name of the Gupta महाराजाधिराज. Jayaswal refers it to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*Hist. Ind.*, pp. 230-31), while A. Ghosh prefers a local era connected with the dynasty (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 715). The inscriptions of the Maghas and others like that of Bhīmavarman dated in the year 139 (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 267), if referred to the Gupta era, would suggest a less developed state of the Brāhmī script in the Kosam region than in other parts of North India. Jayaswal's theory however cannot be accepted until the use of the Kalachuri era in the above region is proved satisfactorily. Ghosh's suggestion is better than that of Jayaswal. As indicated above, p. 136, n. 2, the foundation of an era was possible with any independent ruling dynasty. As these kings ruled apparently before the Gupta emperors, the era may have started about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. But since almost the whole of U.P. formed part of Kaṇishka's empire, I prefer the Kaṇishka or Śaka era to an otherwise unknown local era. Numismatic evidence suggests that Kushāṇa influence spread over large parts of Bengal and Orissa. We have now an inscription dated in the year 108 (A.D. 186) of the Kanishka era in Bihar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 229ff.).

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

[3] The indistinct *aksharas* may also be सिद्धम्.

[4] Generally corrected to ०मेघ. Sometimes reads ०माघ.

[5] Sahni reads ८. Read वर्षापक्षे and दिवसे.

[6] Are we to restore कौशाम्बिकस्य ?

[7] Read हेमाङ्गेन, or better पुत्रेण हेमाङ्गेन.

[8] Possibly दत्तं is intended.

[9] Possibly आर्याया: is intended.

[10] Possibly देवद्वारं (=दिव्य-तोरणं) is intended. Sahni suggests आर्या यादवदारा.

(iii) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚAKAS OF WESTERN INDIA

(a) KSHAHARĀTA FAMILY (HOUSE OF NAHAPĀNA)

No. 58—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

—[Śaka] Years 41, 42, 45 (=A.D. 119, 120, 123)[1]

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. Immediately below the inscription of Dakshamitrā (*infra*, No. 60) in Cave No. 10.

Bhagawanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 102f.; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 82ff., No. 12.[2]

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

1 सिधं [॥*] वसे ४०(+*)२ वेसाख-मासे राञो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामातरा दीनीक-पुत्रेन उषवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं (।*) दत चानेन अक्षय निवि काहापण-सहस्रा-

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[1] Some scholars think that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Vikrama era and that therefore he ruled much earlier, because the palaeography of these records is earlier than that of the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman. I have however no doubt that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Śaka era. This is proved by the resemblance of their characters with those of the Andhau records and the palaeography and internal evidence of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi. Inscriptions and coins prove the contemporaneity of Śātakarṇi with Nahapāna and Ushavadāta, and Ptolemy's Geography suggests the author's (c. 140 A D.) contemporaneity with Puḷumāvi and Chashṭana, grandfather of Rudradāman. The earlier members of the houses of Nahapāna and Chashṭana were probably feudatories of the Kushāṇas (cf *supra*, No. 48); but the later members retained their feudatory title even after they had assumed independence (cf. the titles *rājan*, *svāmin* and *kshatrapa* used together). It may be that Rudradāman I was the first independent or semi-independent ruler among the Western Satraps. The Kushāṇas were possibly losing their hold on Western India by this time.

[2] For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1133; also *infra.*, No. 59.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record appears to have been engraved on the cave-wall from a grant inscribed on plates of copper or on cloth. That some royal charters were written not on *tāmra-paṭṭa* but on the easily perishable *kārpāsika-paṭa* (cf. notes on Bk. III, No. 49) is suggested by the paucity or absence of grants belonging to many kings, royal families or regions. Copper-plate

2 नि तीणि[1] ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इयस्मिं लेणे वसांतान[ं][2] भविसंति[3] चिवरिक कुशाणमूले च (।*) एते च काहापणा प्रयुता गोवधनं[4] वाथवासु श्रेणिसु (।*) कोलीक निकाये २००० वृधि पडिक-शत अपर-कोलीक-निका-

3 ये १००० वधि पा[यू]न-[प]डिक शत (।*) एते च काहापणा [अ]पडिदातवा वधि-भोजा (।*) एतो चिवरिक-सहस्रानि बे २००० ये पडिके सते (।*) एतो मम लेणे वसवुथान भिखुनं वीस[ा]य एकीकस चिवरिक बारसक[5] (।*) य सहस्र प्रयुतं पायुन-पडिके शते अतो कुशन-

4 मूल (।*) कापूराहारे[6] च गामे चिखलपद्रे दतानि नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्राणि[7] अठ ८००० (।*) एत च सवं स्रावित [नि]गम-सभाय निबध च फलकवारे चरित्रतो ति (।*) भूयोनेन दतं वसे ४० (+*)१ कातिक-शूधे[8] पनरस पुवाक वसे ४० (+*)५[9]

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charters of the Kashmir kings have not been discovered, although their grants are referred to by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Private deeds were usually written on birch bark or palm leaves or on cloth and rarely on terracotta plaques.

[1] Others read त्रिनि.

[2] Read वसंतानं.

[3] Others read भविसति.

[4] Others do not notice the *anusvāra*.

[5] The rate of monthly interest being 1 per cent., the sum of 2000 *Kārshāpaṇas* would bring 20 *K.* per month and 240 *K.* per year. Each monk getting 12 *K.* for cloth money, 20 of them would get 240 *K.* The rate of interest was very high in ancient India. Monthly interest at the rate of 2% from a Brāhmaṇa debtor, 3% from a Kshatriya, 4% from a Vaiśya and 5% from a Śūdra has been sanctioned by old law-givers (*Manu*, VIII, 142; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 38; *Vishṇu*, VI. 2). *Kārshāpaṇa* was a coin (of copper, gold or silver) weighing 1 Karsha = 80 Ratis = 146·4 grains (Rati = 1·83 grains). The gold *Suvarṇa*, the copper *Paṇa* and Kauṭilya's silver *Dharaṇa* are of this weight. The silver *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* was however usually of 32 Ratis = 58·56 grains. But here the silver coins of Nahapāna (about 40 grains) are called Kārshāpaṇa. Thirty-five of them made one Suvarṇa, probably the Kushāṇa gold coin of the 124 grains standard. The ratio between gold and silver thus appears to have been about 1 to 11. Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, XIII, p. 189; Bhandarkar, *Anc. Ind. Num.*, p. 192.

[6] Fleet identified the headquarters of Kāpūrāhāra with Kapura in the old Baroda State and Chikhalaradra with Chikhalda 2½ miles east-north-east of Kapura (*Ind. Ant.* 1910, p. 98). Kāpura is mentioned in the Pardi inscription of Traikūṭaka Dahrasena (Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. lxii).

[7] Senart : नालिगेरान मुल-सहसानि.

[8] Others read शुधि.

[9] Some words of the original appear to have been left out in lines 5-6. The difference of donees suggests that lines 5-6 belong to a different charter. The *aksharas* are big in lines 1-2 and 6, but smaller in lines 3-5. The smallest letters begin from भूयोनेन in line 4.

5 [1]पनरस नियुतं भगवता[ं] देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्षापण-सहस्रानि सतरि ७०००
प[ं]चत्रि[ं]शक सुवण कृता दिन सुवर्ण-सहस्रगं मूल्य[ं] (॥*)

6 [2]फळकवारे चरित्रतो ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ वर्षे [द्विचत्वारिंशे] ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य (=नखवतः ?) जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन (यद्वा—वृषभदत्तेन) सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय (=सर्वदेशीयाय) इदं लयनं (=गुहावासः) निर्यातितं (=दत्तम्)। दत्ता च अनेन अक्षयनीविः (=०न्यासः) कार्षापण-सहस्राणि त्रीणि ३००० सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय, या अस्मिन् लयने वसतां [भिक्षूणां] भविष्यति चैवरिकं (=चीवरमूल्यं) कुशान्न-मूल्यम् (=असुख्याहार°)[3]। एतानि च कार्षापणानि प्रयुक्तानि (=न्यासीकृतानि) गोवर्द्धने (=नासिके) वास्तव्यासु श्रेणिषु - कौलिक-निकाये [कार्षापणानां] द्वे सहस्रे २०००, [येषां] वृद्धिः प्रतिक-शतं[4] (=कार्षापणानां शतं प्रति कार्षापणम् एकं यथा स्यात् तथा); अपरकौलिक-निकाये यत् [कार्षापणानां] सहस्रं १०००, [तेषां] वृद्धिः पादोन-प्रतिक-शतं (=कार्षापणानां शतं प्रति पादोनम् एकं कार्षापणम्)। एतानि च कार्षापणानि अप्रतिदातव्यानि, [परं तु] वृद्धि-भोज्यानि। एतयोः (=न्यासयोः) चैवरिकं सहस्रे द्वे २००० [कार्षापणानां], ये प्रतिक-शतं (=ये शतं प्रति एकं कार्षापणं वृद्धिं यच्छेताम्)। अतो (=अमुष्मात्) लयने वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां विंशतये एकैकस्य चैवरिकं द्वादशकं [कार्षापणानाम्]। यत् सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोन-प्रतिक-शतम्, अतः कुशान्न-मूल्यम्। कर्पूराहारे च ग्रामे चित्खलपद्रे दत्तानि नारिकेलानां

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[1] This line begins from below स्रा of the word स्राविते in line 4.

[2] These letters are inscribed at the beginning of line 5, i.e. below the beginning of line 4.

[3] कुशण-मूल is 'expenses of outside life' according to some. कुशान्न=minor food (असुख्याहार) probably including minor necessities. Cf. the reference to *mukhy-āhāra* in No. 59, line 5. Bhandarkar thinks that *Kuśaṇa*, a coin-designation named after the Kushāṇas, indicates the silver coins of Nahapāna. According to him *Kuśaṇa-mūla*= 'value of the Kuśaṇas'; 90 Kārshāpaṇas, the annual interest of 1000 *K*., were equal to 80 Kuśaṇas, each of the 20 monks requiring 4 Kuśaṇas for the 4 months of the rainy season (*Carm. Lect.*, 1921, pp. 199-200). The interpretation is untenable.

[4] प्रतिक means कार्षापणिक. The passage प्रतिकं शतं means 'one Kārshāpaṇa per cent.' *Akshaya-nīvi* is a 'permanent endowment'; *śreṇi* is a 'guild'; and *nikāya* is a 'corporation.' The 'weavers' guild' and the 'western weavers' guild' were apparently like modern banking and trading corporations.

मूलसहस्राणि (=शिशुनारिकेलतरूणां मूल-भूयिष्ठानां स° ; यद्वा—मूल्यं [कार्षापणानां] स०) अष्ट ८००० । एतत् च सर्वं श्रावितं निगम-सभायां (=पौरसभायां), निबद्धं च फलकवारे (=लिखितं ताम्रपट्टसमूहे ; यद्वा—कार्पासिकपट्ट° ; यद्वा—राजकीये फलकानां रक्षागृहे एतस्य प्रतिलिपिः रक्षिता) चरित्रतः (=यथाचारम्) इति । भूयः अनेन दत्तं वर्षे [एकचत्वारिंशे] ४१ कार्त्तिक-शुद्धे (=°शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चदशे [दिवसे] पौर्वकं (=पूर्वदत्तं) वर्षे [पञ्चचत्वारिंशे] ४५··· पञ्चदशे (=कस्यचिन्मासस्य पञ्चदशदिवसे)···नियुक्तं भगवद्भ्यः देवेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च कार्षापण-सहस्राणि सप्तति ७००००, [कार्षापणानां] पञ्चविंशत्कं सुवर्णम्[1] [एकं] कृत्वा द्वयोः सुवर्णसहस्रयोः मूल्यं (=मूलधनम्)। [निबद्धं च एतत्] फलकवारे चरित्रतः इति ॥

No. 59—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay State. On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10 under the ceiling.

R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Transactions of the 2nd (London) Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, pp. 326ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 139 ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 99f.; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 569 ff.; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 27 ff.; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 78 ff., No. 10.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 सीद्धम्[3] [*svastika*] (॥*) राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दीनीक-पुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रि गोशत-सहस्रदेन नद्या बार्णासायां सुवर्णदान-तीर्थ-करेण देवत[ा]भ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजापयित्रा

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[1] The *suvarṇa* is here supposed to be the gold coins of the Kushāṇas (Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. clxxv).

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1131. The record which seems originally to have been a copper-plate (or cloth-plate) grant and was later engraved on the cave-wall has evidently reached us in a distorted form. The latter part of the grant appears to have been condensed, The absence of date, the reference to the donor in both the first and third persons and the palaeography are to be noted. The language of the concluding part is different from that of the rest of the record. Like *supra*, No. 58, this record seems also to be made out of more than one original charter.

[3] Others read सिद्ध·

2 प्रभासे[1] पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन[2] भरुकछे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुशालावसध-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन आराम तडाग-उदपान-करेण इबा-पारादा-दमण-तापी-करबेणा-दाहनुका नावा पुण्य-तर-करेण एतासां च नदीनां उभतो तीरं सभा-

3 प्रपा-करेण पींडीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे[3] चरक-पर्षभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रीशत नाळीगेर-मूल सहस्र-प्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रीरश्मिषु[4]

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[1] Cf. ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र प्रभासं तीर्थमुत्तमम्, etc. in *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20ff., 58ff. These *tirthas* were all in Western India probably within the dominions of Śaka Nahapāna, father-in-law of the Hinduised Śaka prince Ushavadāta. Govardhana is near mod Nāsik. Prabhāsa is in Kāṭhiāwāṛ. Bhṛigukachchha is mod. Broach and Śūrpāraka mod. Sopara in the Thana Dist., Bombay State. Daśapura is mod. Man-Dasor in Western Mālwā (old Gwalior State). Of the rivers, Tāpī is the celebrated Tāptī. Damana may be the Damangaṅgā running by the Portuguese town of Daman and Dāhanukā may be connected with the Portuguese town of Dahanu. The Pārādā has been identified with the Par in the Surat District. Nānaṁgola is supposed to be Nārgol near Sanjan in the Thana Dist., Bombay. Bārṇāsā is possibly mod. Banas, a tributary of the Chambal. The names mentioned in the record appear to point to the wide extent of Nahapāna's kingdom. Nahapāna no doubt owed allegiance to the Kushāṇa emperor.

[2] Many of the gifts referred to in lines 1-2 are highly recommended in the Purāṇas; cf., e.g., *Padma-Purāṇa*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, Ch. 24: क्षितिं सशस्यां यो दद्याद्ब्राह्मणाय द्विजोत्तम। विष्णुलोके सुखं भुङ्क्ते यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश ॥३॥ सप्तद्वीपां महीं दत्त्वा यत्पुण्यं प्राप्यते द्विज। तत्पुण्यं प्राप्नुयान्मर्त्त्यो धेनुं यच्छन् द्विजातये ॥१३॥ तिलप्रमाणं स्वर्णं यो ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति। हरेर्निकेतनं याति युक्तं कोटिकुलैरपि ॥१८॥ सालङ्कारां द्विजश्रेष्ठ कन्यां यच्छति यो नरः। स गच्छेद्ब्रह्मसदनं पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥२२॥ अन्नं वारि द्विजश्रेष्ठ येन दत्तं महीतले। तेन दत्तानि दानानि सर्वाणि च द्विजर्षभ ॥४१॥ See also *ibid*, Ch. 5. Cf. also *Vishṇusaṁhitā*, 19: अथ कूपकर्त्तुस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्यार्द्धं विनश्यति।१। तडागकृन्नित्यतृप्तो वारुणं लोकमश्नुते।२। जलप्रदः सदा तृप्तो भवति।३। etc. See also *Kūrma P.*, II, 39, v. 79 : अनाथं दुर्गतं विप्रं नाथवन्तमथापि वा। उद्वाहयति यस्तीर्थे तस्य पुण्यफलं शृणु ॥ etc.

[3] Cf.

ततः शूर्पारकं गच्छेज्जामदग्न्यनिषेवितम्।
रामतीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा विन्द्याद्बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥ *Mbh.*, III, 85, 42

For another Rāmatīrtha, associated with Jāmadagnya Paraśurāma and situated on the Mahendra, see *ibid.*, 85, 16-17. Rāmatīrtha on the Gomatī (*ibid.*, 84, 73) was however associated with Dāśarathi Rāma.

[4] Senart : त्रिरश्मिषु. Triraśmi was the name of the hills in which the caves are found. Govardhana was the name of both a city and the district round it.

पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा च पोढियो (॥*)[1] भटारका-अञातिया[2] च गतोस्मिं वर्षा-रतुं मालये[हि][3] * * हि रुधं उतमभाद्रं मोचयितुं (।*)

4 ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव[4] अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं[5] च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा कृता (।*) ततोस्मिं गतो पोक्षरानि[6] (।*) तत्र च मया अभिसेको कृतो त्रीणि च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च (॥*)[7] दत च[ा]नेन क्षेत्र[ं] ब्राह्मणस वाराहि-पुत्रस अश्विभूतिस हथे कोणिता मुलेन काहापण-सहस्रेहि चतुहि ४००० यो[8] स-पितु-सतक नगरसीमायं उतरापरा[यं] दीसायं (।*) एतो मम लेने वस-

5 [9]तानं चातुदीसस भिखु-सघस मुखाहारो भविसती[10] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन, त्रि-गो-शतसहस्रदेन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण (=सुवर्णदानस्य सोपानकरणस्य च विधात्रा), देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च षोडश-ग्रामदेन, अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्रा, प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्ट-भार्या-प्रदेन, भृगुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्द्धने शूर्पारके च चतुःशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन (=तीर्थनिषेविणां कृते चतुःशालगृहाणां विश्रामागाराणां च विधात्रा), आराम-तडागोदपान-करेण इबा-पारादा-दमन-तापी-करवेण्वा-दाहनुकासु नावा

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[1] The remaining letters of the line are about half the size of the letters of the record up to the word पोढियो.

[2] ञ was afterwards inserted. Senart अंञा°.

[3] Traces of a few letters are found between ये[हि] and हि. It is possible that they were purposely erased.

[4] Cf.
का कथा बाणसन्धाने ज्याशब्देनैव दूरतः ।
हुङ्कारेणैव धनुषः स हि विघ्नानपोहति ॥ *Śākuntala*, III, 1.

[5] The plural number suggests that *Uttamabhadra* was the name of a tribe. The word cannot be translated 'of the soldiers of Uttamabhadra'. The identification of Uttamabhadra with Uttamadatta of the Mathurā coins (*J. N. S. I.*, VII, pp. 26-27) has little to support it.

[6] Cf. पुष्करे स्नानमात्रतः सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति । विष्णुसंहिता ।८५।२ ; see also *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20 ff.; 89, 16 ff. Coins of the Mālavas (originally living in the Jhang Dist., Punjab) prove that they settled in the eastern part of the old Jaipur State (Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 161 f). Coins of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna discovered at Pushkar and Ajmer possibly prove Kshaharāta occupation of the Ajmer region. It is interesting to note that many coins of the Śaka house of Chashṭana have also been discovered in the same region. See Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 64, 67, 77, 85, 93, 190, 192, etc. See *supra*, p. 91, note 6.

[7] There is a blank space between च and दत. The letters of the rest of the record from the word दत are very small in size.

[8] Senart : य

[9] This line begins from below यो स-पितु° in line 4.

[10] Senart reads भविसति.

(=नौ-योगेन) पुण्यतरकरेण[1] (=पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्रा=अशुल्केन नदीतरणविधात्रा; यद्वा ०दाहनुकानावाख्यनदीषु पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्रा), एतासां च नदीनाम् उभयतः तीरे सभा-प्रपा-करेण (=विश्रामागारान् जलसत्त्राणि च कृतवता), पिण्डितकावटे गोवर्द्धने सुवर्णमुखे शूर्पारके च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षद्भ्यः (=चरकाख्यसम्प्रदायानुसारिभ्यः[2]; यद्वा—परिव्राजकभिक्षुसङ्घेभ्यः) ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रिंशन्नारिकेलमूलसहस्रप्रदेन (=शिशुनारिकेलतरूणां मूलभूयिष्ठानां द्वात्रिंशत्सहस्राणि दत्तवता; यद्वा—द्वात्रिंशच्छत-नारिकेलतरूणां मूल्यं कार्षापण-सहस्रं दत्तवता; यद्वा—द्वित्र-शत०), गोवर्द्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु (=त्रिरश्मि-पर्वते) धर्मात्मना (=ऋषभदत्तेन) इदं लयनं कारितम्, इमे च प्रहयः (=निपानानि [कारिताः])। भट्टारकाज्ञप्त्या (=नहपानाज्ञया ?) च गतः आसं वर्षर्तौ मालवैः रुद्धम् औत्तमभाद्रं (=उत्तमभद्रकाणाम् अधिपतिं) मोचयितुम्। ते च मालवाः प्रणादेन (=ऋषभदत्तसैन्यहुङ्कारेण) त्रव अपयाताः (=पलायिताः), उत्तमभद्रकाणां च क्षत्रियाणां सर्वे [मालवाः] परिग्रहाः (=वन्दिनः) कृताः [ऋषभदत्तेन]। ततः आसं गतः पुष्करान् (=पुष्करतीर्थम्)। तत्र च मया अभिषेकः (=स्नानं) कृतः, त्रीणि च गोसहस्राणि दत्तानि, ग्रामः च [दत्तः]। दत्तं च अनेन (=ऋषभदत्तेन) क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वाराही-पुत्रस्य अश्विभूतेः हस्तेन क्रीत्वा मूल्येन कार्षापण-सहस्रैः चतुर्भिः ४०००, यत् स्वपितृस्वत्वकम् (=अश्विभूति-पितृ-स्वत्वकं [क्षेत्रं]) नगरसीम्नि उत्तरापरायां (=पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां) दिशायां [वर्तते]। अतः (=एतस्मात्) मम लयने वसतः चातुर्द्दिशस्य भिक्षुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारः (=०हाराय=मुख्यान्नाय [एषः ग्रामः]) भविष्यति।

No. 60—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Bombay State. In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 81 f., No. 11.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] Cf. शुल्क-तर in *Vishṇu*, 3, 9, and तर-शुल्क in *Agni P.*, 223, 25. पुण्यतर=अशुल्कतर. People got free food at a king's *āvasathas* in *Chhānd. Up.*, IV, i. See Bk. III, No 69, verse 7.

[2] *Charaka* primarily denotes 'a wandering student' in the Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas. More especially it denotes the members of a school of the Black Yajurveda, whose practices are referred to with disapproval. The चरकाचार्य is enumerated among the sacrificial victims of the Purushamedha sacrifice (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 256). Rāmatīrtha was at Śūrpāraka.

TEXT[1]

1 सीधं[2] (॥*) रांओ क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस दीहि-

2 तु दीनीक-पुतस उषवदातस कुडुंबिनिय दखमिताय देयधम[3] ओवरको[4] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य दुहितुः, दीनीक-पुत्रस्य ऋषभदत्तस्य कुटुम्बिन्याः (=भार्यायाः) दक्षमित्रायाः देयधर्मः (=धर्मदेयं=धर्मवृद्धये दत्तः वस्तुविशेषः) अपवारकः (=गुहा-वासः) ॥

No. 61—Kārle Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

KĀRLE, Poona Dist., Bombay State. On the upper frieze to the right of the central door of the Chaitya cave.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 101; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 57 ff., No. 13.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[5]

1 सिधं (॥*) रञो खहरातस खतपस नहपानस जा[म]तरा [दीनीक]-पूतेन उसभदातेन ति-

2 गो-सतसहस-[दे]ण नदिया बणासाया [सु]वण-[ति]थकरेन[6] [देवतान*] ब्रम्हणन च सोळस-गा-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see *supra*, No. 59, and Lüders' List, No. 1132.

[2] Some read सिधं

[3] Senart : धंमं

[4] There is a similar inscription in the same veranda of the same cave, over the doorway of the right cell.

[5] From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1099. This record may have been copied from a grant originally on plates of copper or cloth. The writing is much defaced.

[6] In *supra*, No. 60, we have सुवर्णदान-तीर्थंकरेण in place of सुवर्णतीर्थंकरेण of this inscription.

3 म-दे[न*] पभासे पूत-तिथे ब्रह्मणाण अठ-भाया-प[देन*] [अ]नुवासं पितु सत-सहसं [भो]-

4 जपयित वलूरकेसु[1] लेण-वासिनं पवजितानं चातुदिसस सघस

5 यापणथ गामो [कर]जिको[2] दतो स[वा]न [वा]स-वासितानं (?) (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभ-दत्तेन त्रि-गो-शतसहस्र-देन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्ण[दान]-तीर्थ-करेण, देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च षोडशग्रामदेन, प्रभासे पूततीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्ट-भार्या-प्रदेन, अनुवर्षं पित्रे (=स्वर्गतं पितरं प्रीणयितुं) शत-साहस्री भोजयित्रा (=ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्रा) वलूरकेषु लयन-वासिभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य यापनार्थं (=वर्षायापनार्थं= वर्षासु वासार्थं) ग्रामः करजिकः दत्तः सर्वेभ्यः वर्षाव्युषितेभ्यः (=वर्षाप्रवासि-भिक्षुभ्यः=°भिक्षून् उद्दिश्य) ॥

No. 62—Junnar Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.) —

[Śaka] Year 46 (=124 A.D.)

JUNNĀR, Poona District, Bombay State

INDRAJI and BURGESS, *Ins. C. Temp. W. Ind.*, pp. 51f.; BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] Valūraka appears to be the ancient name of the Kārle region. The suggestion that it may be Elūra from where the monks came to Kārle to pass the rainy season (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii, p. 391) does not appeal to us.

[2] It should be noted that the same village of Karajika was re-granted by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who ousted the Kshaharātas from these regions (cf. Nos. 83 and 86 below). Lüders' List, No. 1105 (Karle) records Śātakarṇi's order to the Amātya of Māmāḍa regarding the grant of Karajika-grāma in Māmāḷ-āhāra on the Northern Road (or, in the northern division) as *bhikshu-hala* to the *pravrajita-bhikshus* dwelling in the Valūraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahāsaṁghikas.

TEXT[1]

1 [राञो*] महखतपस सामि[2]-नहपानस

2 [आ]मतस[3] वछ-सगोतस अयमस

3 [दे*][यधम] च(पो)ढि मटपो च पुञथय वसे ४०(+*)६ कतो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-नहपानस्य अमात्यस्य वत्स-सगोत्रस्य अर्यम्नः देयधर्मः (=धर्मवृद्धये दत्तं वस्तु) प्रहिः (=उदपानं, निपानं) मण्डपः (=जनानां विश्रामगृहं) च पुण्यार्थाय वर्षे [षट्चत्वारिंशे] ४६ कृतः ॥

(b) KĀRDAMAKA FAMILY (HOUSE OF CHASHṬANA)

Nos. 63-66—Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Chashṭana and Rudradāman[4]

—[Śaka][5] Year 52 (=130 A.D.)

ANDHAU, Khāvḍā (or Pachchham), Kutch District, Bombay State.
R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script : Brāhmī

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[1] From the Plate in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1174.

[2] The word *svāmin* is the Sanskrit rendering of a Śaka word meaning 'lord' (cf. *Śaka-muruṇḍa* ; Chinese *wang*). Some Indian kings, e.g. the Later Sātavāhanas, used the title. Neo-Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāra* or *bhaṭṭāraka* (from *bhartṛi*, actually *bhartāraḥ*) may also be connected with the same Skythian style.

[3] Bühler : ०मात्यस.

[4] Banerji translated the beginning of these records as "In the year 52, on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna, *va* 2, [during the reign] of the king Rudradāman, the son of Jayadāman, [the grandson] of the king Chāshṭana, son of Ysāmotika." But the wording shows beyond doubt that the year should be referred to the reign of both Chashṭana and Rudradāman. Possibly at this stage Chashṭana was styled महाक्षत्रप and Rudradāman क्षत्रप. The coins of this family prove that a महाक्षत्रप and a क्षत्रप ruled at the same time somewhat like a महाराज and his युवराज. Chashṭana and Rudradāman recovered much of the territories that Nahapāna had lost to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi even during the latter's life time.

[5] The 'Śaka' era very probably took its name from its constant use by this Śaka family for a long time.

TEXT[1]

No. I

1 [राज्ञो] [चाष्ट]नस ऽसामोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस
2 व[र्षे][द्वि]प[ं]च[ाशे] [५०] (+*)२ फगुण-बहुलस [द्वि]तिय-वारे(?)[2] [२] मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन [भ]गिनिये जेष्टवीराये
3 [सी]हि[ल-धि]त(ये*) ओपशति-सगोत्राये[3] लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

No. II

1 [राज्ञो चाष्ट]नस ऽसामोतिक-
2 पु[त्र]स राज्ञो [रु]द्रदामस
3 जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे द्विप[ं]-
4 [चा]शे ५० (+*) २ फगुण-बहुलस
5 द्वितीय-वारे(?) २ ऋषभदेवस
6 सीहिळ-पुत्रस ओपशति-सगोत्रस
7 भ्रात्र[ा] [मदने]न [सीहि]ळ-पुत्रेन
8 लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

No. III

1 राज्ञो चाष्टनस ऽसा[ा]मोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे द्विपंचाशे ५० (+*)२
2 फगुण बहुळस द्वितिय-वा २ यशदताये सीहमित-धीता(ये*) शेनिक-सगोत्राये शामणेरिये
3 मदनेन सीहिळ-पुत्रेन कुटुंबिनिये [लष्टि] उथापिता (॥*)

No. IV

1 र[ा]ज्ञो चाष्टनस ऽसामोतिक-पु[त्रस] [राज्ञो] रु[द्रदामस] ज[य]दा[म]-
2 पुत्र[स] वर्षे ५० (+*) २ फगु[न]-बहुलस [द्वितिय]-वारे(? २

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[1] From the facsimiles in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the *yashṭis* referred to in these records, see *supra*, p. 140, note 4. The first three *yashṭis* were raised by Madana in memory of his sister, brother and wife. The fourth was raised by Treshṭadatta in memory of his son. The persons in whose honour the *yashṭis* were raised were apparently dead. The first royal name is written चष्टन in many cases.

[2] Banerji read व २ and explained व=बहुल. Lüders finds here a symbol for 15.

[3] Banerji : सागोत्राये. His सगोत्राण in No. III. line 2 is also wrong.

3 ऋषभदेवस लेष्टदत-पुत्र[स] ओपश[ति]-गो[त्र]स
4 पि[त्रा(तिन ?)] लेष्टदतेन श्राम[णे]रेन लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य (=०कृष्ण-पक्षस्य) द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ मदनेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण भगिन्याः जेष्ठवीरायाः सिंहिल-दुहितुः औपशति-सगोत्रायाः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

II—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य सिंहिल-पुत्रस्य औपशति-सगोत्रस्य भ्राता मदनेन औपशति-सगोत्रेण यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

III—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वा[रे=०दिवसे] २ यशोदत्तायाः सिंहमित्र-दुहितुः शौनिक-सगोत्रायाः श्रामणेर्याः (=बौद्धसङ्घे प्रव्रज्या-ग्रहीत्र्याः)[1] मदनेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण कुटुम्बिन्याः=([आत्मनः] भार्यायाः) यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

IV—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे [द्विपञ्चाशे] ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य लेष्टदत्त-पुत्रस्य औपशति-गोत्रस्य पित्रा लेष्टदत्तेन श्रामणेरेण[1] यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

No. 67—Junagaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I—[Śaka] Year 72 (=150 A.D.)

At the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the Girnār Hill, near Junāgaṛh, Junāgaṛh District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State.

Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, pp. 338ff. ; *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, II, pp. 57ff. ; Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV, pp. 146ff. ; Bhau Daji, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, pp. 113f. ; 118f. ; 125f. ; *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, II, pp 128ff. ; Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 257ff. ; Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 42ff. ; Lüders' List, No. 965.

Language : Sanskrit
Script : Brāhmi

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[1] A person who has already been admitted into priesthood of the Buddhist Church after going through the ceremony called *Pabbajjā*, but has not yet received the *Upasampadā*, is called *Sāmaṇera*, 'novice,' 'deacon' (fem. *Sāmaṇerī*). He becomes a fully privileged

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TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धं(द्धम्) (।*) इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद[पि] * *[2]......(मृ*][त्ति]कोपल-
विस्तारायामोच्छ्रय-निःसन्धि-बद्ध-दृढ-सर्व्व-पाळीकत्वात्पर्व्वत-पा-
2 द-प्रतिस्पर्द्धि-सुश्लि[ष्ट]-[बन्धं*] ....[व]जातेनाकृत्रिमेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रति-
विहित-प्रनाळी-परीवाह-
3 मीढविधानं[3] च त्रिस्क[न्ध*]......नादिभिरनुग्र[है]र्महत्युपचये वर्त्तते (।*) तदिदं
राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही-
4 त-नाम्नः[4] स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पौत्र[स्य*] [राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामि-जय-
दाम्न*]ः पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्त-नाम्नो रु[द्र]दाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्त-
तित[मे] ७०(+*)२
5 मार्ग्गशीर्ष-बहुल-प्र[ति][पदि*]... *ः सृष्टवृष्टिना[5] पर्ज्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव
पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरूर्ज्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-
6 पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां[6] अतिमात्रोद्वृत्तैर्व्वेगैः सेतुम [यमा]णानुरूप-प्रतीकार-[7]
मपि गिरिशिखर-तरु-तटाट्टालकोपत[ल्प]-द्वार-शरणोच्छ्रय-विध्वंसिना[8] युगनिधन-सदृ-

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monk after receiving the *Upasampadā*. The interval may be very short or very long. Note that the wife's *gotra* is different from that of the husband (cf. Poona plates of Prabhāvatī, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 60).

[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The rules of *sandhi* have been observed in many cases, but not in all. सिद्धं=सिद्धिः [अस्तु]. For the later history of the lake, see *infra*, Bk. III, No. 25.

[2] Indraji and Bühler have गिरिनगरा[द्रि-पाद-रम] ; but Kielhorn rightly thinks that the letter read as द्रि is undoubtedly द. According to him, the first four *aksharas* of the lacuna may be conjecturally read as दूरमन्त. रा looks like रि. Girinagara was the name of the ancient city now represented by Junāgaṛh. The Sudarśana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Girnar hill by an embankment across the gorge near the place where the inscription has been found. See Bk. III, No. 25.

[3] मीढ means गोमूत्रक and Indraji translates, 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine'. Kielhorn points to मीढगिरि (a dunghill) in the *Lalitavistara* and translates "arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities".

[4] Cf. नामापि गृह्णतोऽस्य पापकारिणः पापमलिन लिप्यत इव मे जिह्वा. *Harshacharita*, N.S.P. ed., p. 210.

[5] Indraji and Bühler : सुसृष्ट ; but a *visarga* before सृ is clear.

[6] Read ०णाम् अति०

[7] Indraji and Bühler : ०यमाणा०.

[8] उपतल्प means the same thing as तल्प in *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 11, 'an upper story'. शरणोच्छ्रय is 'a shed for shelter' ; cf. प्रतिश्रय in No. 59, *supra*.

7 श-परम-घोर-वोगेन[1] वायुना प्रमथि[त]-सलिल-विक्षिप्त-जर्ज्जरीकृताव[दी][र्ण*]...[क्षि]ताश्म-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लताप्रतानं[2] आ नदी[त]ळादित्युद्घाटितमासीत् (।*) चत्वारि हस्त-शतानि वीशदुत्तराण्यायतेन[3] एतावंत्येव [वि]स्ती[र्णे]न

8 पंचसप्तति-हस्तानवगाढेन[4] भेदेन निस्सृत-सर्व्व-तोयं मरु-धंन्व[5]-कल्पमतिभृशं दु[र्द][6]......(।*)...[स्य]ार्थे मौर्य्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्र[गु][प्त*][स्य] राष्ट्रियेण [वै]श्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य[7] मौर्य्यस्य (कृ*)ते[8] यवनराजेन तुष[ा]स्फेनाधिष्ठाय[9]

9 प्रण[ा]ळीभिरल[ं]कृत[ं](तम्) (।*) [त[त्कारित[या] च राजानुरूप-कृत-विधानया तस्मिं[10][भे]दे दृष्टया प्रनाड्या[11] वि[स्तृ]त-से[तु*]........णा[12] आ गर्भात्प्रभृत्त्य-वि[ह]त-समुदि[व[13]-रा]जलक्ष्मी-धारणा-गुणतस्सर्व्व-वर्णैरभिगंम्य[14] रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्ति-कृत-

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[1] Read वेगेन.

[2] Read ०तानम् आ०.

[3] Read विंशत्यु०.

[4] Kielhorn reads सप्तति.

[5] Read धन्व.

[6] Kielhorn suggests the restoration दुर्दर्शनमासीत् with two or three words introducing the following sentence.

[7] Read कारितम् । अशोकस्य.

[8] The original has ते for which Bhau Daji proposed तेन, and Indraji तत्. Kielhorn suggests कृते which is better. Apparently Rudradāman had access to some records regarding the origin of the lake. The Greek ruler with a Persian name was probably Aśoka's feudatory and governor. For the *Yavanas* in Western India, see *infra*, No. 86; *Periplus*, § 47; for Dattāmitrī (=Demetriaspolis) in Sauvīra, see Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 319.

[9] Generally read स्पे ; but Kielhorn is right when he points out that the subscript is not प but फ.

[10] Read तस्मिन्.

[11] Some read प्रणाड्या.

[12] Some read नौ.

[13] Read समुदित. The passage possibly suggests that Rudradāman's father died before his birth.

[14] Read ०गम्य.

10 सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्य[त्र] संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागत-सदृश-शत्रु-प्रहरण-वितरणत्वाविगुण-रि[पु*]...........त-कारुण्येन[1] स्वयमभिगतजन-पदप्रणिपति[ता*][यु]षशरणदेन[2] दस्यु-व्याल-मृग[3]-रोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व्व-नगर-निगम-

11 जनपदानां स्ववीर्य्यार्जितानामनुरक्त-सर्व्व-प्रकृतीनां पूर्व्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृ-दानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्र-श्व[भ्र-मरु-कच्छ-सिन्धु-सौवी]र-कुकुरापरांत-निषादादीनां[4] समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्य[थावत्प्राप्तधर्मार्थ*]-काम-विषयाणां[5] विषयाणां पतिना सर्व्वक्षत्राविष्कृत-

12 वीर-शब्द-जा[तो]त्सेकाविधेयानां[7] यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथ-पते-स्सातकर्ण्णेर्द्विरपि नीर्व्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य[8] संबंधा[वि]दूर(त*)या[9] अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्त-यशसा [वाद][10] ....[प्रा*][प्त]-विजयेन भ्रष्टराज-प्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्त्थ-हस्तो-

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[1] Indraji and Bühler suggest धृत. The usual form for अन्यत्र संग्रामेषु (except in battles) is अन्यत्र संग्रामेभ्यः.

[2] जनपद may also be treated as one word meaning mankind. But the meaning seems to be : "who grants life to people repairing to him of their own accord and protection to those prostrating themselves at his feet." Indraji and Bühler have प्रणिपत्ति-[विशे]ष. Read ॰वायुश्शरण॰. Better पदप्रणिपतितजनायु॰.

[3] We may possibly also read मृगोरगा॰.

[4] The restoration of the damaged text is due mainly to Indraji. Ākarāvanti=Mālwā; Ākara=East Mālwā (cap. Vidiśā); Avanti=West Mālwā (cap. Ujjain). Anūpa realm, cap. Māhishmatī (mod. Maheśvar, or Māndhātā in the Nimār Dist.); Ānarta=North Kāṭhiāwāṛ, cap. Dvārakā; Surāshṭra=South Kāṭhiāwāṛ, cap. Girinagara; Śvabhra on the Sābarmatī; Maru=in the Rājputānā Desert, cf. Mārwāṛ; Kachchha=Kutch; Sindhu west of the Lower Indus; Sauvīra east of the Lower Indus; Kukura in North Kāṭhiāwāṛ near Ānarta; Aparānta=the Northern Konkan, cap. Śūrpāraka; Nishāda—from Vinaśana to Pāriyātra (W. Vindhya and Aravelly; cf. *Mbh.*, III, 130, 3-4, XII. 135, 3-5). The Yaudheyas lived in the Bijaygaṛh region of Bharatpur and in Johiyābār on the Sutlej. The Śakas thus reconquered from the Sātavāhanas no fewer than six countries, viz. Ākara, Avanti, Anūpa, Surāshṭra, Kukura and Aparānta. See *infra*, No. 86.

[5] The restoration is due to Kielhorn. Bühler proposed य[थेप्सितावाप्त-सर्व]-काम.

[6] Read पत्या.

[7] जायौ॰ was originally engraved.

[8] Read निर्व्याजमवजित्यावजित्य.

[9] The Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription (Lüders, No. 994) mentions the *devī* of Vāsishṭhīputra śrī-Sātakarṇi, who descended from the Kārdamaka kings and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa with name beginning with *Ru* (apparently Rudradāman). *Devī* does not always mean a queen. Chārudevī, wife of a crown-prince, is called *devī* in the British Museum grant (*infra*, Bk. III, No. 66). It is thus uncertain whether this Sātakarṇi was a king before the date of Rudradāman's record. The king might have been Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who was possibly twice defeated by Rudradāman (cf. the list of countries in line 11 with that in *infra*, No. 86, line 2).

[10] Kielhorn : मा[द?].

13 च्छ्यार्जितोर्जित-धर्मानुरागेन[1] शब्दार्त्थं-गान्धर्व्व-न्यायाद्यानां[2] विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्त-विपुल-कीर्त्तिना तुरग-गज-रथचर्य्यासि-चर्म-नियुद्धाद्या……ति-परबल-लाघव-सौष्ठव-क्रियेण अहरहर्द्दान-मानान-

14 वमान-शीलेन स्थूललक्षेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्क-भागैः[3] कानक-रजत-वज्र-वैडूर्य्य[4]-रत्नोपचय-विष्यन्दमान-कोशेन स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्र-कान्त-शब्दसमयोदारालंकृत[5]-गद्य-पद्य-[काव्य-विधान-प्रवीणे*]न[6] प्रमाण-मानोन्मान-स्वर-गति-वर्ण्ण-सार-सत्वादिभिः[7]

15 परम-लक्षण-व्यंजनैरुपेत-कान्त-मूर्त्तिना स्वयमधिगत-महाक्षत्रप-नाम्ना[8] नरेंद्र-क[न्या]-स्वयंवरानेक-माल्य-प्राप्त-दाम्न[ा][9] महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गो-ब्रा[ह्म][ण*] ………[र्थं] धर्म्म-कीर्त्ति-वृद्ध्यर्थं च अपीडयि[त्व]ा कर-विष्टि-

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[1] Read ०रागेण.

[2] शब्द=grammar; अर्थ=lexigraphy or politics; गान्धर्व=music; न्याय=logic.

[3] स्थूललक्ष=बहुव्ययी; बलि=tax, often identical with कर; शुल्क=tolls and duties; भाग=king's grain share.

[4] Read कनक. Usually वैडूर्य.

[5] Cf. the characteristics of the Vaidarbha style as explained by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa*, Chapter I: श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता। अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजः-कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ 41. श्लिष्टमस्पृष्टशैथिल्यमल्पप्राणाक्षरोत्तरम्। शिथिलं मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा ॥ 43. प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धार्थमिन्दोरिन्दीवरद्युति। लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ॥ 45. समं बन्धेष्वविषमं ते मृदु-स्फुट-मध्यमाः। बन्धा मृदुस्फुटोन्मिश्र-वर्ण-विन्यास-योनयः ॥ 47. मधुरं रसवद्वाचि वस्तुन्यपि रसस्थितिः। येन माद्यन्ति धीमन्तो मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥ 51. कन्ये कामयमानं मां न त्वं कामयसे कथम्। इति ग्राम्योऽयमर्थात्मा वैरस्याय प्रकल्पते ॥ 63. अनिष्ठुराक्षरप्रायं सुकुमारमिहेष्यते। बन्ध-शैथिल्य-दोषस्तु दर्शितः सर्व-कोमले ॥ 69. अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य हरिणोद्धृता। भूः खुर-क्षुण्ण-नागासृग्लोहितादुदधेरिह ॥ 73. उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिद्यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते। तदुदाराह्वयं येन सनाथा काव्यपद्धतिः ॥ 76. ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वमेतद्ग गद्यस्य जीवितम्। पद्येऽप्यदाक्षिणात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥ 80. कान्तं सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात्। तच्च वार्त्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्वपि दृश्यते ॥ 85. अन्यधर्मस्ततोऽन्यत्र लोकसीमानुरोधिना। सम्यगाधीयते यत्र स समाधिः स्मृतो यथा ॥ 93. कुमुदानि निमीलन्ति कमलान्युन्मिषन्ति च। इति नेत्र-क्रियाध्यासाल्लब्धा तद्वाचिनी श्रुतिः ॥ 94.

[6] This very probable restoration is due to Bühler. Various definitions of काव्य and its varieties are noticed by Sanskrit rhetorician Cf. note 5 above.

[7] Read सत्त्व०

[8] This possibly shows that Rudradāman became almost independent of the Kushāṇa overlord about the end of his rule. The Kushāṇa power by this time began to decline and was losing its hold on its southernmost province.

[9] Note that the Sakas were now almost completely Hinduised by adopting Indian customs and contracting matrimonial relations with indigenous Indian families such as the Sātavāhanas. Cf. No. 98 (No. 2) below; above, p. 168, note 1, p. 178, note 9.

16 प्रणयक्रियाभिः[1] पौर-जानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा[2] महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुण-दृढतर-विस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य स*]र्व्वत[टे][3]......[सु]दर्शनतरं कारितमिति (।*) [अस्मि]न्नर्त्थे

17 [च][4] महा[क्ष]त्रप[स्य] मतिसचिव-कर्म्मसचिवैरमात्य-गुण[5]-समुद्युक्तैरप्यतिमहत्वा-[6] द्भेदस्यानुत्साह-विमुख-मतिभि[ः] प्रत्याख्यातारंभ[ं]

18 पुनः-सेतुबन्ध-नैराश्यादाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं[7]
ह
पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्रानां[8] पालनार्त्थन्नियुक्तेन

19 पह्लवेन[9] कुलैप-पुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थ-धर्म-व्यवहार-दर्शनैरनुराग-मभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्य्येणाहार्य्येण

20 स्वधितिष्ठता धर्म-कीर्त्ति-यशांसि भर्तुरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठित[मि]ति ।[10]

No. 68—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 78, Nos. 270 ff.

First Side[11]

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters.[12]

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[1] कर=tax; विष्टि=forced (i.e., unpaid) labour; प्रणय=benevolence or emergency tax (cf. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, V, ii), mod. *prīti-dān*.

[2] Read ०कोशात्.

[3] Indraji and Bühler have [सर्व्व]नग[र]; but Kielhorn appears to be right.

[4] Not noticed by others.

[5] मतिसचिव (cf. धीसचिव of Amara)=counsellor; कर्मसचिव=executive officer. For अमात्य-गुण, see line 19. See also Bk. III, No. 25, verses 8-11.

[6] Read ०महत्त्वा०.

[7] Originally the engraver began an *akshara* with *e*-sign in place of ग्र.

[8] Read सुराष्ट्राणां.

[9] Pahlava is usually taken to mean a Parthian. Pahlava and Pārada are mentioned side by side in literature. Pahlava is apparently connected with the old Palhavi language of Iran. Did a Pahlava sometimes denote a Persian and Pārada a Parthian? Palhavi is the name of the Persian language in the intermediate stage of its development from the Zend language to modern Persian. See No. 86 below.

[10] The full stop is indicated by a slightly curved dash-like sign.

[11] From representation in Rapson's Catalogue, Plate X.

[12] "From this period onwards the inscription in Greek characters ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear

Second Side

Symbol of three arches,[1] surmounted by crescent; waved line[2] beneath; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots. Inscription[3] in Brāhmī characters:—

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदाम-पुत्रस[4] राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस (॥*)
(= राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य जयदाम्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रदाम्नः ॥)

No. 69—Gundā Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasiṁha I—[Śaka] Year 103 (=181 A.D.)

GUNDĀ, Jāmnagar District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State

G. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 157 f.; BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, part i, p. 42; RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 375; *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS' List, No. 963; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circ.*, 1914-15, p. 67; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 235.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

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on the coins until the end of of the dynasty."—Rapson. In imitation of the coins of their Greek predecessors, the Skytho-Parthians and Kushāṇas used Greek legends on their coins. The Satrapal Skythian families of Western India were originally feudatory to the Kushāṇas.

[1] Formerly the symbol was supposed to indicate a Chaitya. It is now believed to represent a hill.

[2] This symbol is supposed to indicate a river. The three arches on a waved line may indicate a hill-fort on the bank of a river.

[3] The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. This is also the case even with the coins of Rudrasiṁha III, the last king of the dynasty. This fact shows that pure Sanskrit was still not very popular even in that locality where it began to oust Prakrit from the field of epigraphy from an early period.

[4] Some specimens have जयदामस पुत्रस. See Rapson's Catalogue, p. 79; Nos. 276 ff.; Plate X. The *sāpeksha-samāsa* is common in early inscriptions; cf. गोवधनस बेनाकटक-स्वामि in No. 83, *infra*; also Nos. 69, 72, etc.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्ध[ं] (॥*) र[ा]ज्ञो मह[ा]क्षत्र[पस्य] स्वामि-चष्टन-प्रपौत्रस्य[2] राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम-पौत्रस्य

2 स्य[3] रा[ज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य] स्वामि-रुद्रदाम-पुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-

3 सोहस्य [व]र्षे [त्रि]युत्तरशते १००(+*)३ वैशाख-शुद्धे पंचम-धत्ये(न्य ?)-[4] तिथौ रो[हि]णि[5]-नक्ष-

4 त्र-मुहू[र्त्ते] आभीरेण[6] सेनापति-बापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्र[भू]तिन[ा ग्रा]मे रसो-

5 [प]द्रिये वा[पी][7] [खा]नि[ता] बन्धापितश्च[8] सर्व्व-सत्वानां हितसुखार्थमिति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम्नः पौत्रस्य। राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे त्र्युत्तर-शत[तमे](=त्र्यधिक०) १०३ वैशाख-शुद्धे (=०शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चम-धन्य-तिथौ रोहिणी-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्त्ते[9] आभीरेण सेनापति-बप्पकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्रभूतिना[10] ग्रामे रसोपद्रके वापी (=कूपः] खानिता, बन्धिता [शिलादिभिः] च सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् इति ॥

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

[2] Some read चाष्टन. Better read चष्टनस्य to avoid *sāpeksha-samāsa* which is also noticed in the case of two other royal names below.

[3] स्य is superfluous.

[4] Some read पंचमि and धन्य, the latter being the intended reading.

[5] Some read श्रवण.

[6] The Ābhīras originally lived near Vinaśana in the Rājputānā Desert. They next settled in the Lower Indus valley and then in Aparānta. See below, note 10.

[7] Bühler : पद्रे ह्रदार्थे; Indraji पद्रे ह्रदः. वापी is doubtful, and the reading may be बन्धो(= बन्धः).

[8] Some read बंद्धा. The intended reading may be बन्धापिता.

[9] See *supra*, p. 141, note 2. The Uṇḍ inscription (*C. I. I.*, II, i, p. 70) connects Pūrvāshāḍhā with the 8th day of Chaitra.

[10] The influential position of the Ābhīras at the Śaka court apparently helped Ābhīra Īśvarasena in carving out a kingdom for himself.

No. 70—Junāgaṛh Stone Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson[1]

JUNĀGAṚH, Junāgaṛh District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, II, pp. 140f. ; *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Ins.*, Bhavnagar, p, 17 ; RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. lxi ; LÜDERS' List, No. 966 ; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 241.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 ··· ... ···स्तथा सुरगणेन [क्षत्रा]णां प्रथ[म]······

2 ··· ··· ···चष्टनस्य प्र[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञ[ः] क्ष[त्रप*]स्य स्वामि-जयदाम(म्नः) [पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञो म[हाक्ष]......

3 ... ...[चैत्र]शुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे ५ इ[ह] गिरिनगरे देवासुर-नाग-य[क्ष]-रा[क्ष]से·······

4 ······तथा(?) [पुर]मि[त्र]······केवलि[ज्ञा*]न-सं[प्राप्ता]नां(?)····· जरा-मरण[3]···

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[1] The name of the reigning king is lost. He must be either Dāmaysada or Rudrasiṁha I, possibly the latter. The modern name Girnar represents the ancient Girinagara.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

[3] The reading of this line is not beyond doubt. Some read जितजरा॰

No. 71—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Jīvadāman[1]—[Śaka] Year 120 (=198 A. D.)

RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. 84, No. 290

First Side[2]

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters ; date[3] is Brāhmī numerals:—

१००(+*)२०

Second Side

Symbol of three arches, surmounted by crescent with waved line beneath ; crescent to left ; star to right ; border of dots ; inscription in Brāhmī characters :—

र[ा*]ज्ञो मह[ा*]क्षत्रपस दामजदस[4] पुत्रस राज्ञो मह[ा*]क्षत्र[पस] [जीवदामस] (॥*)

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य दामजातस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य जीवदाम्नः ॥)

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[1] Jīvadāman was the grandson of Rudradāman I. He possibly succeeded his uncle, Rudrasiṁha I in Śaka 119=197 A. D. and ruled for a few years.

[2] From the representation in Rapson's Catalogue, Plate XI. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

[3] "With the reign of Jīvadāman, son of Dāmajadaśrī I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jīvadāman there are also dated coins of potin."—Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cxxiv. But the reading of the date on Rapson's coin No. 288 is doubtful, and the first Brāhmī date may be attributed to the coins of Rudrasiṁha I. A variety of Chashṭana's coins is supposed to contain dates expressed in Kharoshṭhī numerals (*op. cit.*, p. cxiv). There can be no doubt that the dates should be referred to the Śaka era.

[4] The actual name of this prince as found on a variety of his own coins is Dāmaghsada (which is also read by some scholars as Dāmaysada), or Dāmajadaśrī. The latter part of the name has been connected with the Persian word *zāda*, 'a son'.

No. 72—Gaṛhā (Jasdan) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I—[Śaka] Year 127 (?=205 A.D.)

GAṚHĀ, near Jasdan, Rājkoṭ District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State.

BHAU DAJI, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, pp. 234f.; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 32f.; BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 652; RAPSON'S, *Catalogue*, p. lxii, No. 42; LÜDERS' List, No. 997; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circ.*, 1914-15, pp. 67f.; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 238.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [व]र्षे १००(+*) २०(+*)[७][2] [भा]द्रपद-बहुलस ५ राज्ञो महाक्ष[त्र]पस
2 भद्रसु(मु)खस[3] स्वाम-चष्टण-पुत्र-पपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्ष(त्र*)पस
3 स्वामी-[ज]यदम-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुख[स्य]
4 [स्वा]म-रुद्रदाम-पौ[त्र]स्य राज्ञो महक्ष(त्र*)पस्य भ[द्रमु]खस्य स्वामि-
5 रुद्रसिंह-(पुत्र*)स्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य इदं शान्यं(?)[4]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. The Mulwāsar stone inscription (now in the Dwārkā Library) has the date राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य वर्षे १०० (+*) २०(+*)२ वैशाख-बहुल-पंचम्यां (i. e. 122 Śaka=200 A. D.) and records the erection of a *śilā-yashṭi* by the sons of Vānijaka. For references, see Lüder's, *List*, No. 962.

[2] Bhandarkar : ५. Banerji and Sukthankar alternatively suggest ६.

[3] भद्रमुख=having an auspicious face ; cf. सुगृहीतनामन्, p. 176 and note 4. It is used as a polite address in the *Śākuntala*, VII. Note the cases of *sāpeksha-samāsa*.

[4] Bhandarkar reads शक्त(त्र) and others शत्र. Bhau Daji translates it as 'tank', Hoernle connects it with सत्र 'a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days' and takes it in the sense of 'liberality, munificence.' Lüders takes it to be the सत (seat?) of a cave inscription. As has been pointed out by Banerji and Sukthankar, the word उत्थापित clearly implies that a structure which was raised, elevated or erected is indicated by this word. Banerji connects it with सत्र, 'almshouse'. But the change of स into श is difficult to explain. It appears to indicate a *lāṭh* raised in memory of Kharapārtha by his brothers. See Nos. 63-66 above.

6 मानस-सगो[त्र]स्य[1] प्र[ता]शक-पुत्रस्य खर[पा]र्थस्य[2] भातृभिः[3] उत्थावित स्व[र्ग][4]-

7 [सुखार्थं ?] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

वर्षे [सप्तविंशत्यधिक-शततमे] १२७ भाद्रपद-बहुळस्य [पञ्चमे दिवसे] ५ राज्ञः मक्षाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पुत्र-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम्नः पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम्नः पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य—इदं शान्यं (=शिळामयी यष्टिः ?) मानस-सगोत्रस्य प्रत्याशक-पुत्रस्य खरपार्थस्य भ्रातृभिः-उत्थापितं [स्वर्ग-सुखार्थम्] ॥

No. 73—Kānākherā Stone Inscription of Śrīdhara-varman—Regnal year 13; [Śaka] Year 201 (?=279 A.D.)

KĀNĀKHERĀ, near Sāñchī, Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 232; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, XIX, pp. 343f.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī
Metre: Verse 1: Śārdūlavikrīḍita

TEXT[5]

सिद्धम् [॥*][6]

1 भगवतस्त्रिदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामि-महासेन(स्य*) महा[भक्त ?][स्य] [आदित्य]-वीर्य्या[ज्जितविजय][7].....

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[1] Hoernle : मान[ं]तु तुंगोवस्य प्रता[र]यक० ; Bhau Daji : सुप्रनायक०

[2] Bhau Daji and Hoernle : खर-पौवस्य ; Bhandarkar : खरपौत्यस्य ; Banerji and Sukthankar : खरपंत्यस्य.

[3] Banerji and Sukthankar : भातभिः ; Bhandarkar : भ्रात्तभिः

[4] Bhau Daji : उत्थवितास्व ; Hoernle : उत्थवितास्ति. Traces of three *aksharas* are found below ०र्थस्य भा० of line 6. Banerji and Sukthankar think that there is no such trace.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. The inscription has now also been published by V. V. Mirashi in *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 13ff. For another inscription of Śrīdhara-varman from Eran, dated in his 27th regnal year and referring to the erection of a *yashṭi* or memorial pillar, see *ibid.*, pp. 605ff.

[6] On the left margin of the inscription near the beginning of lines 3 and 4.

[7] Banerji reads जौवदाम and identifies him with the father of Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha II. Mirashi : महासेन-महा[कुमारस्य दिव्य] ; Majumdar : सादित्य or तेजःप्रसादात्

2 ॰ धर्म्मविजयिना[1] शक-नन्द-पुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरव[र्म्म]णा वर्ष-
[सह]स्राय[2] स्वराज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वेजयिके संवत्सरे[3] त्रयोदश[मे][4]

3 श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्व्वकमेतद्दिवसं[4] कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्ध्यर्थमक्षयस्वर्ग्गावाप्तिहेतो-[5]
र्द्धर्म्मयशो(ऽ*)र्त्थं धर्मासि(भि)संबुद्धया श्रा(श्र)द्ध[या]

4 शाश्व[तं][6] चन्द्रादित्य-[कालिकोयं]……(॥*) अपि[च]
का[न्तः]— ⏑ ⏑ –:[7] [प्रसन्न]-सलिलः सर्व्वाधिगम्यः सदा

5 सत्त्वाना[ं] प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धर्म्मामलः [शाश्व]तः (।*)
——— ⏑—⏑—⏑⏑ –——– ——⏑—[8]

6 [कू]पः श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो(ऽ*)यं[9] शुभः ॥[10]
२००(+*)१ (।*) [स्वस्त्यस्तु] ॥[11]

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[1] Banerji विजयेन

[2] Banerji : धर्म्म……स्रा(त्रि)य ; Majumdar : वर्ष्ष॰.

[3] The date refers to Jīvadāman's rule according to Banerji; but Jīvadāman never ruled. Śrīdharavarman seems to have been originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwā, but later enjoyed semi-independence. There are many cases of the survival of the original official or subordinate titles in the designation of independent rulers.

[4] Read वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वके एतद्दिवसे

[5] Banerji : ॰वाप्तिमेतद्धर्म॰

[6] Banerji : शाख्वाते चतुःसत्य…तुकोयम्…ि…मापि…कापिच्चम्…सलिल ; Majumdar शाश्वत-चन्द्रसूर्यकालिकोयं.

[7] Mirashi : आकारप्रतिमः.

[8] Banerji reads ॰मन्तः…गत…प्य…प्राच्य… ; Mirashi : धर्म्माभृतः शाश्वतः…प्रणम्य मनसा द्रव्यस्य कृत्वा व्ययं.

[9] Evidently the author did not follow Pāṇini's grammar according to which the correct form would be खानितः. This shows that Pāṇinian Sanskrit was not very popular in the royal courts of Western India even as late as the 3rd century A.D. Note also the Prakritisms in lines 2-3 and the *sāpeksha-samāsa* in line 1.

[10] The verse in शार्दूलविक्रीडित is an early instance of a classical metre being used in an inscription. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in Classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita. See *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 200; *I.H.Q.*, XVI, 485. These records prove the developed stage of the Kāvya literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, though apparently Sanskrit was not then quite popular in Indian courts.

[11] Majumdar reads the date स [२००] ४० १ in place of स्वस्त्यस्तु and explains the preceding signs as punctuation marks. V. V. Mirashi reads the date as 102 and refers the year to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*I.H.Q.*, XXII, p. 40 ; *C.I.I*, IV, pp. 15-16). The reading of the date is doubtful; but the use of the Kalachuri era is not expected in the age and area in question.

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No. 74—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudrasiṁha III—[Śaka] Year 310 (?=388 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 192, No. 907

First Side[1]

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters ; date in Brāhmī *aksharas* and numerals behind the head :—

व[र्षे] ३००(+*)१०[2]

Second Side

Symbol of three arches ; a waved line beneath ; crescent to left ; star to right ; border of dots ; inscription along the border in Brāhmī characters :—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-[सत्य][सह*]-पुत्रस[3] राज्ञ [महा]क्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-रुद्रसहस (॥*)

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-सत्यसिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य ॥)

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[1] From representation in Rapson's Catalogue, Plate XVII. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68. The coin in question was secured from Pushkar near Ajmer.

[2] It is not possible to determine whether there was a unit figure at the end. The date may therefore be A.D. 388+x. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II, which is dated in G. E. 82=A.D. 402, says that the king went there in course of an expedition 'for conquering the whole earth'. After the conquest of Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāṛ, Chandragupta II issued silver coins closely copied from the silver issues of the Kshatrapas. On the obverse, these bear the king's head with imitation of inscription in Greek characters and the date. On the reverse, they have the Garuḍa emblem in place of the symbol of the three arches, etc. The earliest date on these coins is G.E. 90 or 90+x=A.D. 409 or a date between A.D. 409 and 414 which is the beginning of Kumāragupta's reign. Smith takes A.D. 395 as the mean date for the completion of the conquest of Western India by Chandragupta II. See, Allan's Catalogue, pp. xxxviii f.

[3] Rapson suggests that one specimen reads हस (sic. सह = सिंह)

CHAPTER II

SOUTHERN INDIA

A—WESTERN DECCAN : INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

No. 75—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa

NĀSIK, NĀsik District, Bombay State.

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 91, No. 1; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 93, No. 22; LÜDERS' List, No. 1144 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of the first century B.C.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 सादवाहन-कु[ले] कन्हे राजिनि नासिककेन[3]

2 समणेन महामातेण लेण[ं] कारित[ं][3] [Svastika] [Taurus] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सातवाहन-कुले कृष्णे राजनि (=सातवाहन-कुलजस्य[4] कृष्णस्य राजत्वकाले) नासिक्यकेन

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[1] Earlier scholars generally placed the early Sātavāhana kings about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Modern scholars, like R. P. Chanda (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 1), have however proved that the Nānāghāṭ records are to be assigned to a much later date on palaeographic grounds. Angular forms of some letters (cf. म of महा०) in the present epigraph no doubt prove that the record is not earlier than the latter half of the first century B. C. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of earlier art-critics who assigned the Nasik Hall to the latter half of the first century B. C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 636ff.).

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

[3] The mention of Nāsika and not Govardhana suggests that the two places, though very near each other, were not identical.

[4] This royal family has been called Andhra or Andhrabhṛitya in the Purāṇas. Its name was Sātavāhana according to inscriptions. No early king of the dynasty

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(=नासिकनगर-वास्तव्येन) श्रमणेन (=भिक्षुणा) महामात्रेण[1] लयनं (=भिक्षूणां व्यवहाराय गुहावासः) कारितम् ॥

Nos. 76-81—Nānāghāṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I

NĀNĀGHĀṬ, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poonā District, Bombay State.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64; LÜDERS' List, Nos. 1113-18.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.[2]

TEXT[3]

No. 1

1 राया सिमुक-सातवाह-

---

had anything to do with the Andhra country near the mouths of the Krishṇā and the Godāvarī (cf. Mayidavolu plates, *infra*) The list of countries forming the kingdom of Gautamīputra (*infra*, No. 86, line 2), the 23rd Andhra king according to the Purāṇas, does not include Andhradeśa. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as well as literary (Brahmanical, Jain and Greek) traditions referring to Pratishṭhāna (mod. Paiṭhan in the Auraṅgābād District, Bombay) as the capital of the Sātavāhana kings, shows that the original Sātavāhana kingdom was in the Northern Deccan (see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., pp. 346f.). Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (Siriptolemaios, ruler of Baithana, in Ptolemey's geography) was the first king who extended Sātavāhana power over the Andhra country. The Purāṇas apparently refer to a period when Sātavāhana rule was limited in the Andhra region. 'Sātavāhana District,' the 3rd-4th century name of the Bellary region, merely proves the extent of the family's suzerainty and has nothing to do with its original home. Discovery of their coins in Berar proves nothing on this point. The name Sātavāhana is usually found as Śālivāhana in literature.

[1] Senart translates 'by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nāsik'.

[2] See p. 191, note 3; also p. 189, note 1.

[3] From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. These six inscriptions are incised above the position of the heads of what were relievo figures now entirely destroyed. Note that only the names of the reigning king and his queen are given in the 6th case ending. Apparently the labels and representations belong to

2 नो सिरिमातो[1] (॥*)

No. 2

1 देवि-नायनिकाय रञो
2 च सिरि-सातकनिनो (॥*)

No. 3

1 कुमारो भा-[2]
2 य…(॥*)

No. 4

महारठि त्रनकयिरो (॥*)

No. 5

कुमरो हकुसिरि (॥*)

No. 6

कुमारो सातवाहनो (॥*)[3]

---

the royal pair (No. 2), the king's father (No. 1), the queen's father (No. 4: cf. *infra*, No. 82, line 3) and the royal Kumāras. See p. 197, note. The name of Vedisiri, known from No. 82 below to have been a son of Śātakarṇi and Nāgaṁnikā, cannot be traced here (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xlv). For some suggestions on the doubtful basis of two lost images between Nos. 4 and 5, see Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 33.

[1] Recently there has been much unwarranted speculation about the early Sātavāhanas, See *J.N.S.I.*, XVI, pp. 77-89, and references cited therein. Such writings exhibit the poor standard of Indian scholarship so far as epigraphy and numismatics are concerned. Damaged records and coins (which are usually not well preserved) often inspire the largest amount of speculation uncontrolled by sober judgment. Of late it has been the fashion to read any fanciful thing on a coin, to offer a speculative interpretation of the legend so read and to publish the result in the *J.N.S.I.* (cf. Vol. XIV, pp. 80 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 192ff.; etc.).

[2] Bühler restored Bhāyala and took him to be a younger brother of Śātakarṇi.

[3] Earlier scholars assigned the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. on grounds of palaeography. Scholars however have now shown that the palaeography of these records is later. For references, see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., pp. 337 ff.; also *supra*, p. 189, note 1; *infra*, p. 193, note 1.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राजा शिमुक-सातवाहनः श्रीमान्। II—देवी-नागन्निकायाः (=०नागायाः =०नागयाः)[1] राज्ञः च श्री-शातकर्गः [बिम्बद्वयम्]। III—कुमारः भाग.....। IV—महारथो त्रागकायँः। V—कुमारः शक्तिश्रोः। VI—कुमारः सातवाहनः।[2]

No. 82—Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription of Nāgaṁnikā (?)

NĀNĀGHĀṬ, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poona District, Bombay State.

G. BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, pp. 60f.; 86f.; LÜDERS' List, No. 1112 (for other references); cf. Rapson *Catalogue*, pp. xlv-vi; D. C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.*, VII, p. 412.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

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[1] The actual name of the queen must have been Nāgā. *Anikā* or *aṁṇikā* (*aṇṇikā*, *arṇikā* ?) is generally found suffixed to female names in early South Indian inscriptions. Male names usually have the suffix *anaka* or *aṁṇaka* (*aṇṇaka*, *arṇaka* ?).

[2] This personal name seems to suggest that the family is named after a king called Sātavāhana who may have been an ancestor of Simuka. Simuka's *viruda* 'Sātavāhana' may suggest that either it was his second name or it means 'a descendant of Sātavāhana'. The first alternative is less probable as it became the family name as early as the time of Simuka's immediate successor. None of the suggestions regarding the etymology of Sātavāhana and Śātakarṇi is satistactory. They cannot be connected with the Satiyaputas mentioned in Rock Edict II of Aśoka. The name Sātavāhana has been read on some coins recently published in *J.N.S.I.*

TEXT[1]

Part I

(on the left wall)

1 [सिधं]··नो धंमस नमो ईंदस[3] नमो संकंसन-वासुदेवान[4] चंद-सूरानं[5]
[महि]मा[व]तानं चतुंनं चं लोकपालानं यम-वरुन-कुबेर-वासवानं नमो (॥*)
कुमारवरस [वेदि]सिरिस[6] र[ञो]

2 ·· ····[वि]रस सूरस अ-प्रतिहत-चकस दखि[नप*]ठ-पतिनो*]........[7]

3 [मा] ... [बाला*]य[8] महारठिनो अंगिय-कुल-वधनस[9] सगर-गिरिवर-वल[या]य[10]
पथविय पथम वीरस वस य व अलह (वंतठ?)··· सळसु महतो मह····

---

[1] From the Plate in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. The *i*-signs and characters like व, प, द and च exhibit an amount of development. व, though without *serif*, is on the way of becoming triangular. प is almost of the Kushāṇa type. Palaeographically the inscription may be placed between the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodoros (about the end of the 2nd century B C.) and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st century B.C.). Note also the conjuncts *br* and *vr* in line 5 and *rg*. in line 14.

[2] Bühler restores ओं (or सिधं) नमो प्रजापतिनो धंमस. I prefer सिधं, which is found at the beginning of numerous early inscriptions, without नमो. सिद्धं = सिद्धि: [मस्तु].

[3] It is interesting to note that Dharma and Indra are not identified respectively with the Lokapālas Yama and Vāsava who are separately mentioned. The identifications belong probably to a later date.

[4] The absence of Pradyumna and Aniruddha in connection with Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva may suggest that the Vyūha doctrine was not popular before the age of this record at least in its locality. It should be remembered that even a law book like the *Vishṇusaṃhitā* refers to the four : वासुदेवाय सङ्कर्षणाय प्रद्युम्नायानिरुद्धाय (67. 2).

[5] Bühler read चंद-सूतानं ; but the second *akshara* may be रा, but is surely not सा. सूर means 'the sun'; cf. अत्याहिलासी भअवं सूरो in the *Mudrārākshasa*, Act IV.

[6] Krishna Sastri reads खद० ; see *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1923-24, p. 88. But both वे and दि are clear ; cf. दिख in line 5 and दिना, *passim*. The form of ख is quite different from that of वे ; cf. दिख, and दखिना, *passim*.

[7] The probable restoration is रञो सिमुकसातवाहनस सुन्हाय.

[8] Some scholars suggest [*Kaḷa*]*lāya* on the evidence of certain coins (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xlv).

[9] Krishna Sastri's reading *Aṁbhiya* is unwarranted.

[10] The passage seems to be an echo of the Buddhist cosmographic idea of the earth being encircled by sea and also by mountains known as the *chakravāla-parvatas*,

4 सिरिस ..[1] भारिया(य*) देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस [वेदि]सिरि-मातु-(य*) सतिनो सिरिमतस च मातु[य] सीम...... ...

5 वरिय ......। [न]ागवर-दयिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गह-तापसाय चरित-ब्रम्हचरियाय दिख-व्रत-यंञ-सुंडाय यञा हुता धूपन-सुगंधा य निय......

6 रायस[2] ...[य*]ञेहि यिठं (।*) वनो। अगाधेय यंञो द[खि]ना[3] दिना गावो बारस १० (+*)२ असो च १ (।*) अनारभनियो यंञो दखिना धेनु[4]......

7 ......दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० हथी १० ....

8 ...... स ससतरय[5] [व]ासलठि २००(+*) ८० (+*) ९ कुभियो रुपामयियो १०(+*)७ भि......

9 ....रिको यंञो दखिनायो दिना गावो १०००० +*) १००० असा १००० पस [पको*]..........

10 ....१० (+*) २ आमवरो १ दखिना काहापना २०००० (+*) ४००० (+*) ४०० पसपको काहापना ६००० ।[6] राज[सूयो यंञो*] ...सकटं

Part II

(on the right wall)

11 धंञगिरि-तंस-पयुतं १ सपटो १ असो १ अस-रथो १ गावीनं १०० (।*) असमेधो यंञो[7] बितियो [यि*]ठो दखिनायो [दि]ना असो रुपाल[ंका]रो १ सुवंन..नि १० (+*) २ दखिना दिना काहापना १०००० (+*) ४००० गामो १ [हठि].......... [दखि]ना दि[ना]

12 गावो...[8] सकटं धंञगिरि-तस-पयुतं १ (।*) *ोवायो यंञो ......१० (+*)७ [धेनु?]... *ोवाय... सतरस

13 ....१० (+*)७ अच ..न...ळय पसपको दि[नो] .....[दखि]ना दिना सु...पीनि १० (+*)३ अ(?)सो[9] रुप[ालं]कारो १ दखिना काहाप[ना] १०००० ..२

---

[1] Possibly we have to restore [सातकंणि*]-सिरिस or सिरि-सा[तकणिस*].

[2] We may suggest *rāya-Sa[takaṇinā saha*]*.

[3] खा seems to have been originally engraved.

[4] There are traces of two numerical symbols after धेनु (= सवत्सा गौः).

[5] The first two *aksharas* may be read सवं.

[6] Bühler takes the sign to indicate 1. We take it here (as well as in the other cases) as a mark of punctuation, as it is not close to the symbol for 6000.

[7] This is omitted in Bühler's transcript.

[8] Indraji read the figure after गावो as 6000.

[9] Bühler : तेस.

14 ……गावो २०००० [।*] [भगल]-दसरतो यंञो यि[ठो] [दखिना] [दि]ना [गावो] १०००० । गर्गतिरतो यञो यिठो [दखिना]…… पसपको पटा ३०० । गवामयनं यंञो यिठो [दखिना दिना] गावो १००० (+*) १०० । ·· गावो १००० (+*) १०० (?) पसपको काहापना···पटा १०० (।*) अतुयामो यंञो……

15 ……[ग]वामयनं य[ञो]दखिना दिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० । अंगिरस[ा]-मयनं यंञो यिठो [द]खिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० । त ···[दखिना दि]ना गावो १००० (+*) १०० । सतातिरतं यंञो·····१०० · (।*) [यं]ञो दखिना ग[ा][वो] १००० (+*) १०० (।*) अंगिरस[ति]रतो यंञो यिठो [दखि]ना गा[वो] ··(।*)····

16 …[गा]वो १००० (+*) २ (।*) छन्दोमप[व]मा[नतिरत] दखिना गावो १००० । अं[गि]र[सतिर]तो यं[ञो][यि]ठो द[खिना]···(।*)·· रतो यिठो यञो दखिना दिना · (।*) तो यंञो यिठो दखिना · (।*)·· यञो यिठो दखिना दिना गावो १००० ।

17 ……न स सयं·· ·· दखिना दिना गावो त···[।*] [अं]गि[रसा]मयनं छवस……[दखि]ना दिना गाव १०००.. (।*)…[दखिना] दिना गावो १००० । तिरस … अ…(।*)

18 ·····(।*) तिरसरतो स…छ..[अ]ाग-दखिना दिना गावो…(।*)···दसरतो म… [दि]ना गावो १०००० । उ······ १०००० । द……

19 … ·[यं]ञो दखिना दि[ना]…… ···

20 ········[द]खिना दिना ·······[1]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—सिद्धम् ॥ [प्रजापतये] धर्माय नमः, इन्द्राय नमः, सङ्कर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां, चन्द्रसूराभ्यां (=०सूर्याभ्यां) महिमवद्भ्यां, चतुर्भ्यः च लोकपालेभ्यः यम-वरुण-कुबेर-वासवेभ्यः नमः ॥ कुमार-वरस्य वेदिश्रियः राज्ञः··· वीरस्य शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापथपतेः…… [राज्ञः शिमुकसातवाहनस्य स्नुषया]·· ····बालया (=कन्यया) महारथिनः अङ्गिक-कुल-वर्द्धनस्य, सागर-गिरिवर-वलयायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथमवीरस्य [शातकर्णि-श्रियः भार्यया देवस्य

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[1] It is not certain that this was the last line. The number of sacrifices proves the great influence of the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa in the Early Sātavāhana court. The great wealth paid as *dakshiṇā* proves not only the opulence of the family but also the complexity acquired by the simpler Vedic sacrificial tradition. For the sacrifices, consult Bühler, *loc. cit.*, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*.

पुत्रदस्य वरदस्य कामदस्य धनदस्य वेदिश्रियः-मात्रा, शक्तेः श्रीमतः (=शक्तिश्रियः) च मात्रा·· नागवर-दायिन्या, मासोपवासिन्या, गृह-तापस्या, चरित-ब्रह्मचर्यया, दीर्घ-व्रत-यज्ञ-शौण्डया यज्ञाः हुताः धूपन-सुगन्धाः (=सुगन्ध-द्रव्याहुत्या सुगन्धीकृताः ·· राज-[श्रीशातकर्णिना सह] · यज्ञैः इष्टम्। [तेषां] वर्णः[1] (=वर्णना=विवरणम्)– अग्न्याधेयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः द्वादश १२, अश्वः च [एकः] १। अनाळम्भणीयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा ···· ।···· दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १७००, हस्तिनः १०. वंश-यष्टयः १८६, कुम्भ्यः रौप्यमय्यः १७...।.. रिकः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०००, अश्वाः १०००, प्रसर्पकः[2] (=यज्ञ-दर्शकादि जनाः=तेभ्यः दानम्)······ [यज्ञः····दक्षिणा दत्ता]·· १२, ग्रामवरः १२, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि ४४००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि ६०००। राजसूयः यज्ञः······शकटं

II—धान्यगिरि-तंस-प्रयुक्तं (=विशाळधान्यस्तूपस्य वहन-मोचन-विनियुक्तं),[3] सत्पट्टम् १, अश्वः १, अश्वरथः १, गवीनां [शतं] १००। अश्वमेधः यज्ञः द्वितीयः[4] इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता.... अश्वः [१], रौप्यालङ्कारः १, सुवर्णा[लङ्काराः] १२, दक्षिणा दत्ता कार्षापणानि १४०००, ग्रामः १, हस्ती[१].. ।·· [यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः [६०००], शकटं धान्यगिरि-तंस-प्रयुक्तं १····। .. ेवायः(?) यज्ञः [दक्षिणा दत्ता] ··१७······ ।····सप्तदशा[तिरात्रः यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता]····· ·· १७·········· प्रसर्पकः दत्तः ········ ।·· ···· [यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता··· १२, अश्वः[१], रौप्यालङ्कारः १, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि १००००··· गावः २०००। भगाल-दशरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००००। गर्गातिरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा .. प्रसर्पकः पट्टानि ३००। गवामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११००..। गावः ११००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि.. पट्टानि १००। आप्तोर्यामः यज्ञः···। गवामयनं यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११००। अङ्गिरसामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः ११००।... दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११००। शतातिरात्रः यज्ञः ······१००..।..यज्ञः, दक्षिणा गावः ११०। आङ्गिरसातिरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः···।·· गावः १००२। छन्दोमपवमानातिरात्रः [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा गावः १००। आङ्गिरसातिरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा ···।····रात्रः इष्टः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता···।·· रात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा . ।...यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० .. .. ।...[यज्ञः इष्टः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ...। .. अङ्गिरसामयनं षड्वर्षं ..... दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १०००।...[यज्ञः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० ...।·· त्रयोदश[रात्रः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता]·······। त्रयोदशरात्रः·· अग्रदक्षिणा

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[1] Cf. *Camb. Hist Ind.*, I, p. 549, note.

[2] Bühler : "the presents to the spectators and menials".

[3] Bühler : "the cart for conveying a mountain of grains".

[4] Two Aśvamedhas were performed ; but the account of the first is lost.

दत्ता गावः .... । ..दशरात्रः ... [दक्षिणा] दत्ता गावः १०००० .. .. ३००००।..... ...यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता .... । ..दक्षिणा दत्ता... ...... ॥[1]

No. 83—Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra Satakarni (c. 106-30 A. D.)—Regnal Year 18 (=c. 124 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 558ff. ; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 104f., No. 13 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71, No. 4 ; LÜDERS' List, No. 1125 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

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[1] The performance of sacrifices by females is denounced by Vedic literature. Nāgaṁnikā therefore could not have performed the sacrifices when she might have been the regent and her son king Vediśrī was a minor. The word *rāya* at the beginning line 6 may suggest that king Sātakarṇi was the performer of the sacrifices. Nāgaṁnikā appears to refer to her part in the performance of the sacrifices as the *sahadharmiṇī* of Sātakarṇi Śaktiśri has been identified with Śaktikumāra mentioned as the son of Śālivāhana in Jain literature. The identification of this prince with Hakusiri of *supra*, No. 80 (see **p.** 184, n. 3) suggests that the queen referred to in this inscription is Nāyaṁnikā, wife of Sātakarṇi I. As regards हकु = शक्ति, note हिरु-यञ-हातकणि = श्रीयज्ञ-शातकर्णि on some coins (Rapson, *Cat.*, p. 45). Cf. also अयिरहवान in No. 100 below. According to the Purāṇas, Simuka who defeated the Kāṇvas and Śuṅgas was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (No. 75) and the latter by his son Sātakarṇi (No. 77). The order of succession seems to be all right; but the terms of relationship should possibly be transposed. Possibly both Kṛishṇa and Sātakarṇi were sons of Simuka.

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TEXT[1]

1 सि[धं][2] (॥*) सेनाये [वे]जयं[ति]ये[3] विजय-खधावारा [गो]वधनस बेनाकटक-स्वामि[4] गोतमि-पुतो सिरि-सदकणि

2 आनपयति गोवधने अमच वि[ण्हु]पालितं(।*) गामे अपर-कखडि[ये] [य] खेतं अजकालकियं उसभदातेन भूतं निवतन-[5]

3 सतानि बे २०० एत अम्ह-खेत निवतण-सतानि बे २०० इमेस पवजितान तेकिरसिण[6] वितराम (।*) एतस चस खेतस परिहार

4 वितराम अपावेसं अनोमस अलोण-खा[दकं] अरठसविनयिकं सवजातपारिहारिक च (।*) ए[ते]हि नं परिहारेहि परिह[र]हि (।*)

5 एते चस खेत-परिहा[रे] च एथ निबधापेहि (।*) अवियेन[7] आणतं (।*) अमचेन सिवगुतेन छतो (।*) महासामियेहि उपरखितो (।*)

6 दता पटिका सवछरे १० (+*)८[8] वास-पखे २ दिवसे १ (।*) तापसेन कटा (॥*)

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[1] From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record was copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth; cf. पटिका in line 6.

[2] सिद्धं = सिद्धिः अस्तु

[3] Senart takes Vaijayantī to be a city (mod. Banavāsi in North Kanara). But it seems to be an epithet of सेना apparently referring to some expedition led by the king, very probably the one against Rishabhadatta (cf. line 2).

[4] Some read ॰कटका. This reading suggests that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi issued the charter 'from Benākaṭaka' (बेनाकटकात्), which place was evidently situated on a river called Beṇvā. In records however the epithet स्वामिन् is found after the metronymic and close to the name of the king. It is therefore better to take बेनाकटक-स्वामिन् as an instance of *śākapārthivādi samāsa* to indicate "the lord now residing at Benākaṭaka." This Benākaṭaka (as well as the river Benā) was situated in the Nāsik region. The Benā therefore can hardly be identified with the Pengaṅgā or the Waingaṅgā. Note that this interpretation alone explains why only here and in No. 87 the Sātavāhana king is referred to as lord of a particular place. Records were generally issued from the capital which was not usually mentioned. These two are unusual cases and that is why the places were mentioned. For the *sāpeksha-samāsa*, see *supra*, p. 181, note 4.

[5] One *nivarttana* of land was about 4¾, 3, 2¼ or 2 acres or ¾ acre according to different authorities (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII. p. 245). It was not the same area in different parts of the country and different ages of history.

[6] तेकिरसिनं has been supposed to be a mistake for तेरसिकानं (= त्रैरश्मिकानां, 'of those residing on the Triraśmi hill'). Read एतस च खेतस.

[7] अविय means भणित or उक्त (*Deśīnāmamālā*, I, 10).

[8] This date falls very near the last known date of Nahapāna; cf. the Jogaltembhi hoard of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Sātakarṇi (Rapson, *Cat.*, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix), and *infra*, p. 204, note 5.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिः [अस्तु]) ॥ सेनायाः [कस्मिंश्चित् अभियाने] विजयमानायाः विजयस्कन्धावारात् (=०कटकात्) गोवर्द्धनस्य (=नासिकाहारान्तर्गत०) बेनाकटक-स्वामी (=०कटक-स्थित०) गौतमीपुत्रः श्रीशातकर्णिः आज्ञपयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं[1] (=गोवर्द्धनस्थं गोवर्धनाहार-शासकं) विष्णुपालितम् । —"ग्रामे अपर-कखटयां यत् क्षेत्रम् अद्यकालकीयम् (=अद्यतनसमयं यावत् ; यद्वा—आर्यकालकीयाख्यम्[2]) ऋषभदत्तेन भुक्तं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २००, एतत् अस्मत् क्षेत्रं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २०० एभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः (=त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्थित-लयनवासिभ्यः वितरामः [वयम्])। एतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं (=क्षेत्रसम्बन्धीयराजाधिकार-विशेषेभ्यः विमुक्तिं) वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यं (=भटादिप्रवेश-प्रतिषेधः) अनावमर्श्यं (=राजपुरुषादिजनितबाधायाः निषेधः), अ-लवण-खातकं[3] (=क्षेत्रात् लवण-खनन-परिहारः), अ-राष्ट्र-सांविनयिकं[4] सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनत् (=एतत् क्षेत्रं) परिहारैः परिहर । एतत् च अस्य क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धय (=शासने उल्लेखय)।" उक्तेन (=वचनमात्रेण) आज्ञप्तम्। अमात्येन शिवगुप्तेन क्षतं (=लिखितं शासनम्)। महास्वामिकैः[5] उपलक्षितं (=राज्ञा परीक्षितम्)। दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे अष्टादशे १८ वर्षा-पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=श्रावण-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रथम-दिवसे)। तापसेन कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका)॥

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[1] The word *amātya* is sometimes used in a wider sense to include a *mantrin*. A distinction is made, e.g., in Rāmavarman's commentary on the *Rāmāyana*, I, 7, 4 ; अमात्या देशादिकार्यनिर्वाहकाः, मन्त्रिणो व्यवहारद्रष्टार इति भेदः (*Ind Cult.*, VIII, p. 121).

[2] One of the Barhut inscriptions mentions a Yaksha named Ajakālaka (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 67). The field may have been named after a similar spirit. For Ṛishabhadatta, see *supra*, Nos. 58-61.

[3] All produce of the mines belonged to the king ; cf. आकरेभ्यः सर्वमादद्यात् (*Vishṇusaṁhitā*, III, 35) ; cf. also आकरे लवणे शुल्के तरे नागवने तथा । न्यसेदमात्यान्नृपतिः स्वाप्तान् वा पुरुषान् हितान् ॥ महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व ।६९।२९. Cf. "Much salt is produced in the Kāśī (Banaras) District, where soil is salty. Water drawn from the ground or from wells is poured on fields. When it dries out, a finger's breadth of salt gathers on the surface. The landlords of the District utilise fallow lands in getting salt in the above way." Translated from the *Samāchāradarpaṇa* (Bengali) of 21-8-1819 quoted in *Saṁvādapatre Sekāler Kathā*, by B. N. Banerji, Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 107. See also notes on Bk. III Nos. 59, 60 and 64.

[4] **विनी** or **संविनी** means 'to govern, control' ; **संविनय** is therefore 'government, control (by punishment)'. As regards government, the land was thus separated from other parts of the kingdom ; cf **सदण्डदशापराध** of later records referring to the power of punishing minor offences transferred to the donee Senart translates 'not to be interfered with by the district police'.

[5] See below, p. 209, note 3.

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No. 84—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi—Regnal Year 24 (=c. 130 A.D.)

Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 83, from which it is separated only by a स्वस्तिक symbol.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 105 ff. ; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 560 ff. ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73 ; LÜDERS' List, No. 1126 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [2]सिद्धं (॥*) गोवधने अम[च]स सामकस[3] [दे]यो [रा]जाणितो (।*)

2 रञो गोतमिपुतस सातकणि[स] म[हा]देवीय च जीवसुताय राज-मातुय वचनेन गोवधने [अम*]चो सामको अरोग वतव[4] (।*) ततो एव च

3 वतवो (।*) एथ अम्हेहि पवते तिरण्हुम्हि अम्ह-धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं पवजितान मिखून गा[मे] कखडीसु[5] पुव खेतं दत (।*) त च खेत

4 [न][6] कसते सो च गामो न वसति (।*) एवं सति य दानि एथ नगर-सीमे राजकं खेतं अम्ह-सतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भिखूनं तेरण्हुकानं दद[म]

5 खेतस निवतण-सतं १०० (।*) तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस अ-लोण-खादक अ-रठ-सविनयिक सव-जात-पारिहारिक च (।*)

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[1] From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. This also is copied from a charter on plates. The latter part is carelessly engraved.

[2] This line is a continuation of line 6 of No. 83. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु].

[3] Some read समक.

[4] Some read सत०. The word जीवसुता suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be assured about his health. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, and the queen-mother who might have been in power for some time had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness apparently proved fatal to Gautamīputra.

[5] Apparently this village stood on the eastern borders of Western Kakhaḍī mentioned in *supra*, No. 83. Apara-Kakhaḍī may also have been the western part of Kakhaḍī. The grant may or may not have been that referred to in No. 83.

[6] The letter which is indistinct is read by some as व.

6 एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेठ (।*) एत चस खेत-परीहा[रे] च एथ निबधापेथ (।*) अवियेन आगत (।*) पटिहार-(र*)खिय लोटाय छतो लेखो (।*)[1] सवछरे २०(+*)४

7 वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ (।*) सुजिविना[2] कटा (।*) निबधो[3] निबधो सवछरे २०(+*)४ गिंहान पखे २ दिवसे १० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ गोवर्द्धने अमात्याय श्यामकाय देयं राजाज्ञप्तं (=राजाज्ञा-पत्रम्)। राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य शातकर्णेः महादेव्याः च जीवत्सुतायाः राजमातुः वचनेन गोवर्द्धने अमात्यः श्यामकः अरोगः (=आरोग्यं) वक्तव्यः। ततः एव च [सः] वक्तव्यः—"अत्र अस्माभिः पर्वते त्रिरश्मौ अस्मद्धर्मदाने लयने प्रतिवसद्भ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः ग्रामे कखट्यां पूर्वं (=भूतकाले) क्षेत्रं दत्तम्। तत् च क्षेत्रं न कृष्यते ; स च ग्रामः न उष्यते (=अध्युष्यते)। एवं सति, यत् इदानीम् (=अधुना) अत्र नगरसीम्नि राजकीयं क्षेत्रम् अस्मत्-स्वत्वकं (=राज-स्वत्व-विशिष्टं[4] क्षेत्रं [अस्ति]), ततः एतेभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः दद्मः क्षेत्रस्य निवर्त्तन-शतं १००। तस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्र-सांविनयिकं (=राष्ट्रस्य साधारणदण्डविधेः वहिर्भतत्वं =विशिष्ट-शासन-वत्त्वं), सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च। एतैः एनत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहरत। एतं च अस्य क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धयत।" उक्तेन आज्ञप्तम्। प्रतीहार-[र]क्ष्या (=द्वार-रक्षिण्या =अन्तःपुर-प्रतीहाराध्यक्षया) लोटया क्षतः (=लिखितः) लेखः। [दत्ता पट्टिका] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ वर्षाणां पक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ (=भाद्रपद-शुद्ध-पञ्चम-दिवसे)। सुजीविना कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका)। निबद्धः [लेखः (=राजकीयलेख-शालायां रक्षितप्रतिलिपिकीकृतः)] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे दशमे १० (=चैत्र-शुद्ध-दशम-दिवसे) ॥

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[1] Drafting of a document by a female officer is interesting. This was apparently because the queen-mother issued the charter in question. Read दता पटिका संवछरे.

[2] Some read पुजितिना.

[3] निबधो seems to be engraved twice owing to the engraver's inadvertence.

[4] Royal lands may have belonged to the king personally or may have been allotted to his dependants as jāgīrs.

No. 85—Karle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.)

—Regnal Year 7 (=c. 137 A.D.)

KĀRLE, Poona District, Bombay State.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 107, No. 17; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 61f., No. 14; LÜDERS' List, No. 1100 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 रञो वासिठिपुतस सामि-सिरि-[पुळुमाविस*] सवछरे सतमे ७ गिम्ह-पखे पचमे ५

2 दिवसे पथमे १ एताय पुवाय ओखळकियानं महार[थि]स कोसिकि-पुतस मित-देवस पुतेन

3 [म*]हारथिना वासिठिपुतेन सोमदेवेन गामो दतो वलुरक-संघस वलुरक-लेनस स-करुकरो स-देय-मेयो (॥*)[2]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=ज्यैष्ठ-कृष्ण-प्रथम-दिवसे)=एतस्यां पूर्वायां (=पूर्वोक्ते दिवसे) औत्खलकीयानां (=०कीय-वंशजस्य) महारथिनः कौशिकोपुत्रस्य मित्रदेवस्य पुत्रेण महारथिना वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण सोमदेवेन ग्रामः दत्तः वलूरक-सङ्घाय वलूरक-लयनस्य (=०गुहासु वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां सङ्घाय) स-करोत्करः (=स-करोपकरः) स-देय-मेयः (=बलिशुल्कादिसहितः राजभागादिसहितः च ॥[3]

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[1] From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, and *Ep. Ind.*, VII.

[2] Some read वलुरकासघस, वलूरक and सकराकरोर. For Valūraka, see *supra*, No. 61, (p. 172, note 1). Mahārathin seems to be a feudatory title like Mahāsenāpati.

[3] The rent-free holding of the village was apparently created by Somadeva out of his own jāgīr with the king's permission. सकरुकर = स-कारुकर ?

No. 86—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 19 (=c. 149 A.D.).

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State.

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 550ff., No. 2 ; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 180f., No 18 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 60ff., No. 2 ; LÜDERS' List, No. 1123 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धं (॥*) रञो वासिठीपुतस सिरि-पुळुमायिस सवछरे[2] एकुनवीसे १० (+*) ९ गीम्हाणं पखे बितीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १० (+*) ३ राजरञो गोतमीपुतस हिमव[त]-मेरु

2 मंदर-पवत सम-सारस असिक-असक-मुळक-सुरठ कुकुरापरंत[3]-अनुप-विदभ-आकरावंति-राजस[4] विझछवत-परिचात[5]-सय्ह-कण्हगिरि-मच-सिरिटन-मलय-महिद-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* VIII. This record also may have been copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth. The gift of the cave to a new sect of monks suggests that the earlier occupants had vacated it. The unusual eulogy of the dead king is possibly due to the fact that the queen-mother wanted to recapitulate the family's past glory at a time when much of his son's conquests were reconquered by the Śakas. There is no proof that Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi ruled conjointly.

[2] The marks above व do not appear to be any part of the letter.

[3] A letter had been originally inscribed here, but was afterwards erased.

[4] Cf. this list of countries with that in *supra*, No. 67 and note that Ānarta is not mentioned here. Ānarta may sometimes been regarded as a part of Kukura. What Gautamīputra gained from Nahapāna, he lost to Chashṭana and Rudradāman. The reference to Malaya (Western Ghāṭs to the south of the Nilgiris) and Mahendra (Eastern Ghāṭs) points to a vague claim of suzerainty over the Deccan Penninsula possibly based on a *digvijaya* (cf. ति-समुद-तोय-पीत-वाहन in line 3).

[5] Some read वात॰

3 सेटगिरि-चकोर-पवत-पतिस[1] सवराज[लोक]म[ं]डल-पतिगहीत-सासनस दिवसकर-[क]र-विबोधित-कमलविमल-सदिस-वदनस तिसमुद-तोय-पीत-वाहनस पटिपू[ं]ण[2]-चद-मडल-ससिरीक-

4 पियदसनस वर-वारण-विकम-चारु-विकमस भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वाट-विपुल-दीघ-सुद[र*]-भुजस अभयोदकदान-किलिन-निभय-करस[3] अविपन-मातु-सुसूसाकस सुविभत-तिवग-देस-कालस

5 पोरजन-निविसेस-सम-सुख-दुखस[4] खतिय-दप-मान-मदनस सक-यवन-पल्हव-[5]निसूदनस धमोपजित-कर-विनियोग-करस कितापराधे पि सतु-जने अ-पाणहिसा-रुचिस दिजावर-कुटुब-विवध-

6 नस खखरात-वस-निरवसेस-करस सातवाहनकुल-यस-पतिथापन-करस सव-मंडलाभिवादित-च[र*]णस विनिवतित-चातुवण-संकरस[6] अनेक-समरावजित-सतु-सघस अपराजित-विजयपताक-सतुजन-दुपधसनीय-

7 पुरवरस कुल-पुरिस-परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सदस आगमान [नि]लयस सपुरिसानं असयस सिरी[ये] अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एककुसस एक-धनुधरस एक-सूरस एक-बम्हणस राम-

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[1] Vindhya=the Eastern Vindhyas ; Ṛikshavat=the Vindhyas to the north of the Narmadā ; Pāriyātra=the Aravelly and Western Vindhyas ; Sahya=the Western Ghāṭs ; Kṛishṇagiri=Kanheri. Seṭagiri was a hill near Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur District. See notes on No. 67 above and also further below.

[2] Senart : पटिपुण. The intended word is प्रतिपूर्ण. But read परिपूर्ण.

[3] Cf. सर्वदानाधिकमभयप्रदानम् (Vishṇu, 92. 1).

[4] Cf. प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तद्दुःखे यश्च दुःखितः । स कीर्त्तियुक्तो लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ विष्णुसंहिता ।३।७०

[5] The Śakas have again been referred to as Khakharāta (=Kshaharāta, cf. *supra*, Nos. 58f.). Their success was responsible for the insignificance of the Sātavāhana kingdom for many years before Gautamīputra re-established his family's fortune. The Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Perso-Perthians) ruled in the Punjab-N.W.F.P.-Sind region. For their existence in Western India, see *supra*, No. 67, notes. Some take Kshatriya in the sense of the Khatri tribe ; but cf. *eka-bamhaṇa* in line 7 and the tradition referring to the Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin of the Sātavāhanas.

[6] Senart reads चातुवण-सकरस. Cf. चातुर्वर्ण्ये स्वकर्मस्थे मर्यादानामसङ्करे । दण्डनीतिकृते क्षेमे प्रजानामकुतोभये ॥ etc., महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व ।६९।७७

8 केसवाजुन-भीमसेन-तुल-परकमस छण-घनुसव-समाज-कारकस[1] नाभाग-नहुस-जनमेजय-सकर-य[या]ति-रामाबरीस-सम-तेजस अपरिमितमखयमचितमभुत पवन-गरुळ-सिध-यख-राखस-विजाधर-भूत-गधव-चारण-

9 चद-दिवाकर-नखत-गह-विचिण-समरसिरसि[2] जित-रिपु-सघस नागवर-खधा गगनतल-मभिविगाढस कुळ-विपु[ळसि]रि-करस सिरि-सातकणिस मातुय महादेवीय गोतमीय बलसिरीय सचवचन-दान-खमाहिसा-निरताय तप-दम-निय-

10 मोपवास-तपराय राजरिसिवधु-सदमखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारित देयधम [केळासपवत*]-सिखर-सदिसे [ति]रण्हु-पवत-सिखरे विम[ान*]वर-निविसेस महिढीकं लेण (।*) एत च लेण महादेवी महाराज-माता महाराज-[पि]तामही ददाति निकायस भदावनीयान[3] भिखु-सघस (।*)

11 एतस च लेण[स] चितण-निमित महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो पियकामो च ण[ता] [सिरि-पुलुमावि•] [दखिणा*]पथेसरो पितु-पतियो (पितिये) धमसेतुस [ददा]ति गाम' तिरण्हु-पवतस अपर-दक्षिण-पसे पिसाजिपदक सव जात-भोग-निरठि[4] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (= सिद्धिः अस्तु)॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे १९ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ (= चैत्र-शुद्ध-त्रयोदश-दिवसे) राजराजस्य गौतमी-पुत्रस्य हिमवन्मेरु-मन्दरपर्वत-सम-सारस्य, ऋषिकाश्मक-मूलक-सुराष्ट्र-कुकुरापरान्तानूप-बिदर्भाकरावन्ति-राजस्य[5] विन्ध्यर्क्षवत्-पारियात्र-सह्य-कृष्णगिरि-मत्स्य-श्रीस्तन(यद्वा —श्रीस्थान)-मलय-महेन्द्र-

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[1] The first word may also be कृणा

[2] Cf. समीयुश्च महात्मानो युद्धदर्शनाकाङ्क्षिणः ।
ऋषयो देवगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च सह चारणैः ॥
(*Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 24, 19, etc.). See also *Gaüḍavaha*, verse 416, and the Chateswara temple inscription referred to by Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 261.

[3] Cf. the Bhaddayānika community of the Buddhists (Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, transl., p. 26). The Bhadrayānikas were a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 252). Cf. below, p.206, note 4.

[4] Read निरठं. The absence of the usual formulae of charters suggests that some passages of the original have been omitted here.

[5] Cf. विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 11). As a passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela would suggest, the Asika (=Ṛishika) country possibly lay between the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī, and to the south of Aśmaka. The city of the Asikas is there placed on the Kṛishṇā. Aśmaka was on the Godāvarī near Mūḷaka which was the district round Pratishṭhāna (mod. Paithān), the Sātavāhana capital. The Aśmaka country comprised the Nander-Nizamabad region of the former Hyderabad State. Its capital Paudanya is mod. Bodhan in the Nizamabad District. Vidarbha is mod. Berar. For the other countries, see *supra*, p. 178, note 4.

श्रेष्ठगिरि-चकोर पर्वत-पतेः, सर्व-राजलोकमण्डळ-प्रतिगृहीत-शासनस्य, दिवसकर-कर-विबोधित-कमलविमल-सदृश-वदनस्य, त्रिसमुद्र-तोय-पीत-वाहनस्य[1], परिपूर्ण-चन्द्रमण्डल-सश्रीक-प्रियदर्शनस्य, वरवारण-विक्रम-चारु-विक्रमस्य, भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वृत्त-विपुल-दीर्घ-सुन्दर-भुजस्य, अभयोदक-दान क्लिन्न-निर्भयकरस्य, अविपन्न-मातृ-शुश्रूषकस्य[2] सुविभक्त-त्रिवर्ग-देश-कालस्य (=धर्मार्थकाम-लाभाय स्थान-काल-व्यवहारकस्य), पौरजन-निर्विशेष-सम-सुख-दुःखस्य, क्षत्रिय-दर्पमान-मर्दनस्य, शक-यवन-पह्लव-निसूदनस्य, धर्मोपचित-कर-विनियोगकरस्य (= धर्म-शास्त्रसमर्थित०) कृतापराधे अपि शत्रुजने अ-प्राणहिंसा-रुचेः, द्विजावर-कुटुम्ब-विवर्द्धनस्य (=द्विजाद्विज-कुल-वर्द्धकस्य), क्षहरात-वंश-निरवशेषकरस्य, सातवाहनकुल-यशः-प्रतिष्ठापन-करस्य, सर्वमण्डलाभिवादित-चरणस्य, विनिवर्त्तित-चातुर्वर्ण्य-सङ्करस्य, अनेकसमरावजित-शत्रुसङ्घस्य (=०समरेषु विजितशत्रुवृन्दस्य), अपराजितविजयपताक-शत्रुजनदुष्प्रधर्षणीय-पुरवरस्य, कुळपुरुषपरम्परागत-विपुल-राजशब्दस्य, आगमानां निलयस्य (=वेदादिशास्त्रज्ञानस्य आधारस्य), सत्पुरुषाणाम् आश्रयस्य, श्रियः अधिष्ठानस्य, उपचाराणां प्रभवस्य (=सदाचाराणाम् उद्भवस्य), एकाङ्कुशस्य, एक-शूरस्य, एक-ब्राह्मणस्य (यद्वा—०ब्रह्मण्यस्य), राम-केशवार्जुन-भीमसेन-तुल्य-पराक्रमस्य, क्षण-घनोत्सव-समाज-कारकस्य (=शुभदिवसेषु महोत्सवादि०), नाभाग-नहुष-जनमेजय-सगर-ययाति-रामाम्बरीष-सम-तेजसः, अपरिमितम् अक्षयम् अचिन्त्यम् अद्भुतं पवन-गरुड-सिद्ध-यक्ष-राक्षस-विद्याधर-भूत-गन्धर्व-चारण(=स्वर्गीय-गायक, किन्नर)-चन्द्र-दिवाकर-नक्षत्र-ग्रह-विचीर्ण(=जुष्ट, ईक्षित)-समर-शिरसि जित-रिपुसङ्घस्य,[3] नागवर-स्कन्धात् गगनतलम् अभिविगाढस्य, कुल-विपुळश्री-करस्य, श्रीशातकर्णेः मात्रा महादेव्या गौतम्या बलश्रिया सत्यवचन-दान-क्षमाहिंसा-निरतया (=०क्षमाशीलया अहिंसापरया च) तपो-दम-नियमोपवास-तत्परया राजर्षिवधूशब्दम् अखिलम् अनुविदधत्या (=धारयन्त्या) कारितः देयधर्मः कैलासपर्वत-शिखर-सदृशे त्रिरश्मि-पर्वत-शिखरे विमानवर-निर्विशेषं महर्द्धिकं (=पर्वतशिखरस्थ-पुष्पक-सदृशं महासमृद्धियुक्तं) लयनम्। एतत् च लयनं महादेवी (=महाराज-पत्नी) महाराज-माता महाराज-पितामही ददाति निकायाय भद्रायणीयानां[4] (भद्रयानीयानां) भिक्षु-सङ्घाय। एतस्य च लयनस्य चित्रण-निमित्तम् (=आलेख्यादिना उत्कर्षविधानाय) महादेव्याः आर्यकायाः (=पितामह्याः) सेवाकामः

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[1] Cf. विसमुद्रान्तर्वर्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वर of Chālukya records and त्रिसमुद्राधिपति of the *Harshacharita*, VII. *Mayūravyaṁsaka samāsās* like *kamala-vimala* are common in early records.

[2] अविपन्न = unobstructedly ; or, not ill.

[3] For चारण, see *Śākuntala*. II, 14.

[4] Lüders' List, No. 1018 mentions a Buddhist school called Bhaddajaniija probably the same as the Bhadrayānīya. Cf. above, p. 205, note 3.

प्रियकामः च नप्ता [श्रीपुलुमाविः] दक्षिणापथेश्वरः पितृ-प्रीतये (=स्वर्गत-पितृ-प्रीणनाय) धर्मसेतवे (=द्यु-लोकभूलोकान्तरे सेतुरूपाय धर्मदानाय लयनाय) ददाति ग्रामं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्य अपरदक्षिण-पार्श्वे [स्थितं] पिशाचीपद्रकं सर्वजात-भोग-निरस्तं (=राजभागभोगादिपरिहृतम्) ॥

No. 87—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra

Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 22 (=c. 152 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 86.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 554, No. 3; BÜHLER, *Arch. surv. W. Ind.*, IV. p. 110, No. 19; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 65ff., No. 3; LÜDERS' List, No. 1124 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2] । नवनर-स्वामी वासिठो-पुतो सिरि-पुळुमवि [आ]नपयति गोवधने आमच

2 सिवखदिल य अ[म्हे] सव १० (+*)९ गि प २ दिव १० (+*) ३ धनकट-समनेहि यो[3] एथ [पवते] तिर[ण्हुम्हि*] न[4] धं[म]सेतुस [ले]णस पटिसंथरणे[5] [दत[6]] अखय[नीवि*]-हेतु एथ गोवधनाहारे दखिण-मगे गामो सुदिसणा भिखुहि देवि-लेण-वासीहि[7] निकायेन भदायनियेहि [प]तिगय दतो (।*) एतस दान-गामस सुदिसन[स][8] परिवटके एथ गोवधन[हारे] पुव-मगे

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[1] Form the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

[2] This line is a continuation of line 11 of the preceding grant which is separated from the present record by a *svastika* followed by another symbol. Navanara (=Navanagara; cf. Kusīnārā=Kuśīnagara) may have been a new city near the old capital Pratishṭhāna. We may also suggest नवन (ग*) र. See *supra*, p. 198, note 4.

[3] Senart : य. Dhānyakaṭa was the old name of Amarāvatī.

[4] Read तिरण्हुम्हि पतिवसतान भिखुन.

[5] Senart : ॰सथरणे.

[6] The letters are indistinct.

[7] Others read वासेहि. Note that in this record ॰भ्यः has been Prakritized into ॰हि. For this kind of 4th case-ending looking like the 3rd, see *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 38-43.

[8] Senart read सदसनान

3 गाम समलिपद ददाम (।*) एत त मह-अइरकेन ओदेन धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंथरणे[1] अखय-निवि-हेतु गाम सामलिप[द] [भिखुहि देवि][2]-लेण-[वासीहि*] [निका]येन भदायनियेहि पति[ग]यह[3] ओ]यप[पे]हि (।*) एतस च गामस सामलि-[पदस भिखुहळ-परिहार][4]

4 वितराम अपा[वे]स अनोमस अ[ळो]णखादक अरठसविनयिक सवजात-पारिहारिक च (।*) एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेहि (।*) एत च गाम-समलिपद-प[रि]हारे च एथ निबधापेहि सु[दिसन]-गामस च (।*) सुदिसना[स][5] विनिब[ध*]कारेहि[6] अणता (।*) महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन ···ना छतो (।*) बटि[का]·····केहि[7] ······तो[8] (।*) दता पटिका सव २२ गि पखे·· दिव ७ (।*)······ तकणिना[9] कटा (।*) गोवधन-वाथवान फा[सुकाये][10] विण्हुपालेन स्वामि-वणनणत (।*) नम भगत-सपति-पतपस जिनवरस बुधस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनगरस्वामी (=नवनगरस्थ-नृपः) वासिष्ठीपुत्रः श्रीपुळुमाविः आज्ञापयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं शिवस्कन्दिळं यत्—"अस्माभिः संव[त्सरे एकोनविंशे] १९ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे [द्वितीये] २ दिव[से त्रयोदशे] १३ (=चैत्र-शुक्लपक्षस्य त्रयोदश-दिवसे। धान्यकट-श्रमणेभ्यः यः अत्र पर्वते त्रिरश्मौ [प्रतिवसतां भिक्षूणां] धर्मसेतोः ळयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय (=संस्ताराय=वर्द्धनाय, प्रतिसंस्करणाय ?) दत्तः अक्षयनीवि-हेतोः अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे (=गोवर्द्धनाख्य-प्रदेशस्य

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[1] It is compared with Pāli पटिसन्थारो and translated 'repairs' (Bühler) or 'care' (Senart).

[2] The upper portions of these letters are lost.

[3] Bühler : पटिखय, 'to be administered' (=पटिखेयं from क्षि, to govern, or पटिखाय from प्रतीक्ष); Senart : प्रतिगृह्यः or प्रतिगृह्यं, "to be owned". These interpretations suit भदायनियेहि in the third case-ending.

[4] हल means land that can be annually ploughed by one ploughman and, secondarily, ploughable rent-free land dedicated to monks, gods, etc. Here भिक्षुहल means the property of the monks. भिक्षुहल occurs also in a Kārle cave inscription. Cf. देवहल and देवभोगहल in *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 94-95.

[5] Others who read सुदसनान here and also in line 2, may be right. The plural number may then refer to the fact that the village had divisions like East Sudisana and West Sudisana.

[6] Senart suggests : निबधापेहि सुदिसने ; गामस च सुदसनानं विनि°, etc.

[7] Some read °तो बिनिकटवासकहि or °तो पटिका...वासकेहि ; but that is hardly possible. The intended reading is possibly पटिकापालकेहि.

[8] Some read हयक्षता or हयिक्षता. Probably the reading intended is उपरखितो.

[9] Some restore [सा]तकनिना.

[10] Some read फासुकायं.

विभागविशेषे) दक्षिणमार्गे (=दक्षिणभागे; यद्वा—दक्षिणराजपथपार्श्वे) [स्थितः] ग्रामः सुदर्शनः, भिक्षुभ्यः देवीळयन-वासिभ्यः (=पुलुमावि-महिषी-ळयन०; यद्वा—गौतमी-ळयन०) निकायेन (=सम्प्रदायेन) भद्रायणीयेभ्यः प्रतिगृह्य (=प्रतिग्रहणं कृत्वा) दत्तं [शासनम्]। एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनस्य परिवर्त्तके अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे पूर्वमार्गे ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं दद्मः [वयम् भद्रायनीयेभ्यः]। एतं तु महार्यकेण (=राज्ञः प्रमातामहेन ?) औदेन (=तदाख्यद्वारा) धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय अक्षयनीविहेतु ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः निकायेन भद्रायणीयेभ्यः [पूर्वदत्तं ग्रामं] प्रतिगृह्य [एतं नवं दान-ग्रामं] अवोपप्रापय। एतस्य च ग्रामस्य शाल्मळीपद्रस्य भिक्षुहल-परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अलवणखातकम्, अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं, सर्वजात-पारिहारिकं (=सर्वविधपरिहारवर्गं) च। एतैः एनत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहर। एतं च ग्राम-शाल्मलीपद्र-परिहारम् अत्र (=शासने) निबन्धय, सुदर्शनग्रामस्य [परिहारं] च।"[1] सुदर्शनस्य [पूर्वदानस्य] विनिबन्धकारैः (=दान-निबन्धापसारकैः राजपुरुषैः) आज्ञप्तम्।[2] महासेनापतिना मेथुनेन ....न क्षतः (=लिखितः लेखः)। पट्टिका-पालकैः (=पुस्तपालराजपुरुषैः) उपलक्षितः (=परीक्षितः)[3]। दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे द्वाविंशे २२ ग्रीष्मपक्षे...दिवसे सप्तमे ७। तक्षणिना (?) कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका)। गोवर्द्धनवास्तव्यानां [दानप्राप्तानां भिक्षूणां] स्पार्हकाय (=सुखाय) विष्णुपालेन स्वामि-वर्णनं (=राज-शासनं) [राजधानीतः भिक्षूणां समीपे] नीतम्। नमः अभ्युद्गत-संपत्ति-प्रतापाय जिनवराय बुद्धाय॥[4]

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[1] It seems that Sudisana had been granted to the Śramaṇas of Dhānyakaṭa during the temporary absence of the Bhadrāyaniyas, but that no charter was prepared recording the transfer. The difficulty was felt only when the Bhadrāyaniyas came back. Some take ओयपयेहिं, निबधापेहिं, परिहरेहिं as first person singular aorist of causatives with the Prakrit suffix आपयामि (e.g., परिहारापयामि=परिहारयामि).

[2] Cf. *Ājñā* or *Ājñapti* of later South Indian inscriptions, and *Dūtaka* of North Indian records, who was possibly entrusted with the execution of the grant made by the charter. In these records the word *ājñapta* refers to an order (verbal or written) to prepare a document. The business of the *Dūtaka* seems to have been done in this case by Vishṇupāla.

[3] If महास्वामिक in *supra*, No. 83, may indicate a class of officials, this may also mean 'marked' (cf. लाञ्छित of later records which is probably a Prakrit-Sanskrit form of लच्छित).

[4] For a number of Kadamba charters ending with similar adorations, see *Suc. Sātavā.*, pp. 256, 271, 276, 278, 297, etc. Senart: "with a view for the well-being of the nhabitants of Govadhana, Viṇhupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha." He suggests सम्प्राप्ति-प्रताप. Bühler: भग(व*)त स०

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No. 88—Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 24 (=c. A.D. 154)

KĀRLE, Poona District, Bombay State (Maharashtra)

BURGRESS and INDRAJI, *Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.*, pp. 36f., No. 20; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 113; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 71, No. 20; LÜDERS' List, No. 1106 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिध (।*) रञो वासिठि-पुतस सिरि-पुळुमाविस सवछरे चतुविसे २०(+*)४ हेमंतान पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे बि-

2 तिये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरण-पुत्तस्य सोवसकस्य अबुलामाय वथव्यस इम देयधम मडपो

3 नव-गभ माहासघियानं परिगहो[2] सवे चातुदिसे दिन मातापितुनं पुजा(ये*) सवसतानं हित-सूघ-स्थतये (।*) एक[वि]से[3] सं-

4 वछरे निठितो सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य दि[4] ·· उपासिकाय (।*) बुधरखितस मातु देयधंम पिठो[5] अनो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य श्रीपुळुमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे द्वितीये २ (=पौष-कृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीय-दिवसे)—उपासकस्य हरपर्णस्य श्वेतपर्ण-पुत्रस्य सौवासिकस्य[6] (=सुवासितद्रव्य-विक्रयिणः ; यद्वा—सुवासाख्यदेश-जातस्य) अम्बुरामायां

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. Note the looped त and developed medial *u*; also words like पुत्तस्य. They are probably due to Setapharaṇa being a pilgrim from the north.

[2] Some read परिगहे

[3] Some read एकतिसे

[4] Some read मातरखिय

[5] Some read पाटो or पाठो

[6] *Sovasaka* of the original has been taken to stand for *Sauvarshaka*, another name of the Kāśyapīya branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 256). But this does not appear to suit the context. Harapharaṇa was a lay Buddhist and not a monk of the Sauvarshaka community.

वास्तव्यस्य अयं देयधर्मः मण्डपः नवगर्भः (=नवापवारकयुक्तः) माहासाङ्घिकानां (=बौद्धाचार्यविशेषाणां) परिग्रहः, सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय (=अखिलदेशवर्त्तिनं सङ्घम् उद्दिस्य) दत्तः मातापित्रोः पूजायै, सर्व-सत्त्वानां [च] हित-सुख-स्थितये। एकविंशे संवत्सरे निष्ठितः (=समाप्तः) मण्डपः सहितं (=सह) मया च हरपर्णेन, पुनः बुद्धरक्षितेन, माता च अस्य....उपासिकया। बुद्धरक्षितस्य मातुः देयधर्मः पीठः अन्यः (=तस्याः स्वकीयं अपरं निजस्वं दानं पीठः अपि अस्ति)॥

No. 89—Nasik Cave Inscription of Yajna Satakarni

(c. A.D. 174-202)—Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 181)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State (Maharashtra)

On the back wall of the Veranda in Cave No. 20.
Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 596f., No. 24; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 114, No. 20; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94, No. 24; LÜDERS' List, No. 1146 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिधं (।*) रञो गोतमि-पुतस सामि-सिरि-यञ-सातकणिस संवछरे सातमे ७ हेमताण पखे ततिये ३

2 दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासे[णा]पतिस[2] [भ]वगोपस भरिजाय महासेणापतिणिय वासुय लेण

3 बोपकि-यति-सुजमाने अपयवसित-समाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाण नितो चातुदि-

4 सस च भिखु-सघस आवसो[3] दतो ति ॥[4]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

[2] *Mahāsenāpati* and similar other official designations sometimes indicate feudatory chiefs. This refers to the custom of appointing military officers as governors of provinces. The formation of feminine forms from masculine official titles is interesting.

[3] Others read आवासो.

[4] The full-stop is indicated by a short slightly curved horizontal stroke.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः गौतमी-पुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीयज्ञशातकर्णेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=पौष-कृष्णपक्षस्य प्रथम-दिवसे) कौशिकस्य (=कौशिकसगोत्रस्य) महासेनापतेः भवगोपस्य भार्यया महासेनापत्न्या (=महासेनापति-गृहिण्या) वास्वा लयनं बोपकि-यति-सृज्यमानम् अपर्यवसित-समानं (=असमाप्तप्रायं) बहुकानि वर्षाणि अवकृतम् (=बहुवर्षपर्यन्तम् अवहेलितं) पर्यवसानं (=समाप्तिं) नीतं, चातुर्दिशाय च भिक्षुसङ्घाय आवासः (=वासार्थं) दत्तः इति ॥

No. 90—Myākadoni Rock Inscription of Pulumāvi (c. A.D. 217-25)[1]

—Regnal Year 8 (=c. 225 A.D.)

The inscribed rock lies midway between the villages of Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru, Bellary District, Mysore State.

V. S. Sukthankar, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [सि]ध[ं] (॥*) रञो सातव[ा]हनानं [सि]रि-पुळुमाविस सव ८ हेम २ दिव १
2 [मस][3] महासेनाप[ति]स खंद[ना]कस जनपदे[4] स[ा]तव[ा]हणिहारे[5]
3 [गा]मिकस[6] कुमारदतस गामे वेपुरके वथवेन गहपतिकेन [कों]तानं [संबे]न
4 तळाकं खानितं (॥*)

---

[1] He is different form the earlier Puḷumāvi and seems to be the same as Pulomā, the last king of the main line according to the Purāṇas. The base of न is curved and has a loop at the left. The difference between त and न is only in the former's right leg which is curved towards the left; cf. the same difference between त and न in the Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa inscriptions. For Later Śātavāhana chronology from Gautamīputra to this king, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 161-64.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

[3] Possibly the word intended is स्वामिस (i. e. of the lord=Śrī-Puḷumāvi); *cf.* Bk. III, No. 71, line 26. Or, the engraver was going to write *mahāsenā°*, but left out *hā*, then erased the two *aksharas* and engraved the word afresh.

[4] Sukthankar : जनपादे.

[5] Cf. सातावाहनिरट्ठ of the Hirahaḍagalli plates below.

[6] Sukthankar suggests गुमिक (=गौल्मिक); but गामिक is better. The महासेनापति ruled the जनपद, while affairs of the ग्राम were conducted by the गामिक.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः सातवाहनानां (=सातवाहनकुळजस्य) श्रीपुळुमावेः संव[त्सरे अष्टमे] ८ हेम[न्त-पक्षे द्वितीये] २ दिव[से प्रथमे] १ (=मार्गशीर्ष-शुक्लपक्षस्य प्रथम-दिवसे)—[स्वामिनः (=राज्ञः पुलुमावेः)] महासेनापतेः स्कन्दनागस्य जनपदे सातवाहनीयाहारे ग्रामिकस्य (यद्वा—गौल्मिकस्य) कुमारदत्तस्य ग्रामे वेपुरके वास्तव्येन गृहपतिकेन (=गृहस्थेन) कौन्तानां (=कौन्तवंशीयेन) साम्बेन (यद्वा—शाम्बेन) तडागः खानितः ॥

B—ORISSA

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ĀRYA-MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANA-CHEDIS OF KALIṄGA

No. 91—Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, near Bhubaneswar, Purī District, Orissa

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, VI, pp. 1075-91; CUNNINGHAM, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 27f.; 98-101; 132ff.; R. L. MITRA, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, pp. 16ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du Sixieme Congres international des Orientalistes*, Pt. III, Sec. 2, pp. 152-77; BÜHLER, *Indian Studies*, III, p. 13; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242ff.; 824; LÜDERS' List, No. 1345; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, pp. 425ff.; IV, pp. 364f.; XIII, pp. 221ff.; XIV, pp. 150ff.; STEN KONOW, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12ff.; F. W. THOMAS, *J. R. A S.*, 1922, pp. 83f.; K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 72ff.; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, pp. 261 ff.

Language: Prakrit resembling Pāli
Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.[1]

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[1] Earlier scholars identified Śātakarṇi mentioned in line 4 of this record with the Sātavāhana king of that name in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, and placed Khāravela about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. As has been noticed above (p. 190, note 2), the Nānāghāṭ records are later than the middle of the 1st century B. C. The angular forms and straight bases of letters like व, म, प, ह and य, which are usually found in the Hāthigumphā epigraph, suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (cf. ङ also). On

TEXT[1]

1 [Śrīvatsa] [Svastika][2] नमो अरहंतानं (।*) नमो सव-सिधानं (॥*) ऐरेण
महाराजेन[3] महामेघवाहनेन[4] चेति-राज-व[ं]स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन[5]
चतुरंतलुठ[ण]-गुण-उपितेन[6] कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेलेन

2 [पं]दरस-वसानि सीरि-[कडार]-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका (॥*) ततो लेख-
रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सव-विजावदातेन नव-वसानि योवरज [प]सा-
सितं (॥*) संपुंण-चतुवीसति-वसो तदानि वधमानसेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो[7] ततिये

3 कलिंग-राज-वसे(स)-पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं[8] पापुनाति (॥*) अभिसितमतो च
पधमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिंगनगरि
खिबी[रं][9] (।*) सितळ-तडाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति सवूयान-प[टि]संथपनं च

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grounds of palaeography, it is to be placed later probably than the Nānāghāṭ records and certainly than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros. The development of the Kāvya style exhibited by the *ojo-guṇa* of its composition also points to a late date. It is interesting in this connection to note that authorities on Indian art believe that the sculptures of the Mañchapurī cave (in which there is an inscription of Khāravela's queen) 'are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhut' (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I pp. 639ff.). S. K. Chatterji and Pzryluski have written on the etymology of the name Khāravela. In an article in the *Vyāsasaṁgrahamu* (a volume of essays in English and Telugu offered to Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti Pantulu), 1933, pp. 71-74, Chatterji suggests that *Khāravela* is derived from Dravidian *kār* or *kar* meaning 'black' or 'terrible' and *vel*, 'lance', the name being a Bahuvrīhi compound and meaning 'one having a black or terrible lance (Sanskrit *kṛishṇ-arshṭi*)'. Cf. also the name *Kāḷavela* in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Geiger's transl., pp. 66, 75). *Khāravela* may also be Sanskrit *Kshāravela*, 'having salt on the shore (i. e. the ocean)'. For the date of Khāravela, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 215-16. Cf. below, p. 216, note 8; p. 217, note 9.

[1] From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, 1917.

[2] In the margin near the beginning of lines 2 and 4-5.

[3] The title *Mahārāja* is first noticed in India in the numismatic records of the Indo-Greek kings in the first half of the second century B. C. This seems to support the suggestion assigning Khāravela to the first century B. C. See notes on No. 105 below.

[4] Mahāmeghavāhana is a family name like Sātavāhana. Cf. names like *Meghavāhana* and *Sātavāhana* in the Kashmir chronicle. Some read चेत. चेति=चेदि and चेत=चेद्य. Apparently Khāravela claimed connection with the Chedis mentioned in ancient Indian literature; cf. line 17, *infra*.

[5] Barua : लखणेन.

[6] Barua : गुण-उपेतेन ; Jayaswal : ०लुठितगुणोपहितेन.

[7] Barua : वधमान-सेसयोवनाभिविजयो.

[8] Jayaswal : माहा०.

[9] Jayaswal and Banerji separate खिबीर from कलिंगनगरि and read खिबीर-इसि-ताळ-तडाग.

4 कारयति पनसि(ति)साहि सत-सहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति (॥*) दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकंनिं[1] पछिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति (।*) कन्हबेंणां-गताय[2] च सेनाय वितासिति[3] असिकनगरं[4] (॥*) ततिये पुन वसे

5 गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडापयति नगरिं (॥*) तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवासं[5] अहतपुवं कलिंग(?)-पुव-राज-[निवेसितं]............वितध-म[कु]ट[6]............च निखित-छत(?)-

6 भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे वंदापयति (॥*) पंचमे च दानी वसे नंदराज-तिवससत-ओ[घा]टितं[7] तनसुलिय-वाटा पणाडिं नगरं पवेस[य]ति सो..... (।*) [अ*]भिसितो च [छठे वसे*] राजसेयं[8] संदंसयंतो सवकर-वण-[9]

7 अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं (॥*) सतमं च वसं[10]

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[1] This king seems to be that Śātakarṇi who ruled shortly after the husband of Nāganikā according to the Purāṇas. Palaeographically the Hāthigumphā inscription is slightly later than the Nānāghāṭ records. It may be pointed out that the letters of the Sāñchī inscription of Śātakarṇi (Plate in *J. B. O. R. S*, 1917) resemble the script of the present record and may belong to Śātakarṇi II. Of course, if this slight development is overlooked, we may identify both these Śātakarṇis with Śātakarṇi I. But it should be remembered that the big Nānāghāṭ record was possibly engraved after the death of that king.

[2] Jayaswal and Banerji : कण्ह°.

[3] Jayaswal : वितासितं.

[4] Jayaswal and Banerji : सुसिक°. For the Asika country, see *supra*, No. 86. The chief city of that country thus appears to have been situated on the Kṛishṇā.

[5] Vijādhara = Vidyādhara seems to be the name of a ruler.

[6] Barua : मकुटे. The following *aksharas* which are indistinct are read by Jayaswal and Banerji as सविलंढिते and by Barua as सविप्रवजिते.

[7] Nanda has been taken to be a king of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra and the expression *ti-vasa-sata* as either 300 or 103 years. If however a Nanda king is refereed to, the passage cannot mean 103 years, as the record has to be placed on palaeographical grounds not about one century but about three centuries after the Nanda kings. *Ti-vasa-sata* seems to indicate '300 years in round number'. The meaning '103 years' which would bring us to c. 223 B. C., even if we count from 326 B. C. when the Nanda dynasty may have been overthrown, is rendered impossible also by the facts that Kaliṅga was under Aśoka up to about 232 B. C. and that Khāravela was preceded by at least two generations of kings belonging to his own family.

[8] Jayaswal : राजसुयं which is improbable for a Jain king like Khāravela

[9] *Varṇa* here means 'description' as in No. 82, line 6, above.

[10] Barua : सतमे च वसं [अ]स-सतो.

[पसा]सतो वजिरघर……[1] स मतुक पद……[कु]म … [2] (॥*)…… **अठमे**
च वसे महता सेन[ा]……गोरधगिरिं
8 घातापयिता राजगहं[3] उपपीडपयति (।*) एतिन[ा] च कंमपदान-स[ं]नादेन
……सेन-वाहने[4] विपमुचितुं मधुरं अपयातो यवनरा[ज] [डिमित ?][5]
……यछति…… पलव …
9 कपरुखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति[6] सव-घरावास ……[7] सव-गहणं च
कारयितुं ब्रह्मणानं ज[य]-परिहारं[8] ददाति (॥*) अरहत…[नवमे च वसे*]…
10 …………[9] महाविजय-पासादं[10] कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि (॥*)
दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो](?)[11] भरधवस-पठा(?)नं मह[ी]जयनं(?)[12]
……कारापयति[13] (॥*) [एकादसमे च वसे*]……प[ा]यातानं च म[नि]-
रतनानि उपलभते (।*)

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[1] Barua : वजिरघर-खतिय-मत-घटनि-समतक-पदषंन संतिपद… ; Jayaswal : ०घरवति-घुसित-घरिनि स मतुक-पद-पुंग……The readings are doubtful and the suggestion regarding Khāravela's wife of the Vajiraghara family is problematical.

[2] Prinsep and Cunningham : सवत-कहदपन-नरप. All the readings are problematical. The account of the achievements of the seventh year is thus doubtful.

[3] Prinsep : राजगभं उपपीडयति ; Cunningham : राजगंभु उपपीडयति ; Indraji : राजगहनपं पीडापयति which Sten Konow thinks not impossible. Gorathagiri has been identified with the Barabar Hills. The passage may also suggest that Khāravela defeated a king named Gorathagiri and plundered his capital Rājagṛiha. But this seems to be less likely.

[4] Prinsep : पंचात ; Jayaswal : संबित ; Barua : पबंत.

[5] The reading यवनराज is clear, but दिमित or डिमित is doubtful. Even if the reading be correct, this दिमित cannot be identified with Demetrios (son of Euthydemos) who flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B. C. The Indo-Greek ruler mentioned in the inscription may have had his headquarters at Mathurā.

[6] Barua : यं[ति] ; Indraji : सह-यत ; Jayaswal : सह-यंते.

[7] Prinsep : घरवसप…; Cunningham : घरवसय-अनतिकगवय ; Indraji : घरवसधं…; Jayaswal : घरावास-परिवसने अगिणथिया.

[8] Prinsep : जत ; Jayaswal : जातिं परिहारं. Note *bra* in *Brahmaṇānaṁ*, not much expected in East Indian records of the second century B.C.

[9] Barua : वसु विजय [line 9] ते उभय-प्रचि-तटे राजनिवासं ; Jayaswal : मानतिराजसंनिवासं.

[10] Jayaswal : महाविजयं.

[11] The reading is doubtful. Cunningham read दतिभिसर.

[12] Cunningham : सहयन.

[13] The record of the tenth year cannot be made out.

11 ······पुवं राज-निवेसितं[1] पीथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति (।*) जन[प]द-भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं[2] भि[ं]दति त्रमिर-दह(?)-संघातं[3] (।*) बारसमे च वसे··············[4][सह]सेहि वितासयति उतरापध-राजानो·······

12 म[ा]गधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं गंगाय[5] पाययति (।*) म[ाग]ध[ं] च राजानं बहसतिमितं[6] पादे वंदापयति (।*) नंदराज-नीतं च का[लि]ंग-जिनं[7] संनिवेस······[8] अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति (॥*)····

13 ······[क]तु[ं] जठर-[लखिल-[गोपु]राणि सिहराणि निवेसयति सत-विसिकनं [प]रि-हारेहि (।*) अभुतमछरियं च हथो-निवा[स][9] परिहर······हय-हथि-रतन-[मानिकं] पंडराजा ·····[सु]त-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत[सहसानि]

14 ······सिनो वसीकरोति (।*) तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके कुमारीपवते अरहते(हि*) पखिन-सं[सि]तेहि कायनिसीदियाय[10] यापूजावकेहि[11] राजभितिनि[12]

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[1] Jayaswal : मंडं अवराज-निवेसितं ; Barua : पुवराज-निवेसितं पिथुडग-दभ नगलि नेकासययि, 'caused the grassy overgrowth of Pṛithūdaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāṅgala [river]'.

[2] Jayaswal : सतिकं अभि०. We have possibly the round number 1300 and not 113.

[3] Indraji : तमर-देह-संघातं ; Jayaswal : तमिर-देप-संघातं, 'a confederacy of the Tamil countries'.

[4] Barua suggests सिवकानं.

[5] Jayaswal : हथी सुगंगीय[ं] पाययति and finds a reference to the Maurya palace सुगांग mentioned in the मुद्राराचस.

[6] The name may be ब्रहस्पतिमित ; but his identification with Pushyamitra on the ground that ब्रहस्पति is the lord of the पुष्य or पुष्या constellation is fantastic. Moreover palaegraphically and stylistically this record should be placed more than a century after Pushyamitra Śuṅga. See *supra*, No. 10 and notes. The reference to Aṅga and Magadha suggests that Bahasatimita was the ruler of both the countries.

[7] Barua : नंदराज-जितं च कलिंगजन-संनिवेसं.

[8] Indraji : गह-रतन-परिहारेहि ; Jayaswal : ०पडीहारेहि ; Barua : कितव-नय-निपुनेहि.

[9] Prinsep : हथिन ् न ; Cunningham : हथि-नवेन ; Barua : हथि-नाव[तं]. Note *abhutam* = *achhariyaṁ* not expected in very early Prakrit records.

[10] Barua : कय्य = Sanskrit : काय्य = Pāli काय.

[11] Prinsep : यापुहवकेहि ; Cunningham : यापुजकेहि ; Jayaswal : यापञवकेहि.

[12] Read ०तिनं.

चिन-वतानि[1] वास[ा][सि]तानि[2] पूजानुरत-उवा[सग-खा]रवेलसिरिना[3] जीवदेह-[सयि]का[4] परिखाता[5] (॥*)

15 ……सकत-समण सुविहितानं च सव-दिसानं[6] ञ[नि]नं[?] तपसि-इ[सि]न[7] संघियनं अरहतनिसीदिया-समीपे पाभारे[8] वराकार-समुथापिताहि अनेकयोजनाहिताहि……सिलाहि[9]….[10]…….. ……[11]

16 …………[12]चतरे च वेडुरिय-गभे थंभे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि (।*) मु[खि]य[13]-कळ[14]-वोछिनं[15] च चोय[ठि]-अंग[16] संतिक[ं][17] तुरियं उपादयति (।*) खेम-राजा स वढ-राजा[18] स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं[तो] सुनं-[तो] अनुभत्र[तो] कलानानि

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[1] Read ०तानं. Barua correctly connects the word with Pāli चिन्नवतानं. Cf. चोर्णव्रत in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 83, 155; also vide *ibid.*, 84, 92.

[2] Read ०सितानं.

[3] Barua : पूजाय रत.

[4] Prinsep : जि…देत ; Cunningham : जिविमक ; Jayaswal : सिरिका. Barua suggests सयिका for सिरिका.

[5] Prinsep and Cunningham : रिखित. Barua suggests पनिखाता.

[6] Jayaswal : सत.

[7] Cunningham : सिमपुस ; Barua : [सम]पसि[नं].

[8] *Prāgbhāra* means here 'the slope of a hill'.

[9] Barua : पक्नसिसेहि सत[सहसा]हि सिलाहि.

[10] Prinsep : सपप ; Cunningham : भगप ; Jayaswal : सिंहपथ ; Barua : सिपञ.

[11] Prinsep : सपपथ-धरसि धनस्य ; Jayaswal : ०रञी-सिंधुळाय निसयानि ; Barua : अभ[नि]वधसयाना[स]नानि.

[12] Prinsep : पठलके ; Indraji पटालके ; Jayaswal : पटलको.

[13] Prinsep : …रिय ; Cunningham : …य ; Indraji and Sten Konow : मुरिय ; Barua : [म]खिय. There seems to be no reference to any Maurya-kāla or Maurya era.

[14] Fleet and Indraji : काल ; Cunningham कल which is supported by Barua.

[15] Barua : वोछिने.

[16] Prinsep : च चोयथ अगि ; Cunningham : च चेयठ अगे ; Indraji : च चोयथ अगे ; Barua : च चोयठ अंगे.

[17] Prinsep and Cunningham : सतिक ; Indraji : सतिकु ; Sten Konow : सतिकं.

[18] Barua : वध०.

17 ..... गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-दे[वाय]तन-सकार-कारको अपतिहत-चक-वाहनबलो[1] चकधरो[2] गुत-चको पवत-चको राजसि-वसू-कुल-विनिश्रितो[3] महाविजयो राजा खारवेल-सिरि (॥*) [Branched tree within railing]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हद्भ्यः। नमः सर्व-सिद्धेभ्यः[4]। आर्येण[5] महाराजेन माहामेघवाहनेन चेदि-राजवंश-वर्द्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-लक्षणेन चतुरन्तलुण्ठन-गुणोपेतेन (=सकलभुवनव्यापिगुणगणालङ्कृतेन) कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्रीखारवेलेन पञ्चदश-वर्षाणि श्रीकडार-शरीरवता (=श्रीमत्-पिङ्गलदेह-भाजा) क्रीडिता कुमार-क्रीडिका (=बालक्रीडा)। ततः लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशारदेन (=लेखनविद्यायां मुद्रापरिचये गणिते विवाद-सीमांसा-विद्यायां प्रवर्त्तना-निवर्त्तनात्मकशास्त्रेषु च निष्णातेन), सर्वविद्यावदातेन नव-वर्षाणि यौवराज्यं (=युवराजत्वेन) प्रशिष्टम् (=शासितम्)। सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः तदानीं वर्द्धमानाशैशव-वैण्याभिविजयः (=वेणतनयस्य राजर्षेः पृथोः इव यस्य जयश्रीः शिशोः कालात् प्रभृति प्रचीयमाना आसीत् सः) तृतीये कलिङ्गराज-वंश-पुरुषयुगे (=कलिङ्गराजान्वयस्य तृतीयपुरुषे) महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति (=प्राप्नोत्)॥ अभिषिक्तवान् (=अभिषेकवान्=अभिषिक्तः) च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं प्रतिसंस्कारयति (=प्रतिसमकारयत्) कलिङ्गनगरीं खिबीरम्; शीतलतडाग-पाल्यः (=०पारान्) च बन्धयति (=अबन्धयत्); सर्वोद्यान-प्रतिसंस्थापनं च कारयति (=अकारयत्); पञ्चत्रिंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणां=कार्षापणानां ?] प्रकृतीः च रञ्जयति (=अरञ्जयत्)॥ द्वितीये च वर्षे अचिन्तयित्वा (=अगणयित्वा) शातकर्णिं पश्चिमदिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं (=सेनादलं) प्रस्थापयति (=प्रास्थापयत); कृष्णवेण्वा-गतया (=कृष्णानदीतीरगतया) च सेनया वित्रासयति ऋषिकनगरम्॥ तृतीये पुनः वर्षे गन्धर्व-वेद-बुधः [खारवेलः] दर्पनृत्यगीतवादित्र-सन्दर्शनैः[6] उत्सव-समाज-कारणाभिः

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[1] Jayaswal : चकि.

[2] Jayaswal : चकधुर०.

[3] Barua : राजिसि-वंस-कुल. Cunningham : विनिगत. Here is a reference to Khāravela's claim to have descended from the ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

[4] For an *arhat*, see *supra*, p. 120, note 2. The Jain saints are sometimes called Buddha, Kevalin, Siddha, Tathāgata and Arhat. Khāravela was a Jain by faith.

[5] This seems to be associated with the name of the family. *Aira* (=*Ārya*) is found also in *infra*, No. 93. It is tempting to connect it with *Aila*=belonging to the lunar dynasty; but that is problematical. For *ariya*=*ayira*=*aira*, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 84. Cf. the Velpuru inscription of Aira Mānasada ruling over the Guntur region in the second century A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 82ff.).

[6] दप=दर्प-क्रीडा =मल्लयुद्ध-विशेष: (अर्थशास्त्र, II, 3, 58), or [=दवकम्म or comics (*Mahāniddesa*, p. 379).

च क्रीडयति (=अक्रीडयत्) नगरीम् (=राजधानीम्)॥ तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधराधिवासम् अहत-पूर्वं कलिङ्ग-पूर्वराज-निवेशितं......वितथमुकुट..... च निक्षिप्तच्छत्रभृङ्गारं हृतरत्नसम्पत्तिकं सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकं[1] पादौ वन्दयति॥ पञ्चमे च इदानीं वर्षे नन्दराज-त्रिवर्षशतोद्घाटितां (=त्रिशतवर्षो०) तन-सुलिय(=तृण-सूर्य ?)-वर्त्मनः प्रणाळीं नगरं (=राजधानीं) प्रवेशयति......॥ अभिषिक्तः च षष्ठे वर्षे राजैश्वर्यं सन्दर्शयन् सर्वाकारवर्णानुग्रहानेकानि शतसहस्राणि [मुद्राणां] विसृजति पौर-जानपदम् [उद्दिश्य]॥ सप्तमं च वर्षं प्रशासत् ....॥ अष्टमे च वर्षे महता सेना···· गोरथ-गिरिं घातयित्वा (=घर्षणानन्तरं) राजगृहम् उपपीडयति (=उपापीडयत्); एतेन कर्मापदान-संनादेन (=दुष्करकर्मसम्पादनशब्देन)···सेनावाहनं विप्रमोक्तुं [भयात्] मधुरां (=मथुराम्) अपयातः (=पलायितः) यवनराजः डिमितः(?)····यच्छति···पल्लव···कल्प-वृक्षः हय-गज-रथैः सह याति [खारवेलः] सर्व-गृहावास ..... सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जय-परिहारं ददाति (=अददात्)।........[नवमे च वर्षे]........ ...[राज-सन्निवासं] महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्टत्रिंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणाम्]॥ दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-सन्धि-साम-मयः [खारवेलः] भारतवर्ष-प्रस्थानां..... कारयति (=अकारयत्)। एकादशे च वर्षे..... अपयातानां (=पलायितशत्रूणां) च मणिरत्नानि उपलभते (=उपालभत)।···पूर्वं राजनिवेशितं (=कस्यचित् राज्ञः राजधानीं) पीथुण्डं[2] गर्दभ-लाङ्गलेन कर्षयति (=अकर्षयत्); जनपदभावनं च त्रयोदशवर्षशतकृतं (=वर्ष-त्रयोदशशत-कृतं) भिनत्ति (=अभिनत्) तिमिर-हृद-सङ्घातं (यद्वा—त्रमिरदेश-सङ्घातम् ?)। द्वादशे च वर्षे......सहस्रैः वित्रासयति उत्तरापथ-राजान्····मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन् हस्त्यश्वं गङ्गायां पाययति; मागधं च राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति; नन्दराज-नीतं च कलिङ्ग-जिनं सन्निवेश...........अङ्ग-मगध-वसुं च नयति;[3]........कर्तुं जठर-लक्ष्मीळ-गोपुराणि (=दृढसुन्दरतोरणसमन्वितानि) शिखराणि निवेशयति [मुद्राणां] शत-विंशकानां परिहारैः; अद्भुतम् आश्चर्यं च हस्तिनिवासं (=०वस्त्रसज्जां) प्रतिहरति ···हयहस्तिरत्नमाणिक्यं; पाण्ड्यराजात्····मुक्ता-मणि-रत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्राणि ····वासिनः वशीकरोति। त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्त-विजयचक्रे (=सुप्रतिष्ठितविजयान्वित-शासन-समृद्धे) कुमारीपर्वते (Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri Hills) अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीण-संश्रितेभ्यः (=क्षीणाश्रयेभ्यः) काय-निषद्यायै (=वर्षासु विश्राम-लाभाय) यापोद्यापकेभ्यः राजभृतानां , चीर्णव्रतानां

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[1] Literally, राष्ट्रिक=provincial governer and भोजक=jāgīrdār. For the Raṭhika and Bhojaka tribes of Western India, see *supra*, pp. 22, 36.

[2] Or पृथूदं. This may have been the original of Ptolemy's *Piṭundra*.

[3] Rājagṛiha (Rājgīr), ancient capital of Magadha (South Bihār). Bhāratavarsha= India. Uttarāpatha=N. W. India. Aṅga=East Bihār. Pitundra—near Masulipatam (*Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 48f.). Note the retaliation of the conquest of Kaliṅga by Nanda and Aśoka. The Present Tense in the verbs may be changed to Past Tense.

(=राजपुष्टानां व्रताचरकाणां) वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तोपासक-खारवेळश्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः (=आश्रयगुहाः) परिखानिताः।…सत्कृतश्रमणः [खारवेलः] सुविहितानां च सर्वदिशानां ज्ञानिनां तपस्वृषीणां संङ्घीयानाम् अर्हन्निषद्या-समीपे प्राग्भारे (=पर्वतपृष्ठे) वराकार-समुत्थापिताभिः अनेकयोजनाहृताभिः….शिलाभिः चत्वरे च वैदूर्यगर्भं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापयति पञ्चोत्तरशत-सहस्रैः [मुद्राणां]; मुख्यकलावच्छिन्नं (=गीतनृत्यादिसमन्वितं) चतुःषष्ठ्यङ्गं (=चतुःषष्टिप्रकारवाद्यविशिष्टं) शान्तिकं तौर्यं (=रणरहितकालोपयोगितौर्यत्रिकम्) उत्पादयति। क्षेमराजः सः वृद्धराजः (=उन्नत०) सः भिक्षुराजः धर्मराजः पश्यन् शृण्वन् अनुभवन् कल्याणानि…गुणविशेष-कुशळः सर्वपार्षद-पूजकः[1] सर्वदेवायतन-संस्कार-कारकः अप्रतिहत-चक्रवाहिनीबलः (=अपराजेयेन राज्येन सैन्यबलेन च सनाथः) चक्रधरः (=धृतराजचक्रः, सुशासितचक्रः) गुप्त-चक्रः (=सुरक्षितराजमण्डलः) प्रवृत्त-चक्रः (=अप्रतिहतशासनः) राजर्षि-वसु-कुळ-विनिःसृतः (=चेदिराजोपरिचरवसु०) महाविजयः[2] राजा खारवेलश्रीः (=श्रीमान् खारवेलः)॥

No. 92—Mañchapurī[3] Cave Inscription of the Chief Queen of Khāravela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Purī District, Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du 6me Congres Or. à Leide*, Part III, Sec. ii, pp. 152 ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 159; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, pp. 55f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 159; LÜDERS' List, No. 1346 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century B.C.

TEXT

1 अरहंत-पसादाय[4] कलिंगा[न]ं [सम]नानं लेनं कारितं (।*) राजिनो ललाक[स]

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[1] *Pāshaṇḍa=pārshada* in the sense of a religious sect is found in Aśoka's inscriptions. See *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 12, 17, 30, etc.

[2] The name of his palace in line 10 possibly suggests that Mahāvijaya was Khāravela's *viruda*.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is in the upper story (also called Svargapurī) of the cave.

[4] य was read by Indraji as न. Some scholars read पसादानं.

2 हथि[सि]हस[1] पपोतस धु[तु]ना(या) कलिंग-च[कवतिनो सिरि-खार*]वेलस

3 अगमहिसि[य]। [कारितं] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अर्हत्-प्रसादाय (=अर्हताम् अनुग्रह-लाभाय) कालिङ्गेभ्यः (=कलिङ्ग-देशीयेभ्यः) श्रमणेभ्यः (=जैनभिक्षुभ्यः [=तेषां वासार्थं]) लयनं कारितम्। राज्ञः लालार्कस्य (=ललार्क-पुत्रस्य; यद्वा—ललार्क-वंशीयस्य) हस्तिसिंहस्य प्रपौत्रस्य दुहिता कलिङ्ग-चक्रवर्त्तिनः (=कलिङ्गाधिराजस्य) श्रीखारवेलस्य अग्रमहिष्या [लयनं] कारितम्।

No. 93—Mañchapurī Cave Inscription of Vakradeva[2] (?)

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Purī District, Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du 6me Congres Or. à Leide*, III, iii, pp. 152ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 160; BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, pp. 63f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 160; LÜDERS' List, No. 1347 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT[3]

1 ऐरस[4] महाराजस कलि[ं]गाधिपतिनो माहा[मेघ]वाह[नस] [व?]कदेप-सीरीनो लेण [ं] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

आर्यस्य महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेः माहामेघवाहनस्य वक्रदेवश्रियः (=श्रीमता वक्रदेवेन कारितं) लयनम् ॥

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[1] Indraji: ०साहानं; Banerji: साहस.

[2] The king's name is sometimes read Kūḍepa or Kadaṁpa. He may have been a successor of Khāravela. Another record in the cave refers to a *Kumāra* called Vaḍukha (Lüders' List, No 1348).

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII.

[4] Some read: वेरस; Banerji: खरस. The use of the same word in line 1 of *supra*, No. 91, suggests that it is connected with the name of the family. Cf. above, p. 219, note 5.

C—MADHYA PRADESH

No. 93A—Gunji Rock Inscription of Kumāravīradatta—Regnal Years 5 and 6.

GUNJI, near the Sakti Railway Station, Raigarh District, Madhya Pradesh.

V. V. MIRASHI, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 48ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J.A.S*, Letters, XIX, pp. 59-61.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 सिध (॥*) नमो भगवतो (॥*) रुं(रं)ञो कुमारवीरदत[2]-सिरिस संवछरे पचमे हेमत-पखे चतुथे ४ दिवसे [पंचद*]से १०(+*)५ भगवतो उसुभ-तिथे अमचस पोठधिय [प*]पो[तस][3]

2 गोडछस णतुकेग अमतस[4] मतजु(ज)नपालित[स] पु[ते]न अमचेन दंडनायकेन बळाधिकतेन वासिठीपुतेन पोठदतेन[5] दतं वस-सहसायु-वधनिके

3 [ब]म्हनाणं गोसहसं १००० (।*) संवछरे [छ]ठे ६ गिम्ह-पखे छठे ६ दिव[से १०] बितियं गोसहसं दतं १००० (।*) एतस ये व भाव[टा][6] अमचेन दंडनायकेन दानि[स नति]केन[7]

4 ** [स पुते*]न इददवे(ते?)न दता[8] बह्मनानं गोसहसाय[9] (॥*)

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[1] From impressions and the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

[2] Mirashi: कुमारवरदत०.

[3] Mirashi : पठविय ध[मेन].

[4] Mirashi : अमभ(च)स.

[5] Mirashi : बोधदतेन.

[6] Mirashi : विभावना, 'in view of [this gift].

[7] Mirashi : दिनिक-नगि(ति)केन.

[8] Mirashi : दतं.

[9] Mirashi : गोसहसं य,

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते ॥ राज्ञः कुमारवीरदत्तश्रियः (=श्रीकुमारवीरदत्तस्य)[1] संवत्सरे पञ्चमे हेमन्तपक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चदशे १५ (=पौष-पौर्णमास्यां) भगवतः ऋषभतीर्थे[2] अमात्यस्य प्रौष्ठधियः प्रपौत्रस्य गोडछस्य नप्तृकेण अमात्यस्य मातृजनपालितस्य पुत्रेण अमात्येन दण्डनायकेन बलाधिकृतेन[3] वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण प्रौष्ठदत्तेन दत्तं वर्ष-सहस्रायुर्वर्द्धनिकं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः गोसहस्रम् १००० । संवत्सरे षष्ठे ६ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे [दशमे] १० (=ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-दशम्यां) द्वितीयं गोसहस्रं दत्तम् १००० । एतस्य (=प्रौष्ठदत्त-प्रदत्त-द्वितीय-गोसहस्रस्य) ये एव भावाटाः[4] (=वस्त्राच्छादनाद्याः) [ते] अमात्येन दण्डनायकेन दानिनः नप्तृकेण ** स्य पुत्रेण इन्द्रदेवेन (यद्वा—इन्द्रदत्तेन) दत्ताः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः गोसहस्राय ॥

D—ANDHRA PRADESH

(a) Records from Bhaṭṭiprolu

No. 94-97—Bhaṭṭiprolu Casket Inscriptions of the time of Kuberaka

BHAṬṬIPROLU Stūpa, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh

G. BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 323 ff.; LÜDERS' List, Nos. 1329-39 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 2nd century B.C.[5]

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[1] Cf. the name *Vīrapurushadatta*, literally 'one given away to Vīrapurusha (i. e., Vīranārāyaṇa or Vishṇu). Kumāravīra is the god Skanda-Kārttikeya.

[2] The holy place called Ṛishabha-tīrtha is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Critical ed., III, 83, 10).

[3] Both *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita* mean 'a leader of forces', The distinction is difficult to determine, though *Daṇḍanāyaka* may have really been the designation of a military governor.

[4] The word means 'decorations', etc.

[5] Bühler says, "If one.........places on the one side the alphabets of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāṭ, Hāthīgumphā and Bhārhut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B. C., but

TEXT[1]

Casket No. 1

On the rim of the lower stone

A. कुर-पितुनो च कुर-मा[तु] च कुरष सिव[ष] च मजुसं पणति फाळिग-षमुगं च बुध-सरिराणं निखेतु (॥*)

B. बनव-पुतष कुरष षपीतुकष मजुष (॥*)

C. उतरो पिगह-पुतो काणीठो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

A. कुर-पितुः च कुर-मातुः च कुरस्य शिवस्य च मञ्जूषा (=पाषाण-पिटकः) प्रणीतिः (=प्रणीता=उत्सृष्टा, यद्वा—निर्मिता), स्फाटिक-समुद्गः च बुद्ध-शरीराणि (=०देहावशेषान्) निक्षेप्तुम् ॥ B. बनव-पुत्रस्य कुरस्य सपितृकस्य मञ्जूषा ॥ C. [शिल्पी] उत्तरः विग्रह-पुत्रः कनिष्ठः ॥

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may be somewhat earlier" (*op. cit.*, p. 325). According to him, क, ख, छ, ञ, ट, ठ, ण, त, थ, ध, न, प, फ, ब, य, र, व, स and ह agree exactly with those of the southern variety of the Maurya alphabet. But in some cases, the belly of व is vertically elongated and its neck is very short. ग has both the angular form and that with rounded top; च has the vertical a little prolonged downwards; ड has slanting strokes instead of straight ones; द is open to the right; and भ is written upside down. घ is expressed by the sign for ग with a curve to the right; ज has the angular form without the central horizontal bar; म is turned topsy-turvy; ल has a long slanting line to the right of the vertical stroke; ष looks like क्र; ळ looks like प with a short horizontal bar to the right of the vertical stroke; the sign of medial *a* is marked by an 'ordinary medial *ā*'-like horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant (except when an *anusvāra* follows); medial *ā* is shown by a horizontal stroke with a vertical hanging from its end. Some letters are turned to left or right and some downwards. This is apparently due to the carelessness of the scribe or the engraver. Forms of व, ड, ज and medial *ā* suggest that the records are not much earlier than 100 B. C. The diacritically marked *p*, representing *ḷ*, may really be *l* turned towards the right. Cf. *l* with a diacritical mark added to the right, used to indicate *ḷ*, in other Brāhmī inscriptions from the South (*Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 110).

[1] From facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II. The transcript of No. 4 is prepared from Bühler's eye-copy.

TEXT

Casket No. 2

On the centre of the lid

A. (Centre) 1 गोठि
2 हिरञवघवा
3 [वु]गाळको काळहो
4 विसको थोरसिसि
5 समणो ओदलो
6 अपक[ठो?] षमुदो
7 अनुग[हो] कुरो
8 सतुघो जेतको [जे]तो आळिनक
9 वरुणो पिग[ल]को कोषको
10 सुतो पापो कभेर[खो] [गाळे]को
11 समन[दा]षो भरदो
(Left) 12 ओडालो(?) थोरतिसो तिसो
13 गीलाणो जंभो
(Right) 14 पुडर(?) [आ]बो
15 गाळव त * * जनको
16 गोसालकानं कूरो
17 उपोषथ-पुतो उतरो
18 कारह-पुतो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

गोष्ठी—हिरण्यव्याघ्रपात्, उद्गारकः, कालहः, विश्वकः, स्थौलशीर्षी, श्रमणः, औदलः, अपकृष्टः, समुद्रः, अनुग्रहः, कुरः, शलुघ्नः, जयन्तकः, जयन्तः, आलीणकः, वरुणः, पिङ्गलकः, कोषकः (कौशिकः ?), श्रुतः, पापः, कुम्भीरकः (?), गालेकः, श्रमणदासः, भरतः, औदलः (औदारः ?), स्थौलतिष्यः, तिष्यः, ग्लानः, जम्भः, पुडरः, आम्रः, गालवः, त···, जनकः गोशालकानां (=गोशालक-वंशजः), कूरः उपोसथ-पुत्रः, उत्तरः कारह-पुलः [च इति एतेषां जनानाम्] ॥

B. On the rim, to the left

सम[णदा]ष[तो हित] * * * बुधष सरिरानि महियानु(नि) [षं]माष (॥*)

(=श्रमणदासतः [संगृह्य] हितानि (=निहितानि ?) बुद्धस्य शरीराणि मह्यानि =पूज्यानि) शर्मणे [सर्वसत्त्वानाम्]।

C. On the outer rim, to the right

1 गोठि-समनो कुबो (।*)
2 हिरणकार गामणी-पुतो बूबो (।*)

(=गोष्ठी-श्रमणः कुम्भः। हिरण्यकारः (=स्वर्णकारः) ग्रामणी-पुत्रः बूबः।)

D. On the rim of the lower stone.

ष गठि निगम-पुतानं राजपामुखा (।*) षारिरष पुतो खुबिरको राजा षीहगोठिया पामुखो (।*) तेष' अंनं म[जूष'] फालिग-षमुगो च पाषाण-षमुगो च ॥

(=सा गोष्ठी निगम-पुत्राणां राज-प्रमुखा। शारीरस्य पुत्रः राजा कुबेरकः सिंह-गोष्ठ्याः प्रमुखः (=प्रधानः)। तेषां (=सिंहगोष्ठीय-जनानां) अन्या मंजूषा, स्फाटिक-समुद्गः च पाषाण-समुद्गः च ॥)

E. On the rim of the lower stone outside D

समणो चघञ-पुतो उतरो आरामु तर-[पू]त (।*)
(=श्रमणः जघन्य-पुत्रः उत्तरः, आरामः तर-पुत्रः।)

Casket No. 3

A. On the upper stone

1 नेगमा
2 वछो चघो
3 जेतो जंभो तिसो
4 रेतो अचिनो षभिको
5 अखघो केळो केसो माहो
6 सेटो छदिको[घ] खबूलो
7 सोणुतरो समणो
8 समणदाषो सामको
9 कामुको चीतको (॥*)

(=नैगमाः—वत्सः, चङ्गः, जयन्तः, जम्भः, तिष्यः, रैवतः, अचीर्णः, सभिकः, अक्षघ्नः, केळः, केशः, माघः, श्रेष्ठः, छर्दिकोघः, खबूलः, सुवर्णोत्तरः, श्रमणः, श्रमणदासः, श्यामकः, कामुकः, चित्रकः [च इति ॥])

B. On the rim of the lower stone

अरहदिनानं गोठिया मजूस च षमुगो च (।*) तेन कम येन कुबिरको राजा अं[कि] (॥*) (=अर्हद्दत्तानां गोष्ठ्याः मन्जुषा च समुद्गः च। तेन [इदं] कर्म [कृतं], येन कुबेरकः राजा आङ्किष्ट[=अङ्कितः =राज्ञः कुवेरकस्य प्रतिमा अङ्किता] ।)

No. 4

On a hexagonal piece of crystal found inside one of the boxes

1 मातुगामस [नं]दपुराहि
2 सुवणमाहा
3 शमनुदेशानं च
4 गिलानकेरस अयसक-
5 [स(गो ?)]ठिय
6 गोहिया अ*ग दानं (॥*)

(मातृग्रामस्य[=स्त्रीसंघस्य] नन्दपुरात्, सुवर्णमाघात् श्रमणोद्देशानां(?) च, ग्लानकार्यस्य आयसक-गोष्ठ्याः [च] गोहिका [=गृहं, गुहा] अत्यग्र-दानम् ।)

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS OF THE KRISHNA-GUNTUR REGION

Nos. 98-100—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions of Vīrapurushadatta[1]—Regnal year 6

Remains of a Stūpa in the valley of the NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA Hills, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.
J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 16, 19f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of the 3rd century A.D.

No. 1

TEXT[2]

1 सिधं (॥*) नमो भगवतो[3] देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-बोधिनो सवंञुनो

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[1] Bühler suggested that Purushadatta is the king's name and *vīra* is only an epithet. But here the epithet seems to form a part of the name.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka pillar inscription No. C 3).

[3] According to Buddhist works, the qualifications of a *bhagavā* are *issariya* (*animā*, etc.), *dhamma* (transcendental virtues), *yasa* (pure fame of universal recognition), *sirī* (all-round accomplishment), *kāma* (all objects of desire) and *payatana* (supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all). See also *supra*, p. 91, note 2.

2 सव-सतानुकंपकस जित-राग-दोस-मोह-विपमुतस महागणि-वसभ-

3 [गं]धहथिस संमसं[बुध]स धातुवर-परिगहितस (।*) महाचेतिये[1] महाराजस

4 विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस[2] हिरण[3]-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हलस-

5 तसह[स]-दायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस वासिठि-पुतस इखाकुस

6 सिरि-चातमूलस[4] सोदरा भगिनि रंञो माढरी-पुतस सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस

7 पितुछा महासेनापतिस महातळवरस[5] वासिधी-पुतस[6] पूकीयानं कंदसिरि[स][7]

8 भरिया समण-बमण[8]-कवण-वनिजक-दीनानुगह-वेलामिक[9]-दान-पटिभागवो-

9 छिंन-धार-पदायिनि सव-साधु-वछला महादानपतिनि महातलवरि खंदसागरंनक-माता

10 च[ा]तिसिरि[10] अपनो उभयकुलस अतिछितमनागतवटमानकानं[11] परिनामेतुनं[12]

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[1] Some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records read इसम्हि or इसंम्हि before महाचेतिये.

[2] Some records read अगिहोतागिठोम-वाजपेयासमेधयाजिस after परिगहितस. Aśvamedha is usually seen to have been performed by kings to celebrate their victory over other kings, especially the former overlords of their families. Śāntamūla apparently ousted the Sātavāhanas from their suzerainty over the Kṛishṇa-Guṇṭūr region.

[3] Some records read हिरंण.

[4] Some records read चांतमूलस. For the change of श into च, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 17, note 1.

[5] In Vinayavijaya's *Subodhikā*, commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* (N. S. P. ed., leaf 60, lines 6-7), *talavara* is explained as तुष्ट-भूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्टबन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय, i.e. a feudatory ruler, while its modification *talāra* is used in Harisheṇa's *Bṛihatkathākosha* (931-32 A.D.) in the sense of an administrator of a city or the prefect of the city police (*J.U.P.H.S.*, XIX, Pts. 1-2, pp. 79-83).

[6] Some records have वासिठी-पुतस which is the correct expression.

[7] Some records have खंदसिरि.

[8] Better read बम्हण.

[9] One record has वेलामिक and two others वेलामि. Velāma was a person celebrated for charity in Buddhist mythology (*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 228 ; *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, p. 414; *Anguttara N.*, IV, 394f ; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 33); cf. reference to Karṇa in later records. The Brāhmaṇa Velāma was a priest of king Brahmadatta of Banāras. He spent the great wealth inherited from his father in continuous charity for seven years and seven months (cf. I. C. Ghosh, *Jātaka*, I, p. 86, no. 2). For the *velāma-jātaka*, see *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLIV, 2, 1959, pp. 609 ff.

[10] Some records have चांतिसिरि.

[11] Some records read वटमानके.

[12] Some records have परिनामेतुन.

11 उभय-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय[1] च अतनो च निवाण-संपति-संपादके

12 सव-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय च इमं खंभं पतिथपितं ति (।*)

13 रंञो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस सव ६ वा प ६ दि १०[2] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सुप्रवुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय जितरागदोषमोह (= ०आसक्तिघृणाज्ञान०) - विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि - वृषभगन्धहस्तिने (=बहुसङ्ख्यकशिष्य-महाचार्येषु प्रधानः) सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय (= निर्वाण-प्राप्ताय)। [अस्मिन्] महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य[3] हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-दायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः (=इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरा भगिनी, राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य पितृष्वसा, महासेनापतेः महातलवरस्य (=राजप्रदत्तपट्टबन्धभूषित-राजस्थानीयस्य) वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य पूकीयानां (=पूकीय-वंशजस्य) स्कन्दश्रियः भार्या, श्रमण-ब्राह्मण-कृपण(=कृपार्ह)-वणिजक(=दुर्गत)-दीनानुग्रह-वैलामिक(=वेलामाख्य-दानशौण्ड-सम्बन्धि)-दान-प्रतिभागानव-च्छिन्न(=दान-विसर्जनस्य निरवच्छिन्न०)-धारा-प्रदायिनी सर्वसाधुवत्सला +महादानपत्नी (=महादानपत्युपाधिकस्य पत्नी) महातलवरी (=महातलवर-पत्नी) स्कन्दसागर-माता[4] शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः उभयकुलस्य (=माता-पितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा—स्वामि-पितृ-कुलस्य) अत्याच्छिंता-नागतवर्त्तमानकानि (=अतीत०) [कल्याणानि] परिणमय्य (=उद्दिश्य) उभयलोक-हित-सुखा-वाहार्थनाय (०सुखानयनं प्रार्थयितुं) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकं[5] सर्वलोक-हित-सुखावाहार्थनाय च इमं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] इति। राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे षष्ठ ६ वर्षापक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे दशमे १० (=आश्विन-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

No. 2

TEXT[6]

1 सिधं (॥*) नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-वोधिनो सवंञुनो सवसत[ानु*]-

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[1] Some records have ०सुखनिवाणथनाय.

[2] वा प ६ is written under the line.

[3] *Virūpāksha* is suppose dto have been the *gaṇa* of which Skanda was the leader. The Kadambas of Banavās and, imitating them, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi also claimed to have been protected by Mahāsena.

[4] See *supra*, p. 192, note 2.

[5] According to Childers (*Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *Nibbāṇo*), the expression निब्बाण-सम्पत्ति in the *Khuddakapāṭha* means 'the enjoyment of Arhatship'.

[6] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka-pillar inscription No. B 5).

2 कंपकस जित-राग-दोस-मोह-विपमुतस महागणि-वसभ-गंधहथिस[1]

3 संमसंबुधस धातुवर-परिगहितस (।*) महाचेतिये उजनिका-महार-बलिका[2]

4 महादेवि रुद्रधरभटरिका इमं सेल-खंभं अपनो हित-सुख-निवाणधनाय[3] पतिठपितं (।*)

5 महातलवरिहि च पूकियानं चांतिसिरिणिकाहि इमस महाविहारस महाचेतियं

6 समुथपियमाने महातलवरीय उभयिता दिनारि-मासका[4] सतरि-सतं १०० (+*) ७० खंभो च (।*)

7 रंञो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभ-गन्धहस्तिने सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवरपरिगृहीताय । [अस्मिन्] महाचैत्ये उज्जयिनिका-महाराज-बालिका (=उज्जयिन्याः शकराज-कन्या) महादेवी (=वीरपुरुषदत्त-महिषी) रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं शैल-स्तम्भम् आत्मनः हित-सुख-निर्वाण-धनाय (यद्वा—निर्वाणार्थनाय) प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] । महातलवरीभिः च पूकीयानां शान्तिश्रीभिः (=महातलवर्या च पूकीयानां शान्तिश्रिया) अस्य महाविहारस्य महाचैत्ये समुत्थाप्यमाने, [रुद्रधरभट्टारिकया] महातलवरीभ्यः (=महातलवर्यै शान्तिश्रियै) +ऊर्द्धिताः (=उपायनी-कृताः उत्थापितः च) दिनार-माषकाः सप्तति-शतं (=सप्तत्यधिकं शतम्) १७०, स्तम्भः च । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षा-पक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 3

TEXT[5]

1 सिधं (॥*) नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस संमसंमसंबुधस[6] धातुवर-

2 परिगहितस (।*) महाचेतिये महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस

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[1] Other records have गंधहथिस.

[2] We may accept Vogel's correction °महाराज-बालिका. Many Śaka kings of Ujjain had *rudra* at the beginning of their names; see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 22f.

[3] Vogel likes to correct it to निवाणाथनाय, i.e. निर्वाणार्थनाय.

[4] Cf. दीनार of later records, derived from the Roman *denarius*. दिनारि may refer to actual Roman coins (imported in South India) or to their local imitations. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 27 note.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka pillar inscription No. C 2).

[6] Read संमसंबुधस.

3 अगिहोतागिठोगिठोम[1]-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस हिरणकोटि-गोसत-
4 सहस-हलसतसहस-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस
5 वासिठी-पुतस इखाकुस सिरि-चातमूलस सोदराय भगिनिय हंम-
6 सिरिंगिकाय बालिका रंञो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस भया महादेवि बपिसिरिणिका
7 अपनो मातरं हंमसिरिणिकं परिनमतुन अतने च निवाण-संपति-सपादके
8 इमं सेल-थंभं पतिठपितं (।*) अचरि[या]नं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं सुपरिगहित[ं*]
9 इमं महाचेतिय-नवकमं (।*) पंणगाम-वथवानं दीघ-मझिम-पंद-म[ा]तुक-देस[क-वा*]-
चकानं[2]
10 अ(च*)रयान अयिर-हघान अंतेवासिकेन दीघ-म(झिम*)-निगय-धरेन भदंतानं-
देन
11 निठपित[ं] इम[ं] नवकम[ं] महाचेतियं खंभा च ठपिता ति (।*) रञो सरि-
विरिपुरिसदतस
12 संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय। महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः (=इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरायाः भगिन्याः हर्म्यश्रियाः बालिका (=तनया) राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्या[3] महादेवी बप्पीश्रीः आत्मनः मातरं हर्म्यश्रियं परिणमय्य (=उद्दिश्य) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकम् इमं शैल-स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती]। आचार्यैः अपरमहावनशैलीयैः[4] सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं महाचैत्य-नवकर्म (=महाचैत्यस्य संस्कृतांशः ; यद्वा -वर्द्धितांशः) [च कारितवती]। पर्णग्राम-वास्तव्यानां दीर्घ-मध्यम-पञ्चमातृका[5]-देशक-वाचकानां (=दीघनिकाय मज्झिमनिकायादि-पञ्चग्रन्थानां

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[1] Read अगिहोतागिठोम.

[2] Read पंच. But cf. पंदरस in *supra*, No. 91.

[3] For the cross-cousin marriage, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 13.

[4] See *ibid.*, pp. 25f.

[5] मातुका=matrices, i. e. the texts on original, basic or fundamental doctrines. The word here seems to refer to the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*, viz. दीघ-निकाय, मज्झिम०, संयुत्त०, अङ्गुत्तर० and खुद्दक०.

व्याख्यातृ-पाठकानाम्)[1] आचार्याणाम् आर्यसङ्घानाम् (=आर्यसङ्घीयानाम्) अन्तेवासिकेन (=शिष्येण) दीर्घ-मध्यम-निकायधरेण [तत्र]भवता आनन्देन निष्ठापितं (=समाप्तिं नीतम्) इदं नवकर्म महाचैत्यम्, स्तम्भाः च स्थापिताः इति। राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षा-पक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 101—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta—Regnal Year 14

J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 सिधं (॥*) नमो भगवतो इखाकु-राजपवररिसि-सत-पभव-वंस-संभवस देव-मनुस-सव-सत-हित-सुख-मग-देसिकस जित-काम-कोध-भय-हरिस-तरिस-मोह-दोसस[3] दपित-मार-बल-दप-मान-पसमन-करस दसबळ-महबलस अठग-मग[4]-धमचक-पवतकस चक-ळखण-सुकुमार-सुजात-चरणस तरुण-दिवसकर-पभस सरद-ससि-सोम-दरिसनस सव-लोक-चित-महितस बुधस (।*) रंञो मा[ढ]रि-पु[त*][स][5] [संवछरं*] चोदं १० (+*) ४ हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं तेरं १० (+*) ३ (।*)

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[1] See *supra*, notes on Bk. I, Nos. 41-43. Some scholars believe that भदन्त is derived from भद्र' ते, the blessing always in the mouth of the monks. Cf. स्वस्तिमुख=a Brāhmaṇa.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Second Apsidal Temple inscription No. F).

[3] H. Sastri's suggestion is better than Vogel's दोस-सद[ा*]पित-मार०.

[4] The 'noble eightfold path' consists of सम्मा दिट्ठि (right views), सम्मा संकप्पो (right resolution), सम्मा वाचा (right speech), सम्मा कम्मन्तो (right action), सम्मा आजीवो (right living), सम्मा वायाम (right exertion), सम्मा सति (right recollection), and सम्मा समाधि (right meditation). Daśabala is a name of the Buddha derived from his knowledge of ten kinds. The story of Māra's defeat by the Buddha is famous in Buddhist mythology. The inauguration of the Buddhist doctrine is technically known to the Buddhists as the Buddha's turning of the Wheel of Law.

[5] विरपुरिसदतस seems to have been omitted owing to inadvertence.

[अ*][चं]त-[रा]जाचरीयानं[1] कस्मीर-गंधार-चीन-चिलात-तोसलि-अवरंत-वंग-वनवासी-[यवन]-[दमिल]-[प]लूर-तंबपंणिदीप-पसदकानं थेरियनं तंबपंणकानं सुपरिगहे

2 सिरिपवते विजयपुरीय पुव-दिसा-भागे विहारे चुल-धंमगिरीयं चेतिय-घरं सपट-संथरं स-चेतीयं सव-नियुतं कारितं उवासिकाय वोधिसिरिय अपनो भतुनो वुधि[ं]नकस पितुनो च से गोवगाम-वथवस रेवत-गहपतिस मातुय च स बुधंनिकाय भातुनं च से चंदमुखनस करुंबुधिनस हघंनस भगिनीय च रेवतिंनिकाय भातु-पुतानं च महाचंदमुख-चुलचंदमुखानं भागिनेयानं च महामूल-चुलमूलानं अपनो च अयकस मूलवानियस अयिकाय बुधवानिकि[नाय] मातुळक ....[2]कोठ[ा]-कारिकस भदस बोधिसंमस चंदस बोधिक[स] महामातुकाय भदि[ला]य (।*) बोधिय च अपनो [पितुनो] बुधि[वा]नियस मा[तुय]........

3 भातुनो मूलस भगिनीनं बुधंनिकाय मूळंनिकाय नागबोधिनिकाय धूतुय वीरंनिकाय पुतानं नागंनस[3] वीरंनस च सुंन्हानं च भदसिरि-मिसीनं (।*) एवमेव च कुलह-विहारे चेतिय-घरं सीहळ-विहारे बोधि-रुख-पासादो महाधंमगिरीयं ओवरको १ महावि(हा*)रे मंडव-खंभो[१?] देवगिरियं पधान-साला पुवसेले तळाक[ं] अळ[ं]दा-मडवो च कंटकसोले महाचेतियस पुव-दारे सेल-मंडवो हिरुमुठुवे ओवरका तिंणि ३ पपिलायं ओवरका सत ७ पुफगिरीय[ं] सेल-मंडवो धं[4]................विहारे सेल-मंडवो[१?] (।*) एतं च सवं उपरि-वंणि[तं*] ....[सा*]धु-वगस अचत-हित-सुखाय थवितं सव[स] च ळोकस (।*) इमं नवकंमं तिंहि नवक[ं]मिकेहि कारितं चंदमुख-थेरेन च

4 [5]धंमनंदि-थेरेन च नाग-थेरेन च [।*] सेल-वढाकिस विधिकस कंमं ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते इक्ष्वाकु-राजप्रवरर्षिशतप्रभव-वंश-संभवाय (=इक्ष्वाकुप्रभृति-वरराजर्षिशत-जनयितरि वंशे जाताय) देव-मनुष्य-सर्वसत्त्व-हित-सुख-मार्ग-देशिकाय

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[1] Vogel suggests भदंतराजाचरीयानं. But the Achantarājāchāryas are mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 212).

[2] The reading seems to be मातुलकनां (or, ०कनं च) अंक-कोठाकारिकस.

[3] Names like this indicate the name-suffix *aṁna* instead of *aṁnaka*, the *ka* being *svārthika*. See notes on Nos. 76-81 above.

[4] Some ten *aksharas* are lost after धं.

[6] The line begins from below इमं in line 3.

(= ०निर्द्देशकाय) जित-काम-क्रोध-भय-हर्ष-तर्ष(= तृष्णा)-मोह-दोषाय (= ०अज्ञान-घृणाय) दर्पित-मार-बळ-दर्प-मान-प्रशमनकराय दशबल-महाबलाय अष्टाङ्गमार्गधर्मचक्र-प्रवर्त्तकाय चक्र-ळक्षण-सुकुमार-सुजात(= सुगठित)-चरणाय तरुण-दिवसकर-प्रभाय शारदशशि-सौम्य-दर्शनाय सर्वलोक-चित्त-महिताय (= ०पूजिताय) बुद्धाय। राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य [वीरपुरुष-दत्तस्य] संवत्सरः चतुर्द्दशः १४ हेमन्त-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः त्रयोदशः १३ (=माघ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य त्रयोदश-दिवसे)। अचन्तराजाचार्याणाम् (=अचन्तराजसंघीयाचार्याणां) काश्मीर-गन्धार-चीन-किरात-तोसल्यपरान्त-वङ्ग-वनवासि-यवन-दमिल-पल्लूर-ताम्रपर्णीद्वीप-प्रसादकानां[1] (=बौद्ध-धर्म-प्रचारेण तोषकाणां)[2] स्थविराणां ताम्रपर्णकानां (= सिंहलकीयानां) सुपरिग्रहे (= पोषणाय ; यद्वा—ग्रहणाय) श्रीपर्वते विजयपूर्याः[3] पूर्व-दिशाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ चैत्यगृहं सत्पट्ट-संस्तरं सचैत्यं सर्वनियुक्तं (= सर्वावश्यकद्रव्य-संयुक्तं) कारितम् उपासिकया बोधिश्रिया—आत्मनः, भ्रातुः बुद्धेः, पितुः च अस्याः गोपग्राम-वास्तव्यस्य रैवत-गृहपतेः, मातुः च अस्याः बुद्धायाः, भ्रातृणां च अस्याः चन्द्रमुखस्य करुम्बुद्धेः सङ्घस्य, भगिन्याः च रेवत्याः, भ्रातुष्पुत्रयोः च महाचन्द्रमुख-क्षुद्रचन्द्रमुखयोः, भागिनेययोः च महामूल-क्षुद्रमूलयोः, आत्मनः च आर्यकस्य (= पितामहस्य) मूळवाणीकस्य, आर्यिकायाः (= पितामह्याः) बुद्धवाणीकायाः, मातुळकानां··· कोष्ठागारिकस्य, भद्रस्य, बोधिशर्मणः, चन्द्रस्य, बोधिकस्य [च], महामातृकायाः (= मातामह्याः) भद्रिलायाः;—बोध्या च [कारितम्]—आत्मनः, पितुः बुद्धिवाणीकस्य, मातुः····भ्रातुः मूलस्य, भगिनीनां बुद्धायाः मूलायाः नागबोधेः च, दुहितुः वीरायाः, पुत्रयोः नागस्य वीरस्य च, स्नुषयोः च भद्रश्री-मित्र्योः [एतेषां सर्वेषां कल्याणाय]। एवम् एव च [कारितं] कुळह-विहारे (= कुलहक-वंशीयैः स्थापिते विहारे) चैत्य-गृहं, सिंहल-विहारे (=सिंहलीय-भिक्षूणां वासाय निर्मिते विहारे) बोधिवृक्ष-प्रासादः, महाधर्मगिरौ अपवारकः (= गुहागृहं) १, महाविहारे मण्डप-स्तम्भः १, देवगिरौ

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[1] Kāśmīra to the north of the Punjab; Gandhāra=Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of the West Pakistan; Kirāta in the Himālayas, possibly Nepal; Chīna in Tibet or China beyond Kirāta. Tosali=Dhauli in the Purī District. Aparānta=North Konkan. Vaṅga=parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. Vanavāsī=Banavasi in the North Kanara District. Damila=Tamil country. Yavana=Greek colony of North West or South India or Southern Annam. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 28-32. Some scholars have wrongly taken the reference here to be to the Buddhist nuns and not to monks. But see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 248-49. For the contribution of Ceylonese nuns to the organisation of a Bhikshuṇī-saṅgha in China, see *Univ. of Ceylon Rev.*, July 1954, p. 177. But the earliest batch of Ceylonese nuns is stated to have reached China in 429 A.D.

[2] All the monks may not have visited all the countries. The reference seems to be to wandering monks generally. For *pasādaka*, cf. Pāli *dīpa-pasādaka*, 'one who has converted the Island (i.e. the people of Ceylon) to Buddhism.'

[3] Vijayapurī in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was possibly the capital of the Ikshvākus. Śrīparvata was the name of the Nallamalur range. The old name is represented by mod. Śrīśaila which is only a point in the range. Cf. Mahendragiri (=Eastern Ghāṭs) and Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam and Tinnevelly Districts.

प्रधानशाळा, पूर्वशैले तडागम् आलिन्द-मण्डपः च, कण्टक-शौले[1] (यद्वा —॰शैले) महाचैत्यस्य पूर्वद्वारे शैल-मण्डपः, हिरुमुस्तूपे (?) अपवारकाः त्रयः ३, पपिळायाम् अपवारकाः सप्त ७, पुष्पगिरौ शैल-मण्डपः, ध · ……विहारे शैल-मण्डपः १—एतत् च सर्वम् उपरि-वर्णितं साधुवर्गस्य अत्यन्त-हितसुखाय स्थापितं, सर्वस्य च लोकस्य [हितसुखाय]। इदं नवकर्म (=निर्माण-वर्द्धन-संस्कारादि-कर्म) त्रिभिः नवकर्मिकैः कारितं—चन्द्रमुख-स्थविरेण च धर्म-नन्दि-स्थविरेण च नाग-स्थविरेण च। शैल-वर्द्धकेः (=शिला-तक्षणः) विधिकस्य कर्म इति ॥

No. 102—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta—Regnal year 18

J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 21

Language: Prakrit
Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 सिधम्। नमो भगवतो बुधस (।*) चेतिय-घर[3] महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस अगिहोत[ा]गिठोम-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस अनेक-हिरन-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हळसतस(हस*)-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुळस[1] सिरि-चातमूलस सहोदरा भगिनि महातलवरस वासेठि-पुतस पुगियान खंदसिरिस भरिय महातलवरि खंदसागरंनग-म[ा]ता चातिसिरि अपनो जामतुकस रञो मठरि-पुतस इखकुनं सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस अयु-वधनिके वेजयिके

2 अपनो च उभय-[लोक]-हित-सुख-[निवाणथनाय]·· [संमसंबुधस] [धा]तु-परिगहितस महाचेतिय-पादमूले[5] पवजितानं नाना-देश-समनागतानं[6] सव-साधूनं महा-

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[1] The name Kaṇṭakaśūla is suggested by Ptolemey's Kantakassulos.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (First Apsidal Temple inscription No. E).

[3] Read ॰घरे.

[4] Read इखाकुस which is the reading of the other records.

[5] हा is written under the line.

[6] Cf. the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa and *supra*, No. 101, line 1. Records at Sāñchī and Barhut show that pious people from all parts of the country visited the Buddhist establishments on pilgrimage and dedicated pillars, etc., with a view to acquiring merit.

भिखु-स[ं]घस अप[नो] [च] [उ]भय-कुलस अतिछित[म]नागत-वटमानके निकपनिके[1] च परिनामेतुनं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं परिगहे सव-नियुत चातुसल-परिगहितं सेल-मंटव पतिठ[ा]पित (।*) रंञो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस संवछरं अठार सं १०(+*)८ हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं पंचम ५ (।*) सव-सतानं हित[ा]य सुखाय होतु ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय। चैत्यगृहे—महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य (=०अनुगृहीतस्य) अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः[2] सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सहोदरा भगिनी, महातलवरस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य पुकीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः भार्या महातलवरी स्कन्दसागर-माता शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः जामातृकस्य[3] राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य आयुर्वर्द्धनिकं वैजयिकम् (=आयुर्वृद्धये विजयाय च) आत्मनः च उभयलोकहितसुखनिर्वाणार्थनाय (=०निर्वाण-लाभार्थं) सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य धातु-परिगृहीतस्य (=लब्धनिर्वाणस्य) महाचैत्य-पादमूले प्रव्रजितानां नानादेश-समन्वागतानां सर्वसाधूनां महाभिक्षुसङ्घस्य आत्मनः च उभयकुलस्य (=मातापितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा—पतिपितृ-कुलस्य) अत्याच्छिंतम् (=अतीतं कालम्) अनागत-वर्त्तमानकं (=भावि-वर्त्तमान-कालं) लिकल्पान्तिकं (=लिकल्प-पर्यन्तं) च परिणमय्य (=उद्दिश्य) अपर-महावन-शैलीयानां [आचार्याणां] परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय ; यद्वा—पोषणाय) सर्वनियुक्तं (=सर्वावश्यकवस्तु-सनाथं) चतुःशाल-परिगृहीतं (=चतुःशाला-वेष्टितं) शैल-मण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती*]। राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरः अष्टादशः सं १८ हेमन्त-पक्षः षष्ठः ६, दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (=माघ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य पञ्चम-दिवसे)। सर्वसत्त्वानां हिताय सुखाय [च] भवतु इति ॥

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[1] Read तिकपतिके (Sanskrit विकल्पान्तिकम्).

[2] For हल, see *supra*, p. 208, note 4.

[3] Note that *supra*, No. 100 refers to the lady simply as the king's paternal aunt. Here is another reference to cross-cousin marriage.

No. 103—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla—Regnal year 2

NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit
Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् (॥*) नमो भगवतो बुद्धस (॥*) महाराजस
2 विरूपक्खपत्ति-महासेन-परिगहितस अगिहोतागिठोमवाजपे-
3 यसमेध-याजिस अनेक-हिरंणकोटि-गोसतसहस-हळसतसह-
4 [स-पदायि*]स सवथेषु अपतिहत-संकप्पस वासिठी-पुत्तस इक्खा[कुनं*]
5 सिरि-चंतमूलस सुन्हाय महारजस[2] मा[ठ]री-पुत्तस सिरि-वीरपुरि-
6 सदत्तस भय्याय महादेवीय [भट्टिदेवाय] देयधंम इमं सव-जात-नियुतो
7 विहारो अचरियानं बहुसुतियानं पतिट्ठपितो (।*) रञो वासिठी-पुत्तस इक्ख[ा]कून
8 सिरि-एहुवुल-चंतमूलस संवछरं बितियं गिम्ह-पक्खं छठं ६ दिवसं दसमं
१० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते वुद्धाय ॥ महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हळशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य स्नुषायाः महाराजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्यायाः महादेव्याः भर्त्तृदेवायाः देयधर्मः (=धर्मार्थं दानम्) अयं सर्वजातनियुक्तः (=सर्वावश्यकद्रव्य-सनाथः) विहारः आचार्येभ्यः बहुश्रुतिकेभ्यः (=तेषां वौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां व्यवहाराय) प्रतिष्ठापितः। राज्ञः वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI (Āyaka pillar inscription No. G 2). This is one of the records of the Ikshvākus in which conjuncts (cf. नत्तिय, in No. 104, line 8) are employed as is the case with the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman, *infra*. Ehuvula Śāntamūla appears to have ruled about the time of Śivaskandavarman's father. There are other inscriptions of this kind as well as Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to Ehuvula Śāntamūla's time. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147ff.

[2] In the records of his reign, Vīrapurushadatta is called *rājā*.

इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः द्वितीयः ग्रीष्म-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः दशमः १० (= ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

No. 104—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla —Regnal year 11

J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 24

Language: Prakrit
Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 3rd or 4th century A.D-

TEXT[1]

1 सिधम्। नमो भगवतो समासं-
2 बुधस (।*) महाराजस वासेठि-पुतस
3 इखाकुनं सिरि-एहुवल-चा[त*]मूलस[2] सव १०(+*)१
4 [गि प[3] ?] १ दिव ७ (।*) महाराजस अगिहोतगिधेम-वाजवेज[4]-
5 असमध-यायिस[5] [अनेक]-हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-
6 हलसतसहस-पद[ायि]स सवथेसु अपतिहत-
7 संकपस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुन सिरि-चतमुल[स*]
8 नत्तिय महाराजस माठरि-पुतस सिरि-विरपुरिस-
9 दतस धूतुय महाराजस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुनं
10 सिरि-एहुवल-चतमुल[स] भगिनिय वानवासक[6] -महाराज-
11 महादेविय कोद[ब]लिसिरिय इमं खनियं[7] विहारो च

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Detached pillar inscription No. H).

[2] In another record, the name appears to be एहुवुळ-चा[*]तमूल. Cf. the name हिंगुणवुळ-देवन of a Darsi inscription of the 7th century (*An. Rep. S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

[3] Not noticed by Vogel. गि seems to be clear.

[4] Read ०होतागिठोम-वाजपेय.

[5] Read ०मेध-याजिस. Usually Śāntamūla I is called *mahārāja* and his son *rājā*. But here all the kings are styled *mahārāja*.

[6] Here is possibly a reference to the so-called Chuṭu-Śākarṇi kings of Banavasi.

[7] Since the ruins of a chaitya and of no cave have been discovered at the site, the intended reading may be चेतियं.

12 अचरियानं महि[सा]सकनं सुपरिगहे चातुदिसं
13 संघं उदिसाय सव-सतानं हित-सुखथं ठापितं (।*) अचरिये-
14 ना महा-धंमकथिकन धंम[घो]स-थेरेन अनुथितं ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय। महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुळ-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः एकादशः ११ ग्रीष्म-पक्षः प्रथमः १ दिवसः सप्तमः ७ (=चैत्र-कृष्ण-पक्षस्य सप्तम-दिवसे) महाराजस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हळशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य नप्त्रा, महाराजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य दुहिता, महाराजस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुळ-शान्तमूलस्य भगिन्या, वानवासक-महाराज-महादेव्या (=०महिष्या) कोदबलिश्रिया इदं +खनिकम् (=इयं खनिका=गुहा) [यद्वा—इदं चैत्यं] विहारः च आचार्याणां महीशासकानां[1] (=बौद्धाचार्यविशेषाणां) सुपरिग्रहे (=ग्रहणाय ; यद्वा—पोषणाय) चातुर्दिशं सङ्घम् उद्दिश्य सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं स्थापितौ। आचार्येण महा-धर्मकथकेन (=धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यात्रा) धर्मघोष-स्थविरेण अनुष्ठितौ (=निर्वाहितौ) इति ॥

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[1] They were a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 252). The 10000 heretical monks subdued in the Second Council formed the Mahāsaṅghika school, from which arose the Gokulika and Ekavyavahārika sects. From the Gokulikas arose the Prajñapti and Bahulika sects and from these the Chetiyas. Two more sects parted from the Sthavira doctrine, viz. Mahīśāsaka and Vajjiputraka, and from them the Dharmottarīya, Bhadrayānika, Chhandāgārika, Sammitīya and Vajjiputrīya sects. From the Mahīśāsaka parted the Sarvārtha and Dharmaguptika and from the Sarvārtha arose the Kāśyapīya, thence the Saṁkrāntika and thence the Sūtra. Later sects were the Haimavata, Rājagirīya, Siddhārthaka, Pūrva-Śailīya, Apara-Śailīya and Vājirīya (these six belonging to India) as well as Dharmaruchi and Sāgalīya (these two belonging to Ceylon). See *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. V.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—CEYLON

No. 105—Āṇḍiyā-kanda Cave Inscription of Tissa Abaya (=Tishya Abhaya)

Ritigala Hill Range, 25 miles to the south-east of Anurādhapura, North Central Province, Ceylon.

Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinge, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 144.

Language: Prakrit influenced by the local language.
Script: Brāhmī of the second or first century B. C.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 देवनपिय-महरझ[3]-गमिणि-तिसह पुत[श*] देवनपिय-तिस-अ[बय]ह लेने अगत-अनगत-चदुदिसि-शगश[4] [दिने*] (॥*)

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[1] Gamini Tissa has been identified by Wickremasinge with Saddha·Tissa [Abhaya] who reigned at A'pura in c. 77-59 B. C. and his son Tissa Abaya with Lajji-Tissa or Lāmāṇi-Tissa who ruled in c. 59-49 B. C. The modification of early Brāhmī was slower in South India than in North India and, in Ceylon, it was even slower than in South India.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Zel.*, I, and a photographic print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

[3] Correctly ०रज. The use of the word महाराज is interesting. In India, the Indo-Greek king Eukratides (*circa* 175-155 B. C.) is the earliest ruler who has been called महरज (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 12) on his coins. The title possibly indicates Ceylon's intercourse with the north-western part of India, because royal titles like महाराज, राजातिराज (cf. महाराजाधिराज, etc.) were popularised by foreigners who flourished in that region. One of the earliest use of the title *Mahārāja* in an indigenous Indian record is traced in the inscription of Khāravela (No. 91 above). But Ceylon is supposed to have used it as early as the second century B. C.

[4] *I.e.* सघस.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रिय-महाराज-ग्रामणी-तिष्यस्य पुत्र[स्य] देवानांप्रिय-तिष्याभयस्य लयनं (=खानित-गुहा) आगतानागत-चातुर्दिश-संघाय (=०सर्वदेशीयाय भिक्षु-सङ्घाय) दत्तम् ॥

No. 106—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7

DUWÉ GALA Cave, Ceylon.
Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, III, p. 104, Plate XX.

Language: Prakrit influenced by the local language.
Script: Brāhmī (to be read from right to left)[1] of about the 1st century B. C.

TEXT[2]

1 णांले शत्रमिदिग शतदब [=बदतश गदिमित्रश लेणां][3] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भवतः (=तत्रभवतः) गतिमित्रस्य लयनम् (=खानित-गुहा) ॥

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[1] This peculiar characteristic of the record, which appears to belong to about the first century B.C., may tempt one to suggest that the Brāhmī script was introduced in Ceylon before Aśoka (c. 273-232 B. C.) who writes it usually from left to right or that it was influenced by an earlier script of the south. Excepting some portions of the barbarously engraved Yeṟṟaguḍi MRE, Aśoka's Brāhmī records are not to be read from right to left. It may be argued that, like Kharoshṭhī, Brāhmī too was originally written from right to left and this may be regarded as connecting the Brāhmī alphabet with the pre-historic writing of the Indus Valley from which it was undoubtedly derived. But I am inclined to ascribe the peculiarity to the error, ignorance or idiosyncrasy of the engraver as in the case of early medieval inscriptions engraved negatively or to be read from bottom to top or top to bottom. See *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 19; 1959-60, No. C 421; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 229. द has here a developed form; but other letters have not. Development of Brāhmī characters outside India was not uniform with their development in this country.

[2] From a photographic print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

[3] There is the figure probably of a ship engraved at the right side of the inscription.

B—CENTRAL ASIA

Nos. 107-114—Documents from Chinese Turkestan[1]

Language: Prakrit[2] influenced by local languages.
Script: Kharoshṭhī[3] of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

No. 1 (=BRS No. 14)

Double-wedge Tablet

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[1] These records were discovered by Aurel Stein in his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestān in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16, beyond the Niya river in the regions of Niya, Lou-lan, Tun-huang, Imām Ja'far Sādiq and Endere. They are described and the circumstances of their discovery are recorded respectively in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907; *Serindia*, 1921; and *Innermost Asia*, 1928. The records discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart in their celebrated work entitled *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Part I, 1920, Part II, 1927. Part III (1929) of the work dealing with the records of the third expedition were published by Rapson and P. S. Noble. Their number has been given here in brackets. The results of the researches of T. Burrow have been published in his *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (Cambridge, 1937) and *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (London, 1940). Most of these records are written with ink on wedge-shaped wooden tablets; but some are on other materials such as leather. Many documents and a good many works in Sanskrit and Prakrit and in other languages and scripts, sometimes entire libraries, have been unearthed in Central Asia by missions sent by the governments of different countries of the world, especially Russia, Germany and Japan.

[2] It may be a variety of what is called the Paiśāchī Prakrit by grammarians. A few records are in Sanskrit and in verse (*e.g.*, BRS Nos. 511, 523). Kharoshṭhī has been made to suit the requirements of Sanskrit in some cases; cf. note 3 below.

[3] The late date of the records is also responsible for many peculiarities of the script. Interesting is the *visarga* indicated by two dots placed above the letter and the length of the vowel by a slanting curved stroke to the right of the base of a letter. Signs for *e* and length indicate *ai*. Modification of consonantal sounds is indicated usually by a sign resembling the subscript *r* (marked by us with a dot below the letters); cf. ऱ़, ज़, ड़, व़, etc. The editors of the records have also noticed modified च्च(=क्च्च ?), ग (=ग्र), ग़ (=ग्ऱ़), च (=श्च), म (=मं), ष (=ष्ण), स (=स्न), ह (=ह्ल) with a horizontal stroke above them. Modified क (=ख़ ?) with the right arm touching the vertical base, and letters like फ़ (=ह्न), ढ़ (=ट्ठ ?), etc., may be conjuncts. The modified प (subscript) is either य़ or व़. *Final* म्, त् or द् is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign put below the preceding letter. There are also some peculiarities in the numerals.

TEXT[1]

Covering-tablet : Obverse

चोझ्बो[2]-भिमय षोठंग[3]-लिय़पे(य*)स़ च ददवो (॥*)

Under-tablet.

1 महनुअव महरय लिहति चोझ्बो-भिमय-षोठंग-लिय़पेय-

2 स़ च मत देति (।*) स़ च अहोनो इश षमेक बिंञवे.ति यथ एष खोतंनम्मि दुतियाय गद (।*) चल्मदनदे

3 वलग़ दितंति याव सचंम्मि गद (।*) सच़दे वलग़ दितंति

Covering-tablet : Reverse

1 याव निनंमि गद (।*) निनदे याव खोतंनमि चड़ोददे[4] वलग़ ददवो होअति [याव] [खो]तं..........[5]

2 यहि एद किलमुद्र अत्र एशति प्रठ यहि-पूर्विक निनदे खोतंनम्मि वलग़स़ परिक्रेय

3 तेन विधनेन स़ध अयोगे.न ददवो (।*) यथधर्मेन निध्रि कर्तवो (॥*)

Under-tablet : Reverse

षमेकस़ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोझ्बो-भिमय(=भिमयाख्यः चोझ्बो इति मुख्यकर्मचारिविशेषः)-षोठंग-ल्यिपेयाभ्यां (=षोठंगाख्य-मुख्यकर्मचारी ल्यिपेय-नामा) च [द्वाभ्यां] दातव्यम् ।

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोझ्बोभिमय-षोठंगल्यिपेयाभ्यां च मन्त्रं ददाति ।—तत् (=यत्) च—"अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] षमेकः (=षमेकाख्य-जनः) विज्ञापयति—यथा एषः (=सः) खोतम्ने (=खोतम्नाख्यं देशं ; to Khotan) दौत्याय गतः । चल्मदानतः (=चल्मदानाख्यस्थानात्; from Charchan) पालकं (=अश्वयायिनं रक्षिणं) ददाति यावत् साचं

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[1] From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I. See Lüders, *Act. Or.*, XVII, p. 36.

[2] *Chojhbo* is a title of the chief local official. It is possibly of Iranian origin ; cf. Avestic *cazdahvant.* It is also found in the Maralbashi records as *chazba.*

[3] *Shoṭhaṃga* (tax-collector ?) is also an official title ; possibly the same as *soshṭānkāñ* of the Tokhari records. च is superfluous.

[4] *Chaḍoda* is the ruined establishment on the Niya river. It was the name of the headquarters of Niya. It has been indentified with the chief city of the territory called Ching-chüeh by the Chinese.

[5] About 19 letters are lost.

(=साच-नामकं स्थानम् ; Endere ?) गतः। साचतः पालकं ददाति यावत् निनं (=निनाख्यं स्थानं ; Niya) गतः। निनतः यावत् खोतम्नं [गमनाय], चडोदतः (=चडोदाख्यात् स्थानात्) पालकः दातव्यः भवति यावत् खोत[म्नं गतः।]···यदा एषा कीलमुद्रा (=मुद्राङ्कित-कीलाकार-काष्ठखण्ड-लिखितादेशः) अत्र° (=तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्टं (=अविलम्बेन) यथापौर्विकं (=यथापूर्वं निर्दिष्टं) निनतः खोतम्ने (=यावत् खोतम्नं) पालकस्य परिक्रेयं (=वर्तनं) तेन विधानेन (=यथाविधानं) सार्द्धम् आयोगेन (=वृद्ध्या ; यद्वा—पारितोषिकेन). दातव्यम्। यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः (=परिक्रेयायोगयोः अवधारणं) कर्तव्यः।"

षमेकस्य (=षमेक-सम्बन्धीया कील-मुद्रा) ॥

No. 2 (=BRF No. 45)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT[1]

Covering-tablet: Obverse

चोझ्बो-यितक-तोंग[2]-वुक्तोस़् च ददवो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

1 मह्नुअव महरय लिहति चोझ्बो-यितक-तोंग-वुक्तोस़् च मत्र देति (।*)

2 स़ च अहोनो इश वसु-ल्यिपेय विंनवे़ति यथ एदस़् दक्षि चिसिकए धितु रुत्रयस़् उनिति गिटए इश रय-द्वरंमि

3 कुठ-विक्षरस़् ति(व*)र्ष-अश्प (ज्योछिंनिदग़ (।*) एद प्रचे द्विति त्रिति घर किल-मुम्र गछति (।*) यव अजक-दिवस़् निश्चे न करितु (।*)

4 यहि एद किलमुद्र अत्र एशति प्रठ अत्र समुह अनद प्रोछिदवो यथ रयद्वरंमि

Covering-tablet: Reverse

1 ज्योछिंनिदग़ सियति तेन विधनेन अत्र विभशितव्य (।*) यति अंत्र विवद किंचि सियति अत्र यथ-धर्मेन निश्चे कर्तवो (।*) अत्र न परिबु-

2 जिशतु हस्तगद रय-द्वरंमि विस़जिदेवो (।*) इशेमि समुह निश्चे भविष्यति (॥*)

Under-tablet: Reverse

वसु-ल्यि़पे रुत्रयेन स़ध (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोझबोयितक-तोंगवुक्तोभ्यां च दातव्यम् [एतत् लेखनम्]।

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[1] From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I.

[2] *Toṁga* may have been a transport-official. Burrow suggests a military rank, and translates it as 'captain'.

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोझ्बोयितक-तोंगवुक्तोभ्यां मन्त्रं ददाति [च]। तत् (=यत्) च—"अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वसु-ल्यिपेयः विज्ञापयति यथा—एतस्य (=ल्यिपेयस्य) दास्याः चिमिकायाः दुहिता रुत्रयस्य उन्नीतिः (=पालनं=पालनार्थं गृहीता कन्या) गृहीतिका [सती] अस्मिन् राज-द्वारे कृष्ट-क्षीराय (=मातृस्तन्य-धारशोधनाय) त्रिवर्षाश्वः व्यवछिन्नकः (=निर्द्धारितः)।[1] एतत्-प्रत्यये (=एतद्विषये) द्वितीयं तृतीयं वारं कीलमुद्रा (=लेखः) गच्छति यावत् अद्यक-दिवसम् (=अद्यतन°) युवाभ्यां निश्चयः न कृतः। यदा एतत्-कीलमुद्रा अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्ठम् अत्र (=तत्र) सम्मुखं [यथा तथा युवाभ्याम् उभयपक्षः] आज्ञप्तं (=राजाज्ञा) प्रष्टव्यः। यथा राजद्वारे व्यवच्छिन्नकः स्यात् तेन विधानेन अत्र (=तत्र) विभाषितव्यं (=वक्तव्यं) [युवाभ्याम्]। यदि अन्यः विवादः कश्चित् स्यात् अत्र (=तत्र) यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः कर्त्तव्यः। [यदि कः अपि] अत्र (=तत्र) न परिबोधिष्यते (=मीमांसां प्रमाणयति), हस्तगतं [कार्यं] राजद्वारे विसर्जयितव्यं (=प्रेरयितव्यम्)। अस्मिन् [स्थाने] सम्मुखः (=साक्षाद्भावेन) निश्चयः भविष्यति॥"

वसु-ल्यिपेयः रुत्रयेण सार्द्धम्[2]॥

No. 3 (=BRS No. 152)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT[3]

Covering-tablet: Obverse

प्रियदर्शंनस़ देव-मंनुश-संपुजितस़ प्रियभ्रतु षोठंघ-ल्यिपेयस़ विम्रलिदवो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

1 प्रियदर्श्यंनस़ देव-मंनुश-संपुजितस़ प्रियभ्रतु षोठंघ-ल्यिपेयस़
2 चोझ्बो-नस्तिंत नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर अरोगियो प्रेषेति वहु अप्रमेय (।*) एवं
3 च स़ च अदेहि गदेमि तहि प्रस़देन अरोगेमि (।*) [को]ळियंमि इवसु····न[4]···
इदनि ··(।*)
4 अहुनो अत्र रयक उटियन विस़जिदेमि (।*) तत्र त्रे-वर्षंग़ उट १ (।*) एष भूय रज्यमि

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[1] A payment (here, a horse) was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child as a return for having nourished the child in its infancy. त्रिवर्षाश्व=a horse which is 3 years old; cf. त्रैवर्षकः उष्ट्रः in No. 3 below.

[2] I.e., Vasu-Ly'ipey *versus* Rutraya.

[3] From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, I.

[4] According to Rapson's suggestion, the two *aksharas* preceding न may be क्चिमे.

5 अझतु ओड़िदवो (।*) किलमुंत्र अत्र ह ..[1] सग़मोयस़ वंति (।*) एद किलमुंत्र वज़िति पु-

6 नु सग़मोयस़ ददवो धरंनए अवश(।*) एदे किल्मेचियै सर्वभव़ेन झेनिग़ सि-

7 यंति (।*) प्रथदे एत लेख अत्र प्रहिदेमि (।*) प्रहुड़-अर्थय न तिमिदवो (।*) अवि एदस़ सुमतस़

Covering-tablet : Reverse

1 एष[2] उटियन पिचविदेमि (।*) इतु उवु.तय अचोविन अचोयदे तुर निखलिदवो (।*) अवि

2 श्रमंन धर्मप्रिय-नम सलुवअए गोठंमि वुच्यति (।*) यहि एष सुमत अत्र एश्यति

3 तपदय एद श्रमन सुमतस़ हस्तंमि अनविदवो पिचवंनए (।*) एष श्रमंन भरि-मष्ठि-

4 ग़ेय-नि-मोङ्ग़ेयस़[3] दझ असि (।*) महि वंति पद विक्रित(।*) सर्व निश्चेय किड़म (।*) एष श्रमंन

5 अहुनो दहि होतु (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शनस्य देवमनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रियभ्रातुः षोठंग-ल्यिपेयस्य [समीपे] विजालयितव्या (= निर्ग्रन्थीकर्तव्या) [एषा कीलमुद्रा] ॥

प्रियदर्शनाय देवमनुष्यसम्पूजिताय प्रियभ्रात्रे षोठंग-ल्यिपेयाय चोझ्वो-नस्तिन्तः (= चोझ्वो-पदाधिष्ठित-नस्तिन्ताख्यः जनः) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं [च] (= तद्विषयकं आशीर्वचनं) प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयं [च]। एवं च तत् (= यत्) च—"अतः (= ततः) [आ]गतोऽस्मि, तव प्रसादेन अरोगोऽस्मि। कोलिये (= कोलियाख्ये स्थाने) ......इदानीम्......। अधुना अत्र (= तत्र) [यं] राजकं (= राजकीयं) उष्ट्री-गणं विसर्जितवानस्मि, तत्र (= तन्मध्ये) त्रैवर्षकः (= त्रिवर्ष-वयस्कः) उष्ट्रः १। एषः भूयः राज्याय (= राष्ट्राय) अध्यातं (= निर्विचारं) उद्दातव्यः (= प्रतिदातव्यः)। कीलमुद्रा (= मुद्राङ्कित-कीलकाकार-काष्ठखण्डस्थः लेखः) अत्र हेतौ शक-मोगस्य उपान्ते (= शक-मोगं प्रति)। एतत्-कीलमुद्रा वाचयित्वा पुनः शक-मोगाय दातव्या धारणाय (= रक्षणार्थम्) अवश्यम् ॥ एते किल्मेकीयाः (= किल्मे-सम्बन्धिनः जनाः; यद्वा — किल्मे-वासिनः) सर्वभावेन [तव] ध्यानिकाः

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[1] Read हेतु.

[2] ए was originally omitted and subsequently added above ष.

[3] Or, मोग्गीयस़.

(=ध्यान-विषयाः=परिचरणार्हाः) स्युः[1]। प्रथतः (=प्रथ-नामक-स्थानतः; यद्वा—पथितः) एतं लेखं अत्र (=तत्र) प्रहितवान् अस्मि; [अतः] प्राभृतार्थाय (=पुरस्कारार्थाय) न स्तिमितव्यम् [इति विचिन्त्य]॥ अपि [च]—एतस्य सुमतस्य (=सुमताख्यस्य जनस्य) [हस्तेन] एतम् उष्ट्रीगणं प्रत्यर्पितवानस्मि।″ इतः उपादाय (=वर्तमानात् प्रभृति) +अचोविनाः (=पुरुष-विशेषाः) +अचोयतः (=गुल्मात् ?) त्वरया निष्काळयितव्याः (=प्रेषयितव्याः)॥[2] अपि[च]—श्रमणः धर्मप्रियः नाम सलुवयायाः (=सलुवया-नाम्न्याः नार्याः) गोष्ठे [अस्ति इति] उच्यते। यदा एषः सुमतः अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति तत् उपादाय (=ततः प्रभृति=तदा) एतस्य श्रमणस्य सुमतस्य हस्ते आज्ञापयितव्यं प्रत्यर्पणाय[3]। एषः श्रमणः भरि-सष्टिगेय-नि-(=०सष्टिगेयापरनामा)-सोङ्गेयस्य दासः आसीत्[4]। सां प्रति पादः (=तस्य भृत्यस्य [=भृत्यसम्बन्धिनः श्रमस्य] चतुर्थः भागः) विक्रीतः। [क्रय-विषयकं] सर्वं निश्चयं कृतवन्तःस्म। एषः श्रमणः अधुना तव भवतु [पादेन ?]"॥

No. 4 (=BRS No. 165)

Rectangular Under-Tablet

TEXT[5]

Under-tablet: Obverse.

1 प्रियदर्शन-चोझ्बो-क्रनय-षोठंघ-ल्यिपेयस़ च ओगु-किर्तिशर्म अरोग्य परि-
2 प्रोछति पुनपुनो बहो अप्रमेयो (।*) एवं च स़ च प्रथमदरो इमदे मग़ेन-पग़ोस़ च
3 हस्तंमि लेख प्रहुड़ प्रहिदेमि (।*) तदे जदर्थ भविदवो (।*) अवि-पेत-अवनंमि पल्यि़ परु-
4 वर्षि शेष यं च इम-वर्षि पल्यि़ तह स़र्व स्व़ोर तोंमिहि[6] स़ध इश विस़जिदवो (।*) यति
5 तदे पुरिम-पश्चिम विस़जिष्यतु पंथंमि परस़ भविष्यति तुओ षोठंग-ल्यि़पेय

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[1] Were the Kilmechiyas carrying the letter? Kilme=district, according to Burrow. Kilme=estate and Kilmechi=tenant, according to Thomas (*Act. Or.*, XIII, p. 63).

[2] The Achovinas were possibly a kind of special messengers to report among other things impending attacks from enemies. Acho may be a kind of frontier outpost. Thomas connects them with *ājava* or *ājuh*. The writer possibly wanted to have informations regarding any attempt to steal the camels on the way.

[3] Burrow: "orders must be given for handing over this Śramaṇa into the hands of Sumata."

[4] It is interesting to note the degraded condition of the Buddhist monks in this period. नि=*alias*? Burrow makes नि=निज and suggests that often a word like *putra* or *dāsa* is omitted after नि. This interpretation of *ni* as a sort of genitive suffix seems to suit some of the cases. See below, No, 7, line 1, on the Covering-tablet (obverse).

[5] From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, I.

[6] तोम्मि is equated by some with तौमि (=त्वया) of some records.

6 तनु गोठदे व्योषिशसि़ नधन भग़ेन (।*) यं च भुम-नवक-अंनेन घ्रिद अतिबहो
7 क्रिनिदवो इश प्रहदवो (।*) वेग़-किलिम-स्त्रियन पलिय़ भुम-नवक-अंन स्व़ोर विस़जित-
8 वो (।*) अवि पलिय़ उट तेनेव स़ध इश विस़जितवो (।*) म इंचि तोंगन परिदे उट
विथिष्यतु (।*)
9 तस़ उट-प्रचेय रय-सक्षि लिहिदग़ क्रिदग़ (।*) लिविस्तरंमि अनति-लेख अव गद (।*)
10 तहि चोभ्बो-क्रनयस़ लिहमि एद कर्यंमि तुओ चित कर्तव्य (।*) एष ल्यिय़पेय न चित
11 करेति (।*) यो पुन तहि कर्यनि हक्षंति शक्ष्यमि अहो करंनय (।*) यो अव शुभाशुभ-
12 स़ प्रवृति हक्षति एमेव लेहरग़स हस्तमि लेख इश प्रहतवो (।*) यो इश वर्तमान
13 ल्यिय़म्सुअस़ परिदे जदर्थ भविदवो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शन-चोझ्बोक्रणय-षोठंघल्यिपेयौ (=०चोझ्बोपदाधिष्ठित-क्रणयनामानं षोठंघ-पदाधिष्ठित-ल्यिपेयनामानं च) ओगु-कीर्तिशर्मा (=ओगूपाधिक०) आरोग्यं परिपृच्छति पुनःपुनः बहु अप्रमेयम्। एवं च तत् (=यत्) च—प्रथमतरं (=प्रथमतः) इतः मगेन-पग्वोः च (=मगेनाख्यस्य पगुनाम्नः च पुरुषयोः) हस्तेन लेखं प्राभृतम् (=उपहारं [च] प्रहित[वान्]अस्मि[अह म्]। ततः ज्ञातार्थाभ्यां [युवाभ्यां] भवितव्यम्। अवि-पेत्वापणे (=नानाजातीयमेष-विक्रय-स्थाने ; यद्वा—अपि [च]०) [लभ्यः] बलिः (=करः) पूर्ववर्षीय-शेषः (=पूर्ववर्षीयकरस्य अवशिष्टांशः) यः च (=एवं च) एतद्वर्षीयः बलिः तथा सर्वं स्फुरं (=स्फूर्तियुक्तं=त्वरया) तोम्मिभिः (=तोम्मि-संज्ञैः राजभृत्यैः ?) सार्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यम्। यदि ततः पूर्व-पश्चिमम् (=अग्रतः पश्चात् च=असकृत् [बलिं] विसर्जयिष्यथः, पथि परस्य (=दस्युतस्करादेः=दस्युतस्करादिहृतः) भविष्यति [च], [ततः] त्वं षोठंघ-ल्यिपेयः +तनु-गोष्ठतः (=आत्मनः०) व्यवशेक्षसि (=क्षतिपूरणं करिष्यसि) नद्धानां (=बद्धानां पशूनां ; यद्वा—शस्यभाराणां) भागेन (=अंशानुसारेण)॥ यत् च—भूमिनवकान्नेन (=भूमिजात-नवशस्येन) घृतम् अतिबहु (=बहुपरिमाणं) क्रेतव्यम्, अस्मिन् [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यं [च]। वेगकिलिमस्त्रीणां (=भारवाहि-घोटक-स्वामिनीनां ?)[1] बलिः भूमि-नवकान्नं स्फुरं (=त्वरितं) विसर्जयितव्यः। अपि [च] बलिः उष्ट्रः (=बलि-स्वरूपः उष्ट्रः) तैः (=तोम्मिभिः) एव सार्द्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यः। न किञ्चित् [कालं] तोङ्गानां (=राजभृत्यविशेषान्) परितः (=सकाशे) उष्ट्रः वितिष्ठतु (=उष्ट्रः रक्षितव्यः)[2]। तस्य उष्ट्र-प्रत्यये (=उष्ट्रस्य विषये) राज-साक्षि[कं] लिखितकं (=लेखः) कृतकं (=कृतः) ; लिपि-स्तरे

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[1] Burrow explains the passage as 'widowed district-women'. Thomas suggests 'women of the land irrigated by Vega.' Alternatively, भुमन वक अंन = corn paid as rent for the lands, according to Burrow.

[2] Burrow : "Do not keep back the camel from the Tongas".

(=लिपिविस्तारेण) आज्ञप्ति-लेखः अत्र (=तत्र) गतः [च]। त्वां चोझ्बो-क्रगयं लिखाभि—एतत्-कार्ये त्वया चित्तं (=मनोयोगः) कर्तव्यम्। एषः ल्यिपेयः न चित्तं करोति। यानि पुनः तव कार्याणि [अपराणि] सन्ति, शक्ष्यामि अहं करणाय [तेषाम्]। या अत्र शुभाशुभस्य प्रवृत्तिः (=वार्ता) अस्ति, एवम् एव लेखहारकस्य हस्ते [तद्विषयकः] लेखः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यः (=प्रेषयितव्यः)। यः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वर्तमानः [व्यापारः], ल्यिम्सुयस्य (=लिम्सुय-नामकस्य जनस्य) परितः [=सकाशात्] [तद्विषये] ज्ञातार्थेन भवितव्यं [त्वया]।”

No. 5 (=BRS No. 288)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT[1]

Covering-tablet: Obverse

1 भटरग़स़ चोझ्बो-सोंचकस़
2 पदमुलंमि वियलिदवो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

1 भटरग़स़ प्रिय-देव-मंनुशस़ देव-मंनुश-संपुजि़तस़ प्रचक्ष-बोधिसत्वस़ महचोझ्बो-सोंचक-
2 स़ पदमुलंमि चोझ्बो-यिलि नमिल्ग़अए स़च नमकेरो करेंति दिव्य-शरिर अरोगिय च
3 प्रेषेंति बहु अप्रमेग़ो (।*) एवं च विञति स़ च बहु-चिर-कल हुद न शकिदम तेहि वंति लेख-
4 प्रहुड़-प्रेषंनए (।*) तेन करंन सुठ संञवे.यम न-इ्ंचि य दिव्यञ अंञत हक्क्षति (।*)[2] एष षमने-
5 र चक्व...[क][3] अत्र विस़जिद तेहि दिव्यशरिर-अरोगि-प्रेषनए (।*) यो से अत्र वेधन

Covering Tablet: Reverse

1 किंचि करिशति अवश मंत्र श्रुनिदवो (।*) से श्रमंनेर तेहि क्षेनिग़ स्यति (।*) न-इ्ंचि अवो-
2 मत़ किंचि करेंति (।*) प्रहुड़स़ अर्थ येन न दिमिदवो लहुग़ प्रहुड़ प्रहित (।*) पश्चदर धर्मप्रि-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, I.

[2] Burrow: “For that we earnestly beg your indulgence. Nothing should be unknown to your divine knowledge.” इक्चति = इच्छति = अच्छइ = Bengali आछे.

[3] The alternative reading suggested is चक्रमेर. Burrow: चक्रस.

3 यस़ हस्तंमि लेख-प्रहुड़ प्रेशिषम यो तेहि पिचर स्यति (।*) यिलियस़ परिदे रजु १ नमिल्ग़-

4 अए परिदे लस्तुग १ (।*) अपरिमित-गुनंस़ मंन्म-गतस़ प्रियभ्रतु चोम्बो-बुधरक्षियस़

5 पदेभ्यं धर्मप्रिय अरोगि संप्रेषेयति बहु (॥*)

Under-tablet

समरेन[1] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भट्टारकस्य चोझ्बो-सोंचकस्य (=चोझ्बोपदाधिष्ठित-सोंचकाख्यस्य) पादमूले विजाळयितव्यम् (=उन्मोचयितव्यं) [लिखित-काष्ठ-द्वय-बन्धनम्] ॥

भट्टारकस्य प्रिय-देवमनुष्यस्य देव-मनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रत्यक्ष-बोधिसत्त्वस्य महाचोझ्बो-सोंचकस्य पादमूले चोझ्बो-यिलियः नमिल्ग्यया (=यिलियपत्न्या नमिल्गयाख्यया) +सचा (=सार्द्धं) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं च प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयम्। एवं च विज्ञायते तत् (=यत्) च—बहुचिरकालः भूतः न शक्ताः स्मः तव उपान्ते(=सकाशे) लेख-प्राभृत-प्रेषणाय। तेन कारणेन सुष्ठु संज्ञापयामः—नकाचित् (=न) च दिव्याज्ञा (=भवतः आज्ञप्तानि) [आवाभ्याम्] अज्ञाता अस्ति। एषः श्रमणेरः चक्व•कः अत्र (=तत्र) विसर्जितः तव दिव्यशरीरारोग्य-प्रेषणाय (=स्वास्थ्यादि-ज्ञापनाय)। यत् सः अत्र (=तत्र) वैधानं (=विधान-समूहं=कर्मजातं) किञ्चित् करिष्यति, अवश्यं [तव] मन्त्रः [तेन] श्रोतव्यः। सः श्रामणेरः तव ध्यानिकः (=ध्यान-विषयः) स्यात्। माकिञ्चित् (=न) अभ्यवमतं (=अनभिप्रेतं त्वया; यद्वा—अननुज्ञातं त्वया) किञ्चित् करोतु। प्राभृतस्य अर्थे येन (=यथा) न स्तिमितव्यम् (=विलम्बः न स्यात्), [तत्-कारणात् मया] लघुकं (=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) प्राभृतं प्रहितम्[2]। पश्चात्तरं (=पश्चात्) धर्मप्रियस्य हस्ते लेख-प्राभृतं प्रेषयिष्यामः यत् तव प्रत्यर्हं (यद्वा—प्रीत्यर्हं) स्यात्। यिलियस्य परितः (=सकाशात्) रज्जुः १, नमिल्गायायाः परितः लस्तुकः (=बन्धन-विशेषः[3]; यद्वा—लस्तूकः=धनुर्मध्यम्) १ ॥" अपरिमित-गुणस्य मर्म-गतस्य (=हृदये दत्त-स्थानस्य=

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[1] Read °वीर.

[2] Burrow: "Whatever communication he makes to you there, by all means his words must be listened to. Let this *Srāmaṇera* be under your care. Let them do nothing in disregard of him. We have sent a small present, so that you need not worry about the present."

[3] Cf. Hindī *lattī*, 'the string of a child's top; a cloth tied to the end of a pole to direct the flight of pigeons; a fillet.'

प्रियस्य) प्रियभ्रातुः चोझ्बो-बुद्धरक्षितस्य पदाभ्यां धर्मप्रियः आरोग्यं संप्रेषयति बहु ॥[1] श्रामणेरः (=श्रामणेर-सम्बन्धि-लेखः) ॥

No. 6 (=BRS No. 358)

Leather Document

TEXT[2]

Obverse

1 महनुअव महरय लिहति चोझ्बो-सोंजकस़[3] मंत्र देति (।*) एवं च जनंद भविदव्य यो लिहमि (।*) स़च यहि रज-किचस़ क्रि-

2 देन अनदि दित तह रज-कर्यंमि ओसुक अवजिदव्य (।*) अवि स्व़स़ जिविद-परिचग़ेन अनद रक्षिदव्य यहि खेम खोतंनदे वर्तमन सियति (।*) एम चेव महि महरयस़ पदमुलंमि विंञविदव्य (।*) यो च अदेहि लेहरग़-चढियस़ ह-

3 स्तमि विंञति-लेख प्रहितेसि तह सर्व-ञदर्थो स्मि (।*) अपि च विंञव़ेतु कल-पुर्णबलस़ उट २ न इश थियंति पलयंति (।*) एदे उट अत्र लंचग़ परिपलितव्य (।*) पिवरए होतु (।*) शरतंमि न-इ़ंचि इश अनिदवो (।*)

4 अवि विंञवे़सि यथ कल-पुर्णबल-नि-चमकस़ मनुशन अंञे जन कर्मवे़ति (।*) लिहिदग़ सक्षि नस्ति (।*) से मनुश कल-पुर्णबलस नमेन निखलिदवो (।*) येष विवद सियति रय-द्वरंसि गरहिदव्य (।*)

5 अवि च यो इश [अवर]धि हुयंति इशेव तेष मर्तव्य हुअति इत्यर्थं अत्र विस़जिदम (।*) श्रयति विहरवल अत्र दनु-किल्मिचियन मसु-मंसेन सुठ विहेड़ेति विन[जे़ति] (।*) [दिवसि़][4] निसग़ विहरवल-

6 स़ स़ध पुत्र-परि[वर]स्य च दनु-किल्मियदे ददवो अट यं च[5] सतु वचरि ४ (।*) यथ-अवरधि-धर्मेन रक्षिदवो न हस्त पददे ओड़िष्यति न बलस्त[6] भविष्यति (।*) अवि सुदर्शनस़ इमदे कुड़

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[1] This sentence appears to bear a message from Dharmapriya to Chojhbo Buddharakshita in a letter actually from Chojhbo-Yilliy and his wife Namilgaya to the Great Chojhbo Somchaka,

[2] From the facsimile in *Ancient Khotan*, Plate 93. The record has been translated by F. W. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII (1935), p. 64, and by Burrow in his *Translation*, pp. 69f.

[3] Evidently the same as Somchaka of the previous inscription.

[4] BRS : विनटे ये दिनसि़. Burrow connects निसग़ with निस्रय.

[5] BRS read यं भ in the text.

[6] Thomas बलस्त=वा लस्त. Burrow points out the improbability of the change of initial ब to व. He takes it to be an unknown word.

7 [२] विस़जितंति (।*) एदे तस़ वंति ओड़िदवो (।*) तेन विधनेन तनु किल्मेयदे भत ददव्य (।*) एस चेव सुरक्षिद कर्तव्य (।*) अवि अत्र सुदर्शंनस़ अत्र किल्मेचि-गोठ २ (।*) एदे जंन

8 शवथ शवाविदव्य न इसदे पप कर्य मत्र जल्पिदव्य न अदेहि श्रुनिदव्य (।*) वेल-वेलय एदे जंन सुदर्शंनस़ वंति ओड़िदवो (।*) अवि बहुवर अनदि-लेख गद पोठं-

9 ग-सलुवियस़ पलयंने-मनुश-देयंनए (।*) यत्र अजक्र न देनसि खंनवटग़ेसि (।*) चवक्ष ददवो (।*) यदि अहुनो भुय चवल न दस्यसि मनसंमि हुतु (।*) सिहधर्मस़ पुत्र चवल श्रमनेर दत्तु

10 निखल्दिवो (।*) कुतिश-धर्म श्रमन अंनेस दझ ददवो (।*) मसे. ४(+*)२ दिवसे. १०(+*)३ (॥*)

Reverse

चोझ्बो सोंजकस़ ददवो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोझ्बो-सोंजकस्य मन्त्रं ददाति।—"एवं च जानता भवितव्यं [त्वया] यत् लिखामि। तत् (=यत्) च—यथा राज-कृत्यस्य कृतेन आज्ञप्तिः दत्ता, तथा राजकार्ये औत्सुकम् आवर्जयितव्यं (=विधेयम्)। अपि [च] स्वस्य जीवित-परित्यागेन आज्ञप्तम् (=आज्ञा) रक्षितव्यं, यथा (=येन) क्षेमं (=मङ्गलं) खोतम्नतः (=तदाख्य-राज-धानीतः=राजसकाशात्) वर्तमानं स्यात् (=आगच्छेत्)। एवं च एव [सर्वं] मम महाराजस्य पादमूले विज्ञापयितव्यम्। यं च अतः (=अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) लेख-हारक-चढियस्य हस्ते [त्वं] विज्ञप्तिलेखं प्रहितवानसि, तथा (=तत्पाठात्) सर्वंज्ञातार्थोऽस्मि। अपि च [त्वया] विज्ञापितं [यत्] कल-पूर्णबलस्य (=कलोपाधिकपूर्णबलस्य) उष्ट्रौ २ न अस्मिन् [स्थाने] श्रयतः (=तिष्ठतः), [परंतु] पलायेते। एतौ उष्ट्रौ अत्र (=तत्र) रञ्जकं (=रञ्जयित्वा)[1] पालयितव्यौ। पीवरौ भवताम्। शरदि[2] [तौ उष्ट्रौ] नकिञ्चित् (=न) अस्मिन् [स्थाने] आनेतव्यौ॥ अपि [च] [त्वं मां] विज्ञापयसि यथा कल-पूर्णबल-नि (=कल-पूर्णबलापराख्य)-चमकस्य मनुष्येण[3] (=भृत्येन) अन्ये जनाः कर्मयन्ति (=भृत्यकर्म कारयन्ति)। लिखितकं (=स्वामित्व-प्रत्यायकं पत्रादि) साक्षी [च]

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[1] Burrow: 'properly'.

[2] Thomas takes शरदि with the previous sentence.

[3] I.e., servant; cf. Bengali *munish*. Burrow: "a man belonging to Chamaka of *kala* Pūrṇabala is doing work there, and not other people; . . . there are neither written documents nor witnesses."

नास्ति। सः मनुष्यः कल-पूर्णबलस्य नाम्ना निष्खालयितव्यः (=परेषां भृत्यकर्मणः बहिष्कर्त्तव्यः)। येषां विवादः स्यात्, राजद्वारे गर्हयितव्यम् (=अभियोक्तव्यं) [तैः]॥ अपि च 'यैः अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] अपराधिभिः भूयते अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] एव तैः मर्त्तव्यम् भवति' इत्यर्थम् (=त्वया एवं विज्ञापितत्वात्) अत्र (=तत्र) [अपराधिनः] विसर्जितवान् अस्मि। श्रूयते, विहारपालः अत्र (=तत्र) +तनु(=आत्मनः)-किल्मेकीयानां मद्यमांसेन सुष्ठु विहृतयति[1] (=विशेषेण विहारं करोति=अपचिनोति) विनाशयति [च]। दिवसीयः निश्रयः (=दैनिकं खाद्यादिकं) विहार-पालाय सार्द्धं पुत्र-परिवारेण +तनु-किल्मियत्रः (=विहारपालस्य स्व-विषयतः) दातव्यः—अट्ट (=गोधूमचूर्णं)[2] यत् च शक्तु वचर्यः ४ (=चतुर्वचरी-परिमानम् अट्टशक्तुकम्)। [सः] यथापराधिधर्मेण रक्षितव्यः; न हस्त-पादतः उद्धास्यते (=वञ्चयिष्यते=पाणिपादं न कर्त्तिष्यते); न तस्य बलास्तं (=शक्तिक्षयः)[3] भविष्यति॥ अपि सुदर्शनाय अतः कुटौ (=पाले) २ विसर्ज्येते। एतौ तस्य उपान्ते उद्दातव्यौ। तेन विधानेन (=पूर्वोक्त-विधानेन) [सुदर्शनाय] तनु-किल्मियतः भक्तं (=आहार्यं) दातव्यम्। एवं च एव सुरक्षितः कर्त्तव्यः [सः]। अपि[च] अत्र (=तत्र) सुदर्शनस्य अत्र किल्मकीय-गोष्ठे २। एतैः जनैः (=किल्मेकीयैः) शपथः शापयितव्यः 'न अतः पापं कार्यं, मन्त्रः[च] जल्पितव्यः; न अमुतः (=कारास्थ-सुदर्शनात्) [मन्त्रः] श्रोतव्यः।' वेला[यां] वेलायां (=काले काले) एते जनाः सुदर्शनस्य उपान्ते उद्दातव्याः॥ अपि च बहु-वारं आज्ञप्ति-लेखः गतः (=प्रेषितः) सोठंग-सलुवियाय पलायन-मनुष्य-दानाय (=पलायित०)। यावत् अद्य न दत्तवान् असि। क्षणवर्त्तकः (=कालक्षेपकः) असि। चपलं दातव्यः [मनुष्यः त्वया]। यदि अधुना भूयः चपलं न दास्यसि, मनसि [ते मनुष्य-दान-कथा] भवतु॥ सिंहधर्मस्य पुत्रः चपलं श्रामणेरः [त्वया] +तनुः (=स्वयं) निष्खालयितव्यः। [सिंहधर्म-पुत्रस्य] कृतेशधर्मः (=प्रभुधर्मी=प्रभुः)[4] श्रमणः [अस्ति चेत्, तस्मै] अन्यस्य दासः दातव्यः॥" मासि ६, दिवसे १३॥

चोझ्बो-सोन्जकाय दातव्या [कील-मुद्रा]॥

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[1] Or, विहेठयति from विहेठ, 'injury'.

[2] Cf. the Bengali and Hindi word आटा.

[3] Burrow: "He is to be kept under the conditions [prescribed] for criminals [in such a way, namely that] he shall not be free either hand or foot and shall not be *balasta*. . .These people are to be made to swear an oath, and no mere scandal is to be talked from here or heard there." Thomas: "Further, we have sent to you to the effect that those who are here offenders are to die here. We hear that the monastery-master there causes much damage to the vine crops of his own *kilma*-people with flesh, by reason of the corpses (*vinashṭe*) which you give him. On the part of the monastery-master and from the sons and family [of the condemned man] is to be supplied from their own *kilmi* flour, and any meal, *vacaris* 4, so that the offender may [during the interval before his execution 'here'] be kept properly alive". . .

[4] कृतिश्र (from a stem कृ?)=कोऽपि, according to some.

No. 7 (=BRS No. 579)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT[1]

Covering-tablet: Obverse

1 एष प्रवंनग़ सोग़त-नि-भुमस़ प्रचेय (।*)

2 तिविर-रमषोत्सस़ अनद धरिदवो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

1 संवत्सरे ४ (+*)४ (+*)१ महरय-रयतिरयस़ महंतस़ जयंतस़ धर्मियस़ सच-धर्म-स्थिदस़

2 महनुअव-महरय-अंक्वग़-देवपुत्रस़ क्षुनंमि मसे. ४ (+*)२ तिवसे. १० (+*)४ (+*)१ (।*) अस्ति मंनुश चर-पुरुष सोग़त नम (।*) से. उथिद तिविर-रमसोत्सस़ वंति अक्रि-भुम विक्रिद अड़िनि-भिज़-पयति मिलिम १ खि १० गिड मुळि तवस्तग़ हस्त १० (+*)३ बदश (।*) मुलियेन संम संम सरजितंति (।*) तह एदस़ भुमस़ वंति तिविर-रमसोत्सस़ एष्वर्थ हुद ववंनए किषंनए अंजस़ प्रहुड़ देयंनए सर्व-बोग़-परिभुछंनए किक्रम करंनि सियति (।*) एद क्रय-विक्र किटंति पुरठिद महात्मन (।*) सक्षि जनंति रज-दरो कित्सैत्स पितेय काळ-करंत्स (।*) स़ च सक्षि अप्सुअन अरिषिय-ग्रांच[ा] (।*) स़ च

9 सक्षि भियो अंग्र सक्षि·तोघ-कुव़य सक्षि व़सु-चढिय सक्षि

Covering-tablet: Reverse

1 अप्सु-करंत्स सक्षि चोझ्बो-लुस्तु सक्षि वुर्यग़-रिग़त सक्षि स्सघि[नव़]-कपोत सक्षि

2 कोरि-ष्व़ल्य यस़ वटयग़ शिरास सक्षि (।*) को पश्चिम-कलंमि वेतेयति चोतेयति

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[1] From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 261, Plate XXIII.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

3 सजेयति तह रयद्वरंमि मो चोदंति अप्रमनं च सियति (।*) एष प्रवंनग़ लिखि-

4 दग़ महि दिविर·तमस्ख-पुत्रेन दिविर-मोगतस़ त[न] महत्वन अनतेन (।*) प्रमन व-

5 षं-सहस्रमि (।*) यवजिवो

6[1] सुत्र-छिनिदं कित्सैत्सस़ वटयग़

7 श्रोङ्ग स*) कर्सनव़-श्रोदि(ति?)ङ्गस़ च (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

एतत् प्रपर्णकं[2] (=पत्रम्=आज्ञापत्री) मोगत-निज-भूम्नः (=मोगत-भूम्नः) प्रत्यये (=सम्पर्के)। दिविर-रम्षोत्सस्य (=रम्षोत्सेण) आज्ञप्तं धर्तव्यम् ॥[3]

संवत्सरे [नवमे] ९ महाराज-राजातिराजस्य महतः जयतः धार्मिकस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य महानुभाव-महाराजांक्वग-देवपुत्रस्य क्षणे (=शासन-समये) मासे ६ दिवसे १४। अस्ति मनुष्यः चर-पुरुषः (=गूढचारः) मोगतः नाम। सः उत्थाय (=स्वेच्छया) दिविर-रम्षोत्सस्य उपान्ते (=रम्षोत्सं प्रति) अग्र्य-भुम्नं (=उत्तम-भूमिं) विक्रीतवान्; [अस्मिन्] अडिनि-वीज-पर्याप्तिः[4] (=अडिनिनामक-शस्यबीजानां वपनाय पर्याप्त-परिमाणं) मिलिम॰ १ खि॰ १०; गृहीतं मूल्यं तापवस्त्रकाणि हस्ताः १३ (=त्रयोदशहस्त-परिमितानि) द्वादश (=द्वादश-संख्यकानि)।[5] मूल्येन सम्यक् सम्यक् संरञ्ज्येते [क्रेतृ-विक्रेतारौ]। तथा एतस्य भूम्नः उपान्ते (=भूमिं प्रति) दिविर-रम्षोत्सस्य ऐश्वर्यं (=स्वामित्वं) भूतं वपनाय कर्षणाय अन्यस्मै प्राभृत-दानाय सर्वभोगपरिभोगाय—किंकर्म (=यत्किमपि कर्म) करणीयं स्यात् [भूम्यां अस्याम्]। [क्रेतृविक्रेतारौ] एतत् क्रयविक्रयं कुरुतः पुरःस्थितौ [सन्तौ] महात्मनोः (=मुख्यराजपुरुषयोः); [महात्मानौ] साक्षिणौ तौ च एतत् जानीतः—राज-दार[कः] कित्सैत्सः, पितृव्यः (=राज-पितृव्यः)[6] कल-करंत्सः [च]। तौ च साक्षिणौ अप्सूनां (=अप्सूयवंश्यानां?) अप्षीय-शांचौ (=तदाख्यौ)। ते च साक्षिणः भूयः अन्ये—साक्षी तोंघ-कुवयः, साक्षी वसु-चढियः, साक्षी अप्सु-करंत्सः, साक्षी चोझ्बो-लुस्तुः, साक्षी

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[1] The letters are in the middle of the line.

[2] Cf. the Persian word *parwana*.

[3] Burrow : "This receipt concerning land of Mogata is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramshotsa." दिविर=कायस्थ ; cf. Persian *dabir*.

[4] Cf. the words द्रोणवाप, कुल्यवाप, etc. मिलिम and खि are probably abbreviations indicating names of measures.

[5] Burrow : "thirteen hands (i.e. cubits) of carpet valued at twelve."

[6] Burrow : "the royal administrator, the *kitsaitsa* Peteya." महात्मा=a magistrate.

वुयंग-पितः, साक्षी सविनव-कपोतः, साक्षी कोरि-ष्वल्यः यस्य वर्तकः (=स्थलवर्ती=प्रतिनिधिः)[1] शिरासः साक्षी। कः (=यः कश्चित्) पश्चिमकाले विवादयति (यद्वा—वेदयति), चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), सञ्जायते [विवादयितुं] (यद्वा—संजयति भूक्तेतारं), तथा राजद्वारे मुखं चोदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), [तस्य विवाद-चोदना-संजयनादिकं सर्वम्] अप्रमाणम् (=अयथार्थं=प्रमाणविरुद्धं) स्यात्। एतत् प्रपर्णकं लिखितकं (=लिखितं) मया दिविर-तमस्व-पुत्रेण दिविर-मोगतेन तेषां महात्मनां (=साक्षि-भूतानां राजदारक-राजपितृव्यादीनाम्) आज्ञप्तेन (=आज्ञया)। [अस्य] प्रमाणं (=प्रामाण्यं) वर्ष-सहस्रे (=०सहस्रं व्याप्य) [भविष्यति]। यावज्जीवं (=चिराय) सूत्र-चिह्नितं[2] [क्षेत्रं=क्षेत्रसोमा] कित्सैत्सस्य वर्तकेन श्रोङ्गेण, कर्षेणव-शोदिङ्गेन च॥

No. 8 (=BRS No. 661)

Oblong Tablet

TEXT[3]

Obverse

1 संवत्सरे १० मसे. ३ धिवज्ञ १० (+*) ४ (+*) ४ (।*) इज़ क्षुनमि खोतन-
महरय-रयतिरय-ह्निनभ्रदेव-विजि-[4]
2 दसिंहस्य (।*) त-कलि अस्ति मनुश(=शे) नग़रग़(=ग़) खत्रंर्से-नम (।*) तथ
मद्र(=द्रे)दि (।*) अस्ति मयि उटः (।*) तनुवग़ः सो उटः अ-
3 ठिह्जनु हरदि धहि-अघि तद्रिजु.[5] वशो (।*) त इदनि सो उटो विक्रिनामि
मुल्य(ल्ये=)न मष(=षे)-सहस्र अष्टि ४ (+*)
4 ४ (×*) १००० सुलिग़-वग़िति-वधग़स्य सग़ज़ि (।*) तस्य [उटस्य किद(=दे)
वगिति-वधग़(=ग़े) निरवशिषो मुल्यो मस़(=स़े) धितु खव-
5 र्नसंस्य प्रहिदु शुधि उवग़दु (।*) अजि उवद्यि सो उटः वग़िति-वधग़स्य तनुवग़ः
संवितः (।*) यथ-ग़म ग़रनीयः (।*)

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[1] *I.e*, साक्षिणः कोरि-ष्वल्यस्य प्रतिनिधिः शिरासः साक्षी। Burrow : 'attendant.'

[2] Burrow : 'cut the string' (सूत्रं छिन्नम्)।

[3] From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 291, Plate XXXVIII, and *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, II, Plate XII. See Noble, *BSOS*, V, pp. 445f.; Burrow, *ibid.*, VI, pp. 430f.; Konow, *Act. Or.*, XIII, pp. 231f. A consonant with a dot above it (possibly representing short *e*) is indicated here as in श़(=शे), etc.

[4] BRS : ०भ्रस्य अविजि०.

[5] BRS : अवित हज. अघि=अङ्ग (Konow); ▭अङ्ग (Burrow).

6 सर्वंकिच करनीयः (।*) यो पचेम-कलि तस्य उटस्य किद(=दे) चुदियदि विदियदि
विवडु उथवियदि त(=ते न तथ

7 धडु धिनदि यथ रजधमुं स्यदि (।*) मय धळवगु. बहुधिव(=वे) लिखिडु ख्वर्नंसंस्य
अजिषनयि पुरडु स्प श्र न[1]

8 र स[2]

9 ननिवधग(=गे) सक्षि श्रश्रिवक(=के) सक्षि स्पनियक(=के) सक्षि (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे १० मासे ३ दिवसे १८। इह (=अस्मिन्) क्षणे खोतन्न(Khotan)-महाराज-राजातिराज-हीनाध्यदेव-विजितसिंहस्य (=हीनाध्यदेवनाम्नः विजितसिंहोपनामकस्य)[3]। तत्काले अस्ति मनुष्यः नागरकः(=नगरवासी) ख्वर्णसं-नामा। [सः] तथा मन्त्रयते—"अस्ति मे उष्ट्रः। +तनुवकः (=स्वकः) सः उष्ट्रः अभिज्ञानं धरति दाहाङ्कं तादृशं 'वशो' (=वशो इति दाहाङ्कम्)। तत् इदानीं तम् उष्ट्रं विक्रीणामि मूल्येन माष-सहस्राष्ट-[केन] ८००० सुळिक-वगिति-वधगस्य (=सुळिकजातीय-वगितिनामकस्थानवासि-वधगाख्यस्य ?) सकाशे।" तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते वगिति-वधगेन निरवशेषः मूल्य-माषः धृतः(=दत्तः), ख्वर्णसेंन [च] गृहीतः; [विक्रयसम्बन्धीयाः] शुद्धिः (=परिशोधः) उपगता। अद्य उपादाय(=अद्य प्रभृति) सः उष्ट्रः वगिति-वधगस्य +तनुवकः(=स्वकः) संवृत्तः; यथाकामं करणीयः (=व्यवहरणीयः [उष्ट्रः वधगेन])। सर्वं-कृत्यं करणीयम् [अनेन उष्ट्रेण वधगेन]। यः पश्चिम-काले तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), वेदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), विवादम् उत्थापयति [च], तस्य तथा दण्डः दीयेत (=तेन विधानेन दण्डः देयः) यथा राजधर्मः स्यात्। मया धळवगु-बहुधिवे[न] (=धळवगुग्रामस्य तदाख्यवंशस्य वा बहुधिव-नाम्ना) लिखितः[लेखः] ख्वर्णसंस्य अध्येषणया (=प्रार्थनया) पुरतः स्प०, श०, न०, र०, स० (=स्प-शादि-नामपूर्वभागानां साक्षिणाम्)[4]। ननि-वधगः साक्षी, शशिवकः साक्षी, स्पनियकः साक्षी॥

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[1] In larger characters with long stems, apparently initials of three witnesses. Cf. note 4 below.

[2] These two letters are in Brāhmī. They are followed by some letters and symbols which cannot be read. On the reverse there are various isolated *aksharas*, many of which are Brāhmī. These may be the initials of various witnesses, some of whom were used to writing in Brāhmī.

[3] *Hinajha* is connected with Iranian *henaja*, 'commander of armies'. BRS make **हिनझस्य अविजित०.**

[4] It is possible that स्प = स्पनियक, श्र = श्रश्रिवक and न = ननिधगव

BOOK III

Inscriptions of the Gupta Age from the Fourth to the Sixth Century A.D.

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

No. 1—Inscription on Gold Coins mentioning Chandragupta I (c. 320-35 A.D.)[1] and Kumaradevi and the Lichchhavis

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 8f.

First Side[2]

Chandragupta I standing to left, wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left hand a crescent-topped

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[1] See *infra*, p. 270, note 4. On stylistic grounds Allan takes these coins to be issues of Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and mother. But, since the name of Samudragupta is absent, Allan's plausible theory has not been generally accepted. A. S. Altekar has recently revived the old theory that the coins were issued by Chandragupta I (*JRASB*, III, Num. Sup., No. 47). Some recent writers are inclined to rely on the details of Gupta history as found in the *Kaliyugarājavṛittānta* section of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* (M. Krishnamachariar, *Hist. Classical Sans. Lit.*, pp. cii-iii; *J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 35-36, etc.) :

श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः । कुमारदेवीमुद्वाह्य नेपालाधीशितुः सुताम् ॥
लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः । सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥
लिच्छवीयां समुद्वाह्य देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् । राष्ट्रीयस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥
चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् । तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्ञा चैव नियोजितः ॥
वर्षैस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तराज्यो वीराग्रणीरसौ । तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्भकम् ॥
आन्ध्रेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्याऽपहरिष्यति । क(का)चेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥
विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः । स्वनाम्ना तु शकं त्वेकं स्थापयिष्यति भूतले ॥
एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्त्ती पुत्रस्तस्य महायशाः । नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो म्लेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥
वस्वकं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सबान्धवम् । अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥ etc.

These details may be summarised as follows. The son of Ghaṭotkachagupta (sic. Ghaṭotkacha), i.e. Chandragupta I, married Kumāradevī, daughter of the Lichchhavi king of Nepal, and sister-in-law of the Andhra king Chandraśrī of Magadha. He became first *Senādhyaksha* of the Magadhan army with Lichchhavi help and then became *rāshṭrīya-śyālaka*. He killed Chandraśrī and, after 7 years, also the latter's son Puloman. With the help of his son Kācha, the Lichchhvīya, he extirpated Andhra rule from Magadha which he ruled for 7 years with the title Vijayāditya. He started a Śaka or era of his own. His son Samudragupta, daughter's son of the Nepal king, became king with the title Aśokāditya after having killed his father and other relations with the help of the Mlechchhas. These details go against many of the known facts of early Indian history. The Andhras never ruled in Magadha and Chandragupta and Samudragupta were never known respectively as Vijayāditya and Aśokāditya. Samudragupta did not kill his father. The account has to be regarded as a foolish forgery assignable to the 19th century when the reconstruction of Gupta history on epigraphic and numismatic basis was at its beginning.

[2] From representations in Allan's Catalogue, Plate III, No. 1 ff. The gold coins of the Guptas were called *dīnāra* (from Roman *denarius*).

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

No. 1—Inscription on Gold Coins mentioning Chandragupta I (c. 320-35 A.D.)[1] and Kumāradevī and the Lichchhavis

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 8f.

First Side[2]

Chandragupta I standing to left, wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left hand a crescent-topped standard bound with fillet, and with right hand offering an object (which on some coins is a ring) to Kumāradevī who stands on the left, to right, wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress; both nimbate; inscription in Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class[1] :—

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[1] See *infra*, p. 270, note 4. On stylistic grounds Allan takes these coins to be issues of Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and mother. But, since the name of Samudragupta is absent, Allan's plausible theory has not been generally accepted. A. S. Altekar has recently revived the old theory that the coins were issued by Chandragupta I (*JRASB*, III, Num. Sup., No. 47). Some recent writers are inclined to rely on the details of Gupta history as found in the *Kaliyugarājavṛittānta* section of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* (M. Krishnamachariar, *Hist. Classical Sans. Lit.*, pp. cii-iii; *J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 35-36, etc.) :

श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः। कुमारदेवीमुद्वाह्य नेपालाधीशितुः सुताम् ॥
लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः। सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥
लिच्छवीयां समुद्वाह्य देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम्। राष्ट्रीयस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥
चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित्। तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्ञा चैव नियोजितः ॥
वर्षैस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तराज्यो वीराग्रणीरसौ। तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्भकम् ॥
आन्ध्रेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्यापहरिष्यति। क(का)चेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥
विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः। स्वनाम्ना तु शकं त्वेकं स्थापयिष्यति भूतले ॥
एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्त्ती पुत्रस्तस्य महायशाः। नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो म्लेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥
वञ्चकं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सबान्धवम्। अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥ etc.

These details may be summarised as follows. The son of Ghaṭotkachagupta (sic. Ghaṭotkacha), i.e. Chandragupta I, married Kumāradevī, daughter of the Lichchhavi king of Nepal, and sister-in-law of the Andhra king Chandraśrī of Magadha. He became first *Senādhyaksha* of the Magadhan army with Lichchhavi help and then became *rāshṭrīya-śyālaka*. He killed Chandraśrī and, after 7 years, also the latter's son Puloman. With the help of his son Kācha, the Lichchhvīya, he extirpated Andhra rule from Magadha which he ruled for 7 years with the title Vijayāditya. He started a Śaka or era of his own. His son Samudragupta, daughter's son of the Nepal king, became king with the title Aśokāditya after having killed his father and other relations with the help of the Mlechchhas. These details go against many of the known facts of early Indian history The Andhras never ruled in Magadha and Chandragupta and Samudragupta were never known respectively as Vijayāditya and Aśokāditya. Samudragupta did not kill his father. The account has to be regarded as a foolish forgery assignable to the 19th century when the reconstruction of Gupta history on epigraphic and numismatic basis was at its beginning.

[2] From representations in Allan's Catalogue, Plate III, No. 1 ff. The gold coins of the Guptas were called *dīnāra* (from Roman *denarius*).

(right, on either side of the standard) चं[2] [गु]
द्र [प्त][:*] (*i.e.*, चंद्रगुप्तः)

(left) कुम[ा*]र[दे]व[ी*][3]

Second Side

Lakshmī[4], nimbate; wearing long loose robe; seated, facing, on lion couched to right or left; holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on left are traces of the back of throne on most specimens; border of dots; inscription in Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters :—

(right) [लि]च्छवयः[5].

No. 2—Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)[6]

In the ALLAHABAD Fort, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 6 ff.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1538 (for other references).

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[1] See *infra*, p. 263, note 1.

[2] On some specimens, we have च
न्द्र (i.e. 'चन्द्र॰).

[3] On some specimen, we have ॰देवी-श्रीः.

[4] The lion may possibly indicate that the goddess represents the Annapūrṇā aspect of Ambikā. Gupta gold coins are imitated directly from those of the Kushāṇas and indirectly from those of the Indo-Greeks. The goddess may ultimately be an adaptation of the Greek goddess Pallas Athene; but it is directly connected with the goddess Ardoksho of the Kushāṇa coins.

[5] This type of the coins and the claim of Samudragupta to have been a *Lichchhavi-dauhitra* appear to point to the fact that Chandragupta I received the Lichchhavi dominions through the right of his wife. The republican tribe of the Lichchhavis is known to have ruled in North Bihār and later in Nepāl. It is however not impossible that Chandragupta I actually got Magadha from the Lichchhavis who were possibly in possession of that region in the early years of the 4th century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas recognise early Gupta rule only over Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa (=Ayodhyā) and Magadha.

[6] See *infra*, No. 9, note 1. The pillar also bears two Aśokan records (*supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 33-34).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class[1]

Metre: Verses 1-2, cannot be determined; V. 3 स्रग्धरा; V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 5 स्रग्धरा; V. 6 मन्दाक्रान्ता; V. 7 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 8 स्रग्धरा; V. 9 पृथ्वी

TEXT[2]

1[3] ...कुल्यैः(?)...स्वै .....ातस............

2 [यस्य ?]........ .....(॥*) [१*]

3 .. मुं(?) व..... ....

4 [स्फु]रद्वं (?) ..... क्षः स्फुटोद्ध[ं]सित......प्रवितत.........(॥*) [२*]

5 यस्य प्र[ज्ञानु]षङ्गोचित-सुख-मनसः शास्त्र-त[त्त्व]ार्त्थ-भर्त्तुः
——स्तब्धो⏑ — — ⏑ नि⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —नोच्छृ— —⏑— —(।*)

6 [स*]त्काव्य-श्री-विरोधान्बुध-गुणित-गुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा
[वि]द्वल्लोके(ऽ*)वि[ना][शि*] स्फुटबहु-कविता-कीर्त्ति-राज्यं भुनक्ति (॥*) [३]

7 [ए*][हेय]हीत्युपगुह्य भाव-पिशुनैरुत्कर्ण्णितै रोमभिः
सभ्येषूच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्य-कुलज-म्लानाननोद्वीक्षि[त]ः (।*)

8 [स्ने]ह-व्यालुलितेन बाष्प-गुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो नि[रीक्ष्य] निखि[लां*] [पाह्येव*][मुर्वी]मिति (॥*) [४]

9 [दृ*]ष्ट्वा कर्माण्यनेकान्यमनुज-सदृशान्य[द्भु]तोद्भिन्न-हर्षा
भ[ा*]वैरास्वादय[न्तः*] ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ - — —   — — ⏑[के*]चित् (।*)

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[1] The name Brāhmī is usually applied to the early form of the script which is found in the pre-Gupta records, though it must not be supposed that Aśokan forms of letters continued up to the Gupta period. As a matter of fact, letters gradually changed and there is a great deal of difference between the characters of 'Aśokan' Brāhmī and those of 'Kushāṇa' Brāhmī. The developed Brāhmī as noticed in the records of the Gupta age is sometimes called the Gupta Script. This dynastic name is unsatisfactory. The script developed differently in different parts of the land; but usually two classes—North Indian and South Indian—are recognised. The three stages in the development of Brāhmī both in the North and the South, as indicated above, may preferably be characterised as Early, Middle and Late corresponding respectively to the so-called Aśokan, Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record was engraved late in the king's life, but before his performance of the Aśvamedha. See *infra*, p. 275, note 2.

[3] The first four lines, containing two verses, are almost wholly destroyed.

10 वीर्योत्तप्ताश्च केचिच्छरणमुपगता यस्य वृत्ते(ऽ*)प्रणामे-
(ऽ*)प्य[र्त्तिं ?]-[ग्रस्तेषु*] — — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – — ⌣
— — ⌣ — — (॥*) [५*]

11 संग्रामेषु स्व-भुज-विजिता नित्यमुच्चापकाराः
श्वः-श्वो मान-प्र⌣ ⌣⌣⌣ — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — — (।*)

12 तोषोत्तुङ्गैः स्फुट-बहु-रस-स्नेह-फुल्लैर्म्मनोभिः
पश्चात्तापं व⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ म[?] स्य[ा]द्धसन्त[म्?] (॥*) [६*]

13 उद्वेलोदित-बाहु-वीर्य्य-रभसादेकेन येन क्षणा-
दुन्मूल्याच्युत-नागसेन-ग[1] ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — (*)

14 दण्डैर्ग्राहयतैव कोतकुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता[2]
सूर्य्यै(?) नित्य(?) ⌣ —   —तट ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — (॥*) [७]

15 धर्म्म-प्राचीर-बन्धः शशि   र-शुचयः कीर्त्तयः स-प्रताना
वैदुष्यं तत्त्व-भेदि प्रशम⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ कु —य ⌣ मु(सु?) — ⌣तार्त्थम् (?) (।*)

16 [अद्धेयः] सूक्त-मार्ग्गः कवि-मति-विभवोत्सारणं चापि काव्यं
को नु स्याद्यो ऽ*)स्य न स्याद्गु ण-मति-[वि]दुषां ध्यानपात्रं य एकः (॥*) [८]

17 तस्य विविध-समर शतावतरण-दक्षस्य स्वभुज-बल-पराक्रमैकबन्धोः पराक्रमाङ्कस्य
परशु-शर-शङ्कु-शक्ति-प्रासासि-तोमर-

18 भिन्दिपाल-न[ा]राच-वैतस्तिकाद्यनेक-प्रहरण-विरूढाकुल-व्रण-शताङ्क-शोभा -समुदयो-
पचित-कान्ततर-वर्ष्मणः

19 कौसलकमहेन्द्र-माह[ा*]कान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-कौरालकमण्टराज -पैष्टपुरक-
महेन्द्रगिरि -कौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्तैरण्डपल्लकदमन -काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तक-

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[1] ग may be supposed to be the first *akshara* of the name गणपति (cf. line 21 below). The lacuna then may be conjecturally filled up by गणपत्यादीन्नृपान् सङ्गरे.

[2] A prince of the Kota family appears to have been captured by his army while he was playing at the city of Pushpa (=Pushpapura=Pāṭaliputra), which may have been the capital of the king. Cf. the epithet पाटलिपुत्रक of a minister of Chandragupta II in *infra*, No. 11, and the epithets पाटलिपुरवराधीश्वर and उज्जयिनीपुरवराधीश्वर both applied to that king in the records of the Guttas of Guttala in the Dharwar District, South India; cf. also the *Kathāsaritsāgara* tradition of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjayinī, and of Vikramāditya described as the king of Pāṭaliputraka. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 468. After Chandragupta II, the first historical Vikramāditya, had extirpated the Sakas of Western India, Ujjayinī possibly became the second capital of the Gupta empire. The Guttas may have been descendants of a Kumāra viceroy of Ujjayinī.

20 नीलराज-वैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्म्म-पालक्ककोग्रसेन-दैवराष्ट्रककुबेर-कौस्थलपुरक-धनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज-ग्रहण-मोक्षानुग्रह-जनित-प्रतापोन्मिश्र-माहाभाग्यस्य[1]

21 रुद्रदेव-मतिल-नागदत्त-चन्द्रवर्म्म-गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बलवर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्तराज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्त-प्रभाव-महतः[2] परिचारकीकृत-सर्व्वाटविक-राजस्य[3]

22 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादि-प्रत्यन्त-नृपतिभिर्म्मालवार्जुनायन-यौधेय-माद्रकाभीर-प्रार्जुन-सनकानीक-काक-खरपरिकादिभिश्च[4] सर्व्व-कर-दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-

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[1] Kosala = South Kosala, mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilāspur region,—old cap. Śrīpura, 40 miles NE of Raipur. Mahākāntāra was a jungly territory; Vyāghrarāja (cf. also below, No. 49, note) is wrongly identified with Vyāghradeva (feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīsheṇa II) of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. Kaunāla is possibly the 'Kaunāla water' = the Kollair Lake near Ellore, W. Godavari Dist. Koṭṭūra is possibly Kothoor near Mahendragiri in the Ganjam Dist. Pishṭapura = mod. Piṭhāpuram in the E. Godavari Dist. The king's name is apparently Mahendragiri (for names referring to a hill or ending in *giri*, see Lüder's List, Nos. 217, 299, 315, 475, etc.). Vishṇugopa was a Pallava king of Kāñchī and Hastivarman a Śālaṅkāyana king of Veṅgī. Palakka may be Palakkaḍa in the Nellore region. Devarāshṭra is the Yellamañchili region of the Visakhapatnam Dist. Kusthalapura may be Kuttalur in the North Arcot Dist. Eraṇḍapalla has been identified with some localities in the Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Dists. Dakshiṇāpatha is Peninsular India to the south of the Vindhyan range or the Narmadā river or the city of Māhishmatī on that river.

[2] Rudradeva is identified with Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka; but the Vākāṭakas of Berar belonged to Dakshiṇāpatha. Rudradeva may be or Rudrasena III (348-78 A.D. with a break in 352-63 A.D.) of the Śaka dynasty of Western India while Nāgadatta may be an ancestor of the viceregal Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana (cf. *Proc. I. H. C.*, Madras, 1945, pp. 78-81). Matila may be Mattila of a seal found in the Bulandshahr Dist., U. P. Chandravarman may be the king of the Susuniyā inscription (*infra*). Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena were Nāga princes. The coins of the former have been found at Pawāyā = Padam-Pawāyā = ancient Padmāvatī, a centre of Nāga power according to the Purāṇas. The death of the Nāga prince Nāgasena at Padmāvatī is referred to in the *Harshacharita*. If they both belonged to the house of Padmāvatī, the record may refer to more than one expedition of Samudragupta. Coins of a king named Achyu[ta] have been found at ancient Ahichchhatrā, mod. Rāmnagar in the Bareilly Dist., U. P. In the place of Achyuta and Nandin, we may also suggest a single name, viz. Achyutanandin. But cf. *Mahārāja* Achyutavarman of a Rajghat seal (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412), According to Manu, Aryāvarta is the land bounded by the Himalayas, the Vindhyas, the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) and the Western Sea (Arabian Sea). Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 173.

[3] Cf. below, No. 50, note.

[4] Samataṭa was in South-East Bengal possibly with Karmānta (mod. Baḍ-Kāntā near Comilla, Tipperah Dist.) as capital. The chief city of Ḍavāka has been identified by some scholars with modern Ḍabokā in the Naogong Dist., Assam. The country thus corresponds to

23 परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य अनेक-भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूत-निखिल-भु[व]न-[विचरण-शा]न्त-यशसः दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहळ-कादिभिश्च

24 सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन[1] - कन्योपायनदान - गरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन-[य]ाचनाद्युपाय[2]-सेवा-कृत-बाहु-वीर्य्य-प्रसर-धरणि-बन्धस्य प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य[3]

25 सुचरित-शतालङ्कृतानेक-गुण-गणोत्सिक्तिभिश्चरण-तल-प्रमृष्टान्य-नरपति-कीर्त्तेः साध्व-साधूदय-प्रलय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य[4] भक्त्यवनति-मात्र-ग्राह्य-मृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो-(ऽ*)नेक-गो-शतसहस्र-प्रदायिन[:]

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the valley of the Kapili-Yamunā Kolang rivers (K.L. Barua, *E. Hist. Kāmarūpa*, p.42, note). Kāmarupa is the Gauhāti region of Assam. Kartṛipura seems to have comprised Katārpur in the Jalandhar Dist. and the Katuria (Katyur) *rāj* of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. During this period, the Mālavas (see *supra*, p. 91, note 6; 169, note 6) possibly lived in Rājasthān and West Mālwā. Mālava coins have been discovered in large numbers at [Mālava]-Nagara Tonk Dist., Rājasthān. Coins of the Ārjunāyanas have been found in the Mathurā region (Smith, *Cat.*, p. 160). For the Yaudheyas, see p. 178, note 4. The Prājunas mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* are placed usually in the Narsingpur Dist., M. P. The Sanakānikas lived in East Mālwā (cf. *infra*, No. 10). The Kākas possibly lived in the Kākanādaboṭa (=Sāñchī) region. The Mādrakas had originally their capital at Sākala=mod. Sialkot in the Panjab. The Ābhīras possibly lived in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) about this time.

[1] For the Skytho-Kushāṇas, see *supra*, pp. 111ff. दैवपुत्र=the title देवपुत्र of the Kushāṇa kings. षाहि=*Shāh*, and षाहानुषाहि= *Shāhān Shāh*; cf. *Kshāyathiya*, *Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyānām*. षाहि may be the Kushāṇa chiefs and षाहानुषाहि their emperor; but the passage दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि appears to indicate the Kushāṇa emperor. मुरुण्ड may be a Skythic tribe, or शक-मुरुण्ड may mean 'the Śaka lords'. सैंहलक=inhabitants of Siṁhala or Ceylon. Here is possibly a reference to the people of other islands of the Southern Sea such as Java and Sumatra.

[2] गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन indicates 'the request for a charter endowed with the Garuḍa seal for the possession (or, administration) of one's own territory.' The Garuḍa bird is found on the standard of the Gupta kings represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

[3] Read पृथिव्या°.

[4] Samudragupta claims to have been an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being (Vishṇu) 'who is the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the wicked.' Cf. the *avatāra* conception in the Gītā verse परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्। धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे॥ See also *Gaüḍavaha*, verses 167-81, 817-32, 1016-39, 1044-45, for king Yaśovarman described as an incarnation of Vishṇu. Samudragupta was certainly a Vaishṇava; but his successors, who claim to have been Bhāgavatas, do not apply that epithet to Samudragupta. There was probably some sort of doctrinal difference between Samudragupta's Vaishnavism and the Bhāgavatism of his descendants. See *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VIII, Nos. 9-10, 1946, pp. 109-11; *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 414.

26 [कृप]ण-दीनानाथातुर-जनोद्धरण-सन्त्वदीक्षाभ्युपगत-मनसः[1] समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य[2] स्वभुज-बल-विजितानेक-नरपति-विभव-प्रत्यर्प्पणा-नित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य[3]

27 निशितविदग्धमति - गान्धर्व्वललितैर्व्रीडित-त्रिदशपतिगुरु - तुम्बुरुनारदादेर्व्विद्वज्जनोप[4]-जीव्यानेक-काव्य-क्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठित-कविराज-शब्दस्य[5] सुचिर-स्तोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदार-चरितस्य

28 लोकसमय-क्रियानुविधान-मात्र-मानुषस्य लोक-धाम्नो देवस्य[2] महाराज-श्री-गुप्त[6]-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य

29 लिच्छवि-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य[7] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-गुप्तस्य सर्व्व-पृथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-व्याप्त-निखिलावनितलां कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति-

30 भवन-गमनावाप्त-ललित-सुख-विचरणामाचक्षाण इव भुवो बाहुरयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः (।*) यस्य ।[8]

प्रदान-भुजविक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयै-
रुपर्य्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्ग्गं यशः (।*)
31 पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गुहा-
निरोध-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं [पयः*] (॥*) १*)

एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव[9] भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीप-परिसर्प्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः

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[1] Read सत्त्व or मन्त्र. But उद्धरण-मन्त्र is better. Fleet : दीक्षाद्युप०.

[2] Note the conception of a divine king; cf. Manu, VII, 4-8.

[3] आयुक्त = a provincial governor, according to lexicons. Here it possibly indicates 'an officer'. Cf. *Yukta* in Aśoka's inscriptions and in other sources.

[4] त्रिदशपतिगुरु = बृहस्पति; Tumbru—a Gandhharva; Nārada—inventor of the Vīṇā. See *infra*, No. 6.

[5] A fragmentary work called *Kṛishṇacharita* was published from Gondal (Kathiawar) in 1941. In the colophon of the work, we have श्रीविक्रमाङ्क-महाराजाधिराज-परमभागवत-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-कृतौ कृष्णचरिते, etc. The book however looks like a recent forgery (cf. *Pravāsī*, Pausha, 1350 B.S., p. 303). Samudragupta's gold coin with the epithet *Śrīvikrama* (*JNSI*, V. p. 136) is also a forgery.

[6] The name of this chief is Gupta and not Śrīgupta. His identification with Śrīgupta mentioned by Itsing as having lived about 175 A.D. is not beyond doubt.

[7] Read ०मुत्पन्न०. For the importance of the claim, see *supra*, No. 1.

[8] This mark of punctuation is actually unnecessary. Evidently however it was used to separate the word यस्य from the verse following. Fleet believed that lines 29-30 refer to Samudragupta as gone to the abode of Indra (i.e., as dead); but the lines actually refer to the king's fame as reaching heaven (cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 77). Fleet's interpretation has now been discarded by scholars.

[9] A *Kāvya* may be composed in prose or poetry or in mixed prose and poetry. Harisheṇa's work belongs to this third variety which is called *Champū*.

23 परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य अनेक-भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूत-निखिल-भु[व]न-[विचरण-शा]न्त-यशसः दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च

24 सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन[1] - कन्योपायनदान - गरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन-[य]ाचनाद्युपाय[2]-सेवा-कृत-बाहु-वीर्य्य-प्रसर-धरणि-बन्धस्य प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य[3]

25 सुचरित-शतालङ्कृतानेक-गुण-गणोत्सिक्तिभिश्चरण-तल-प्रमृष्टान्य-नरपति-कीर्त्तेः साध्व-साधूदय-प्रलय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य[4] भक्त्यवनति-मात्र-ग्राह्य-मृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो(ऽ*)नेक-गो-शतसहस्र-प्रदायिन[:]

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the valley of the Kapili-Yamunā Kolang rivers (K.L. Barua, *E. Hist. Kāmarūpa*, p.42, note). Kāmarupa is the Gauhāti region of Assam. Kartṛipura seems to have comprised Katārpur in the Jalandhar Dist. and the Katuria (Katyur) *rāj* of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. During this period, the Mālavas (see *supra*, p. 91, note 6; 169, note 6) possibly lived in Rājasthān and West Mālwā. Mālava coins have been discovered in large numbers at [Mālava]-Nagara Tonk Dist., Rājasthān. Coins of the Ārjunāyanas have been found in the Mathurā region (Smith, *Cat.*, p. 160). For the Yaudheyas, see p. 178, note 4. The Prājunas mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* are placed usually in the Narsingpur Dist., M. P. The Sanakānikas lived in East Mālwā (cf. *infra*, No. 10). The Kākas possibly lived in the Kākanādaboṭa (=Sāñchī) region. The Mādrakas had originally their capital at Sākala=mod. Sialkot in the Panjab. The Ābhīras possibly lived in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) about this time.

[1] For the Skytho-Kushāṇas, see *supra*, pp. 111ff. दैवपुत्र=the title देवपुत्र of the Kushāṇa kings. षाहि=*Shāh*, and षाहानुषाहि= *Shāhān Shāh*; cf. *Kshāyathiya*, *Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyānām*. षाहि may be the Kushāṇa chiefs and षाहानुषाहि their emperor; but the passage दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि appears to indicate the Kushāṇa emperor. मुरुण्ड may be a Skythic tribe, or शक-मुरुण्ड may mean 'the Śaka lords'. सैंहलक=inhabitants of Siṁhala or Ceylon. Here is possibly a reference to the people of other islands of the Southern Sea such as Java and Sumatra.

[2] गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन indicates 'the request for a charter endowed with the Garuḍa seal for the possession (or, administration) of one's own territory.' The Garuḍa bird is found on the standard of the Gupta kings represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

[3] Read पृथिव्या०.

[4] Samudragupta claims to have been an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being (Vishṇu) 'who is the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the wicked.' Cf. the *avatāra* conception in the Gītā verse परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्। धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे॥ See also *Gaüḍavaha*, verses 167-81, 817-32, 1016-39, 1044-45, for king Yaśovarman described as an incarnation of Vishṇu. Samudragupta was certainly a Vaishṇava; but his successors, who claim to have been Bhāgavatas, do not apply that epithet to Samudragupta. There was probably some sort of doctrinal difference between Samudragupta's Vaishnavism and the Bhāgavatism of his descendants. See *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VIII, Nos. 9-10, 1946, pp. 109-11; *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 414.

26 [कृप]ण-दीनानाथातुर-जनोद्धरण-सन्त्रदीक्षाभ्युपगत-मनसः[1] समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य[2] स्वभुज-बल-विजितानेक-नरपति-विभव-प्रत्यर्प्पणा-नित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य[3]

27 निशितविदग्धमति - गान्धर्व्वललितैर्व्रीडित-त्रिदशपतिगुरु - तुम्बुरुनारदादेर्व्विद्वज्जनोप[4]-जीव्यानेक-काव्य-क्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठित-कविराज-शब्दस्य[5] सुचिर-स्तोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदार-चरितस्य

28 लोकसमय-क्रियानुविधान-मात्र-मानुषस्य लोक-धाम्नो देवस्य[2] महाराज-श्री-गुप्त[6]-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य

29 लिच्छवि-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्फन्नस्य[7] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-गुप्तस्य सर्व्व-पृथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-व्याप्त-निखिलावनितलां कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति-

30 भवन-गमनावाप्त-ललित-सुख-विचरणामाचक्षाण इव भुवो बाहुरयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः (।*) यस्य ।[8]

प्रदान-भुजविक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयै-
रुपर्य्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्ग्गं यशः (।*)
31 पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गुहा-
निरोध-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं [पयः*] (॥*) १*)

एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव[9] भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीप-परिसर्प्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः

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[1] Read सत्त्र or मन्त्र. But उद्धरण-मन्त्र is better. Fleet : दीक्षाद्युप०.

[2] Note the conception of a divine king; cf. Manu, VII, 4-8.

[3] आयुक्त=a provincial governor, according to lexicons. Here it possibly indicates 'an officer'. Cf. *Yukta* in Aśoka's inscriptions and in other sources.

[4] त्रिदशपतिगुरु=बृहस्पति; Tumbru—a Gandbharva; Nārada—inventor of the Vīṇā. See *infra*, No. 6.

[5] A fragmentary work called *Kṛishṇacharita* was published from Gondal (Kathiawar) in 1941. In the colophon of the work, we have श्रीविक्रमाङ्क-महाराजाधिराज-परमभागवत-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-कृतौ कृष्णचरिते, etc. The book however looks like a recent forgery (cf. *Pravāsī*, Pausha, 1350 B.S., p. 303). Samudragupta's gold coin with the epithet *Śrīvikrama* (*JNSI*, V. p. 136) is also a forgery.

[6] The name of this chief is Gupta and not Śrīgupta. His identification with Śrīgupta mentioned by Itsing as having lived about 175 A.D. is not beyond doubt.

[7] Read ०मुत्पन्न०. For the importance of the claim, see *supra*, No. 1.

[8] This mark of punctuation is actually unnecessary. Evidently however it was used to separate the word यस्य from the verse following. Fleet believed that lines 29-30 refer to Samudragupta as gone to the abode of Indra (i.e., as dead); but the lines actually refer to the king's fame as reaching heaven (cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 77). Fleet's interpretation has now been discarded by scholars.

[9] A *Kāvya* may be composed in prose or poetry or in mixed prose and poetry. Harisheṇa's work belongs to this third variety which is called *Champū*.

32 खाद्य(कू*)टपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक-ध्रुवभूति-पुत्रस्य सान्धिविग्रहिक-कुमारामात्य-म[हादण्डनाय*]क-हरिषेणस्य[1] सर्व्व-भूत-हित-सुखायास्तु ।

33 अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक-तिलभट्टकेन ।

No. 3—Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ERAṆ, Sāgar (Saugor) District, M. P.; now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 20; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1539.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī[2]

Metre: Verses 1-8 वसन्ततिलका. The first six lines of the record are broken away and lost. They contained probably one verse and a half in the वसन्ततिलका metre in which the existing portion of the epigraph is composed. Line 28 of the record, which is broken away, contained the second half of Verse 8.

TEXT[3]

1 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

2 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)

3 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

4 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (॥*) [१*]

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[1] खाद्यटपाकिक is meaningless. The officer was apparently the head of the superintendents of the royal kitchen. महादण्डनायक was a military officer often functioning as an administrator. सान्धिविग्रहिक is minister for peace and war. कुमारामात्य seems to be an executive officer (cf. अमात्य, 'a provincial governor', in the Nāsik inscriptions) of the same status as the Kumāra (the king's younger brother or son). Different designations may refer to different offices held at the same time or in different periods.

[2] The box-headed (square-headed) tops (*mātrā* or *serif*) of *aksharas* are formed by linking four short strokes in the shape of a square. On stone, the block in the centre of the square is usually taken out; but, on copper, it is usually not. It is sometimes called the Central Indian script; but it has been found outside that area, e.g., in the Kadamba records of the Kannaḍa country. In another variety, the *aksharas* are nail-headed, i.e, the tops is triangular with the apex of the triangle downwards.

[3] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record may actually have been earlier than *supra*, No. 2.

5 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
6 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —(।*)
7 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ सुवर्ण्णं-दाने
8 [संवा*]रिता नृपतयः[1] पृथु-राघवाद्याः (॥*) २
9 [पुत्रो*] बभूव[2] धनदान्तक-तुष्टि-कोप-
तुल्यः
10 [पराक्र*]म-नयेन समुद्रगुप्तः (।*)
11 [यं प्रा*]प्य पार्थिव-गणस्सकलः पृथिव्याम्
12 [पर्यं*]स्त-राज्य-विभव-द्धृ तमास्थितो(ऽ*)भूत (॥*) ३
13 [ताते*]न भक्ति-नय-विक्क्रम-तोषितेन
14 [यो*] राज-शब्द-विभवैरभिषेचनाद्यैः (।*)
15 [सम्मा*]नितः परम-तुष्टि-पुरस्कृतेन
16 [सोऽयं ध्रु*][वो] नृपतिरप्रतिवार्य्य-वीर्य्यः (॥*) ४
17 [दत्ता*]स्य[3] पौरुष-पराक्क्रम-दत्त-शुल्का[4]
18 [हस्त्य*]श्व-रत्न-धन-धान्य-समृद्धि-युक्ता (।*)
19 [नित्य*]ङ्ग हेषु मुदिता बहु-पुत्र-पौत्र-
20 [स*]ङ्क्रामिणी कुलवधुः व्रतिनी[5] निविष्टा (॥*)
21 [यस्यो*]र्ज्जितं समर-कर्म्मं पराक्रमेद्धं
22 [पृथ्व्यां*] यशः सुविपुलम्परिबभ्रमीति (।*)
23 [कार्या*]णि यस्य रिपवश्च रणोर्ज्जितानि
24 [स्व*]प्नान्तरेष्वपि विचिन्त्य परित्रसन्ति (॥*) ६
25 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

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[1] त is written below the line.

[2] On the strength of this verb in the Perfect tense, Jagannath suggests that the record is posthumus (*Proc. I. H. C.*, Jaipur, 1951, pp. 62-63). But there are numerous instances of the use of the Perfect and Past tenses for the Present in epigraphical literature (cf. *J. A. S.*, XVII, p. 27; XIX, p. 120; *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 183-84). See *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol III (N.S.), 1955, Part ii, pp. 91-100; also *Proc. I.H.C.*, Ahmedabad, 1954, pp. 72-78.

[3] The *nām-aikadeśa* दत्ता stands for दत्तदेवी; cf. सत्यभामा सत्येति and सत्यभामा भामेति cited in the *Māhābhāshya*. Cf. also कुबेरनागा and कुबेरनागदेवी in Nos. 60-61 below.

[4] From this Jagannath thinks that Samudragupta won Dattadevī in an open contest (*op. cit.*, pp. 63-64).

[5] Read ॰वधव्रं॰.

[स्त*][म्भ?]: स्वभोगनगरैरिकिण-प्रदेशे[1] (।*)
26 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
[सं*]स्थापितस्स्वयशसः परिब्रिङ्हनार्त्थम्[2] (॥*) ७
27 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ वो नृपतिराह यदा ⏑ — — (।*)[3]
28 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (॥*) [८*]

No. 4—Nālandā Spurious[4] Copper-Plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 5.

Nālandā (Bargaon), Pāṭnā District, Bihār.

H. Sastri, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, p. 138; D. R. Bhandarkar's List, No. 2075; A. Ghosh, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 52f.; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 135-36.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 5th century A.D; but some *aksharas* like *gh* have later forms.

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[1] Airikiṇa is the same as mod. Eraṇ. The pillar bearing the inscription may have been raised by the ruler of Airikiṇa, who was probably a feudatory of Samudragupta and a relation of Dattadevī. The city was also called Airikiṇī; cf. एरकन्य = ऐरिकिण्याः on a coin (Allan, *Cat.* (Anc. Ied.) p. xci.

[2] Read ०बृङ्हणा०.

[3] The rest of the record is lost. Lines 1-24 engrave one *pāda* each of the verse, with the exception of lines 9-10; lines 25ff. engrave two *pādas* each.

[4] The record is certainly spurious. It was forged sometime about the 6th or 7th century. The authenticity of this grant of Gupta year 5 would indicate a rather unusually long reign period (135 years) for three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Three generations ruling for such a length of time is extremely rare (cf. the reigns of George III, his son and his grand-daughter Victoria ruling for 141 years between 1760 and 1901 A.D.). The Aśvamedha is not referred to in the elaborate Allahābād inscription; it could hardly have been celebrated before the 5th year of Samudragupta's reign or of the Gupta era. The indiscriminate use of a *v* and *b* cannot be an early characteristic (see *infra*, p. 271, note 6). Samudragupta never assumed the title *Paramabhāgavata* which was really the title assumed by his successors. The application of this title in the Nālandā and Gayā plates proves that they were forged by persons whose model was a record of a successor of this Gupta king (cf. also the epithets in the 6th case ending; p. 271, note 3). If however it may be assumed that this charter and No. 5, *infra*, were forged to make up the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta, dated in year 5 and year 9, it should be suggested that the Gupta era began from the 1st

TEXT[1]

1 १ँ[2] स्वस्ति (।*) महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारानन्दपुर[3]-वासका[त्स]र्व्वरा-[जोच्छे]त्तु(:*) पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलि[लास्वा]-

2 दित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे[न्द्रा]न्त(क*)-समस्य[4] कृतान्त-परशोर्न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्स[न्ना]-

3 श्वमेधाहर्त्तुर्म्महाराज-श्री-गु(प्त*)-प्रपौत्त्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्त्रस्य महारा-[जाधि]राज-[श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त]-पुत्र-

4 स्य लिच्छवि-दौ[हि]त्त्रस्य महादेव्याङ्कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न॒परमभा[गवतो महा-राजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगु]प्तः तावि[र्गुण्य](?)-

5 वै[षयिक]भद्रपुष्करकग्राम-क्रिमिलावैषयिकपू[र्ण्णना]गग्रा[म(यो:*)] [ब्राह्मण-पुरोग*]-ग्राम-व[ल]त्कौशभ्या(?)माह[5] (।*)

6 एव[ं*] चाह विदितम्बो[6] भवत्वेषौ[7] ग्रा[मौ] [मया] [मा]तापित्तोरा[त्मनश्च] पु[ण्याभिवृद्ध]ये जयभट्टिस्वामिने

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regnal year of this king. At least the persons responsible for the forgery apparently believed that Samudragupta began to rule earlier than year 5 of the Gupta era. As however the records were forged with the help of the grant of a later ruler, nothing but the name of the villages granted and of the donees can be taken to be genuine. See below, p. 272, note 11.

[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. Note that घ in lines 3 and 10 approximates the form of the 6th or 7th century.

[2] Sign for सिद्धं later pronounced as ओं सिद्धि: or सिद्धिरस्तु and written १ं in Bengal even now.

[3] Sastri reads नूपुर. The sixth case-ending in the epithets of Samudragupta shows that part of the grant was copied from a record of one of his successors. A grant of Samudragupta is required to have सर्वराजोच्छेता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-सम: कृतान्तपरशुर्न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्यकोटिप्रदश्चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्ता महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्त्रो महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्त्रो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रो लिच्छवि-दौहित्त्रो महादेव्यां कुमार-देव्यामुत्पन्न: परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्त:.

[4] Ghosh : ०दान्तक.

[5] Fleet finds here two officers called Valatkaushan. There are apparently some errors here, though we are reminded of *Valākoshṭhika* in *Mahāvalākoshṭhika* of some records (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 187). Probably ग्रामवलत्कौशाभ्याम् [उद्दिश्य] refers to the villagers and the royal agents in the village.

[6] Read : चार्थौ विदितौ वो. The record uses व and ब indiscriminately and points to the later characteristic of representing both व and ब by the sign for व. This is possibly due to the fact that the grant was fabricated not earlier than the 5th-6th century, when, in North India, the sign for ब began to be replaced by that for व gradually.

[7] Read ०त्वेतौ.

7 * * * *[1] [सोपरि]करो[द्देशेना]ग्रहा[रत्वे]नातिसृष्टः[2] (।*) तद्युष्मा-
भिर[स्य]

8 त्तै विद्यस्य श्रोत्तव्यमाज्ञा[3] च कर्त्त[व्या] [स]र्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्रा(म*)-प्रत्या-
(या*) मेय-हिरण्यादयो देया न चेत=प्र-[4]

9 [भृ]त्यनेन त्तै [वि]द्येनान्य-ग्रामादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-[कारुक]ादय=प्रवेश[यित]व्या-
[म]न्यथ[ा] नियतमाग्रहाराक्षेपः[5]

10 [स्य]ादिति ॥[6] सम्बत् ५ माघ-दि० २ निवद्धः[7] (।*)

11 अनुग्रामाक्षपटळाधि[कृत][8] -महापीलूपति - महावळाधि[कृ]त[9] - गोपस्वामा(म्या)देश- लि-
खितः (।*)

12 [कुमा*]र-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्तः[10] (॥*)

No. 5—Gayā Spurious[11] Copper-Plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9.

GAYĀ, Gayā District, Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 256f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1540.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

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[1] Ghosh is inclined to fill up the lacuna by some epithets of the donee.

[2] For the meaning of this expression and others below, see *infra*, pp. 273-74, notes.

[3] Read श्रोत°. Supply a word like वचनं after श्रोतव्यं.

[4] Read देया: । न चैतत्प्र°.

[5] Read °तव्या: । अन्यथा and नियतम°. आक्षेप may indicate violation of the conditions relating to an *agrahāra*.

[6] There are three short horizontal strokes after the usual sign for stop.

[7] Read संवत् and निब°. Supply a word like लेख: after निबद्ध:.

[8] The Gayā plate reads अन्य°. See *infra*, p. 274, notes 6-7.

[9] Read बला°. अक्षपटलाधिकृत = keeper of records, from अक्षपटल = a court of law, a depository of legal documents. The *Arthaśāstra* suggests that he was the Accountant-General. He kept the accounts of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, *vyāji* or premia realised in kind or cash, status of the government agency employed, wages paid, free labourers engaged in connection with capital invested or work undertaken, market rates and the price of gems and commodities. महाबलाधिकृत = Field-Marshal. महापीलुपति = Head of the Elephant Force. See below, No. 37, note.

[10] He was possibly the दूतक (executor of the grant).

[11] The record was engraved long after Samudragupta's rule. Fleet thought that the fabrication was done sometime about the beginning of the 8th century A.D., as he found the

TEXT[1]

1 १ँ[2] स्वस्ति (॥*) महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावाराजायोद्ध्या[3]-वासकात्सर्व्व-राजो च्छेत्तु[4] पृ-

2 थिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलिलस्वादित-यश(सो*) धनद-वरुणेन्द्रा-

3 न्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोन्र्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोच्छ-

4 न्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तु[5] महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य

5 महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि[6]-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्या(ं*) कु-

6 मारदेव्यामुत्पन्न(ः*) परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-

7 गुप्तः गयावैषयिक-रेवतिकाग्रामे व्राह्मण[7]-पुरोग-ग्राम-वल-

8 ल्कौषभ्या(?)माह । एव(ं*) चार्थं विदितम्बो[8] भवत्वेश[9] ग्रामो मया मातापित्त्रोरा-

9 त्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय[10] वह्वृचाय[11] स[ब्र]ह्मचा-[12]

10 रिणे व्राह्मण[13]-गोपदेवस्वामिने सोपरिकरोद्देशेनाग्रहारत्वेनाति-[14]

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expression महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात् in later inscriptions. But this expression is also found in the grants of Harshavardhana of 627 and 630 A.D. and palaeographically this record may not be later than the time of Ādityasena. It may have been fabricated in the 6th or 7th century. It is not impossible that the record was prepared to replace a lost or damaged record of Samudragupta and the seal of the old record was attached to it. Gopadevasvāmin, donee of the Gayā plate, and Gopasvāmin, under whose orders the Nālandā and Gayā plates were prepared, may have been identical. Note that the forgers believed that Samudragupta had a camp at Ayodhyā. See *supra*, p. 270, note 4. The style may suggest that Nos. 4-5 were forged by the same person.

[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] Symbol for सिद्धं later pronounced as ओं सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु.

[3] Read ०वारादयोध्या०.

[4] ०च्छेत्तुः is intended; but read ०च्छेत्ता. See above, p. 271, note 3.

[5] The intended reading is चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुर्म०.

[6] Usually लिच्छवि.

[7] Read ब्राह्मण. For *Valatkaushan*, see above, p. 271, note 5.

[8] Read ०र्थो विदितो वो.

[9] Read ०त्वेष.

[10] *I. e.*, भारद्वाज-गोत्र-जाताय.

[11] Read बह्वृचाय or better बह्वृचसब्र.

[12] Read सब्रह्म. सब्रह्मचारिन् = fellow student = student.

[13] Read ब्राह्मण.

[14] उपरिकर, 'tax paid by temporary tenants'. See below, No. 49. उद्देश = space above the surface of the land often specifically mentioned as तल.

11 सृष्टः (।*) तद्युष्माभिरस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा च कर्त्तव्या सर्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्राम-प्र-
12 त्वया[1] मेय-हिरण्यादयो देयाः (।*) न चेतत्प्रभृत्येतदाग्रहारिकेणन्यद्ग्रा-[2]
13 मादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-कारुकादयः प्रवेशयितव्यामन्यथा[3] नियतमाग्र-[4]
14 हाराक्षेप(:*) स्यादिति (॥*) सम्बत्[5] ८ वैशाख-दि १० (॥*)
15 अन्यग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत[6]-द्यूत-गोपस्वाम्यादेश-लिखितः[7] (॥*)

No. 6—Inscription on the Lyrist type Gold Coins of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 18ff.

First Side[8]

King seated, to left, nimbate, cross-legged on highbacked couch, wearing waist cloth, close-fitting cap,[9] necklace, ear-rings and armlets, playing *Vīṇā* which lies on his knees[10]; beneath the couch is a footstool[11]; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः[12]

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[1] प्रत्यय = प्रत्याय (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 170, note 5)—tax, revenue, income.

[2] Read चेतत्प्र॰ and ॰णान्यग्रा॰.

[3] Read तव्याः । अन्यथा.

[4] Read नियतमग्र॰. अग्रहार = गुरुकुलादावृत्तब्रह्मचारिणे देयं चेवादि । But later the word came to be used to denote any rent-free gift of land; see below, No. 37, line 8.

[5] Read संवत्. See *supra*, p. 270, note 4.

[6] *Supra*, No. 4 reads अनु which may be right. Gopasvāmin's office was possibly connected with the villages. Bhandarkar: नालन्दाग्राम.

[7] Gopasvāmin's official titles are different in *supra*, No. 4. The occurrence of his name in both the grants may suggest that he is not a fictitious personality. द्यूत may indicate the Head of the department superintending the gambling houses. Supply लेखः अयम् after लिखितः.

[8] From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 3; see also Nos. 1ff. Nos. 6-8 here represent inscriptions on gold coins.

[9] Some specimens represent the king as bare-headed.

[10] Cf. निश्चितविदग्धमति-गान्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडित-त्रिदशपतिगुरु-तुम्बुरु-नारदादेः in l. 27 of *supra*, No. 2.

[11] On some specimens, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि is found inscribed on the foot-stool. सि may be an indication of the mint or the mint-master.

[12] The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

Second Side

Lakshmī, nimbate, seated to left on a wicker-stool, wearing loose robe, close-fitting cap and jewellery, holding fillet in out-stretched right hand and cornucopia (the horn of plenty, a Classical symbol of abundance like the Indian Kalpa-vṛiksha) in left arm; inscription on right in similar Late Brāhmī characters :—

समुद्रगुप्तः[1]

No. 7—Inscription on the Aśvamedha type[2] Gold Coins of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 21ff.

First Side

Horse for the sacrifice to left before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), from which pennons fly over its back[3]; beneath the horse, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा
दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्य-वीर्यः (॥*)[4]

Second Side

Mahishī Dattadevī standing to left, wearing loose robe and jewellery, holding chowrie over right shoulder in right hand; left hand hangs by her side; on left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around the pedestal on which the queen stands—a chain of flowers (?) extending round the spear; on some specimens, a gourd (?) at her feet; inscription in similar Late Brāhmī characters :—

अश्वमेध-पराक्रमः

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[1] On one specimen, the name seems to be written सर्मुद्र०.

[2] From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 10; see also Nos. 9-13. Note that the Aśvamedha which is not mentioned in the detailed Allahābād inscription must have been performed late in the king's life.

[3] On some specimens, we have a low pedestal below.

[4] The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate. Here is a verse in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) metre, of which only two *pādas* are given. On one specimen, the reading is पृथिवीं विजित्य, and on another we have

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयत्याहृत-वाजिमेधः.

See *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S, X, p. 256; Banerji, *Prāchīnamudrā* (Bengali), p. 129.

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No. 8—Inscription on the Coins of Kacha alias Samudragupta[1]

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 15 ff.

First Side[2]

King standing to left, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-ring and necklace; holding standard surmounted by a wheel (चक्र) in left hand, and sprinkling incense on altar with right hand; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—(beneath left arm) का

च (*i.e.*, काचः)

(margin in circle) काचो गामवजित्य

दिवं कर्म्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति[3] (॥*)

Second Side

Lakshmī standing to left, wearing loose robe, holding flower in right hand and cornucopia in left arm; border of dots; a symbol on left; on right, inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्त[।*].

---

[1] Kācha is generally identified with Samudragupta and the identification is no doubt reasonable (cf. the title सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता). Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son who was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. Some scholars however take Kācha to be a separate person. Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is represented in the *Devīchandragupta* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandragupta II. The tradition recorded in the drama has however not been supported by contemporary epigraphic evidence and may not be entirely historical. It appears that the necessity of sticking to the name-ending *gupta* was felt only after Chandragupta I had become an emperor and that Samudragupta was the later name of one whose early name was without the *gupta-* ending like that of his grandfather. His early name seems to have been Kācha. The name of the Gupta dynasty is probably due to the stereotyped name-ending of Chandragupta I and his decendants and not to the name of Gupta, the first but a less important prince of the line. The Kācha issues of Samudragupta remind us of the early coins of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Shāh 'Alam bearing the pre-coronation names of the emperors, viz. Salīm, Khurram and Muazzam. See Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 97. For the evidence of the copper coins of a ruler named Rāmagupta, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 95-96. cf. also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XXXIX, p. 189.

[2] From representation in Allan's *Cat.*, Plate II, No. 9; see also Nos. 6-33.

[3] It is half of a stanza in the आर्या, उपगीति or उद्गीति metre. The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate.

No. 9—Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II—Regnal Year 5; Gupta Year 61[1] (=380 A.D.)

Chandul Mandul Bagichi at Mathurā, Mathura District, U. P.
D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 8f.; D. B. Diskalkar, *A. B. O. R. I.*, XVIII, pp. 166-70; D. C. Sircar, *I. H. Q.*, XVIII, pp. 271-75.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī resembling 'Kushāṇa script' of c. 2nd century A.D.[2]

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धम् (।*) भट्टारक-महाराज-[राजाधि]राज श्री-समुद्रगुप्त-स-

2 [त्पु]त्रस्य भट्टारक-म[हाराज-[राजाधि*]राज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-

3 स्य विज(य*)-राज्य[4]-संवत्स[रे*] [पं]चमे [५] कालानुवर्त्तमान[5]-सं-

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[1] This is the earliest genuine date of the Gupta era, "The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, A.D. 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I" (Smith. *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296). In the 11th century, Al-Bīrūnī accepted this epoch of the era, though he had wrong information about its relation with the Guptas. "As regards the Gupta-kāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śaka-kāla" (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 7). Accordingly, Gupta 1=Śaka 242=A.D. 320-21. In view of Al-Bīrūnī's statement regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, recent attempts to prove that it began from 200 or 272 A.D. or 57 B.C. must be regarded as utterly absurd. See *Ind. Cult.*. III, pp. 47ff.

[2] For a Mathurā record of Kaṇishka's 14th year in 'Eastern Gupta script,' see *Ep.Ind.*, XIX, pp. 96f. The peculiarity is due to the inclination and locality of the scribe and the existence of a cursive script side by side with the script generally used in the epigraphs.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

[4] Bhandarkar : रज्य.

[5] Bhandarkar reads गुप्त before काला°. I do not find any trace of *aksharas* like गुप्त in the facsimile, Our reading shows that the first regnal year of the king was the Gupta year 57=376-77 A.D. For the expression *kāl-ānuvartamāna* in a similar context, see Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 113.

4 वत्सरे एकषष्ठे[1] ६० (+*)१......[2][प्र]थमे शुक्लदिवसे पं-
5 चम्यां (म्याम्) (।*) अस्यां पूर्व्वा[यां] [भ]गव[त्कु]शिकाद्दशमेन[3] भगव-
6 त्पराशराच्चतुर्थेन [भगवत्क*]पि[ळ]विमल-शि-
7 ष्य-शिष्येण भगव[दुपमित*]विमळ-शिष्येण[4]
8 आर्य्योदि[ता*]चार्य्ये[ण*] [स्व*]-पु[ण्या]प्यायन-निमित्त
9 गुरूणां च कीर्त्य[र्थमुपमितेश्व]र-कपिलेश्वरौ
10 गुर्व्वायतने गुरु .....[5] प्रतिष्ठापितो[6] (।*) नै-
11 तत्ख्यात्यर्थमभिलि[ख्यते] (।*) [अथ*] माहेश्वराणां वि-
12 ज्ञप्तिः क्रियते सम्बोधनं च (।*) यथाका[ले]नाचार्या-
13 णां परिग्रहमिति[7] मत्वा विशङ्क[ं] [पू]जा-पुर-
14 स्कार[ं] परिग्रह-पारिपाल्यं [कुर्य्या]दिति[8] विज्ञप्तिरिति (।*)
15 यश्च कीर्त्यभिद्रोहं कुर्य्या[।]द्य[श्चा]भिलिखित[मुप]र्य्यधो

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[1] Read एकषष्टे or एकषष्टितमे.

[2] Bhandarkar fills up the lacuna by the expression आषाढ-मासे. प्रथम indicates the first of the two Āshāḍhas including the intercalary one. There were two Āshāḍhas in 380 A.D. Better read पंचमे for पंचम्यां.

[3] Bhandarkar identifies this Kuśika with one of the four disciples of the great Śaiva saint Lakulin or Lakulīśa who was the last incarnation of Maheśvara (Śiva) flourishing at Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra (mod. Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluk of the old Baroda State). According to the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga* Purāṇas, the four disciples were Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya while the Cintra *praśasti* quotes the names as Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurushya and Maitreya, who were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. The spiritual descendants of Gārgya were established at Somanātha in Kathiawar, as the Cintra record suggests, while those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā. Lakulīśa flourished about the beginning of the second century A.D. The word *ārya* is taken by Bhandarkar in the sense of 'the owner of a shrine'. But the dead ascetics of this sect are styled *Bhagavat* while the living ascetic is called *Ārya*.

[4] The names of the teachers end in *vimala*. Bhandarkar's translation makes a confusion between Upamita and Kapila.

[5] Bhandarkar suggests the restoration गुरुप्रतिमायुतौ. Apparently the representations showed as if Upamita and Kapila were standing each with a Liṅga on the head.

[6] Read ०तौ.

[7] Read परिग्रह: इति (=परिग्रह: भविष्यति इति). Bhandarkar, who prefers full-stop after क्रियते (line 11) and आचार्य्याणां (lines 11-12) and translates यथाकालेनाचार्याणां as "the *āchāryas* for the time being," seems to have misunderstood the meaning of lines 10-14. यथाकालेन = यथाकालं, 'in proper time'. Cf. तस्मिन् काले = तेणं कालेणं in Ārsha Prakrit (Sircar, *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 62). आचार्याणां = गुरूणाम् ?

[8] Read कुर्युः इति (=कुर्युः माहेश्वराः इति).

16 वा[1] [स] पंचभिर्मह[ा*]पातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्यात् (।*)
17 जयति च भगवा[ण्डण्डः][2] रुद्रदण्डो(ऽ*)ग्र[ना]यको नित्य[ं](स्यम्) (॥*)

Nos. 10-11—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 82 (=401 A.D.)

UDAYAGIRI Hill, near Bhīlsā, now called Vidiśā, old Gwalior State, M.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 25 (for No. 10); p. 35 (for No. 11); BÜHLER, *V. Or. Journ.*, V, pp. 226 ff.; BHANDARKAR's List, Nos. 1260 and 1541 (for other references).

No. 1

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे ८० (+*) २ आषाढ-मास-शुक्ले(कै)कादश्याम्[4] परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधि(राज*)-श्री-चन्द्र[गु]प्त-पादानुद्ध्यातस्य ।[5]
2 महाराज-छगलग-पौत्रस्य महाराज-विष्णुदास-पुत्रस्य [7]सनकानिकस्य महा[राज*]
* * ळस्यायं[6] दे[यधर्म्म]ः ।

No. 2

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-5—अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

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[1] Bhandarkar wants to read उच्छिन्द्यात् or some such word after वा.

[2] Bhandarkar suggests the correction भगवान्दण्डः स. Here is then half of a stanza in the *Āryā* or *Gīti* metre.

[3] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[4] Fleet reads a stop after म्.

[5] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. The word अनुध्यात is usually taken to mean 'meditating on...' But in some cases it certainly means 'favoured.' See the Tāḷagunda inscription (*infra*); also my note in *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, 1937, p. 229; cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, 1939, p. 239; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 115ff.

[6] There is space for two letters, of which the latter may be ढ according to Fleet. May the name be सोढल ?

TEXT[1]

सिद्धम् (॥*)[2]

1 यद[ं]तज्ज्योतिरर्क्काभमुर्व्व्यां[म्भा][3] * * — ⏑ * (।*)
* * * * ⏑ — वयापि चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम् (॥*) [१]

2 विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता दास्य-न्यग्भूत-पार्त्थिव[ा] (।*)
* * * [स]न[4]-संरक्ता धर्म्म * * ⏑ — ⏑ * (॥*) [२]

3 तस्य राजाधिराजर्षेरचि[न्त्यो][ज्ज्वल-क*][र्म्म]णः (।*)
अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्यो[5] व्या[पृत-सन्धि-वि*]ग्रह[ः] (॥*) ३

4 कौत्सश्शाव इति ख्यातो वीरसेनः कुलाख्यया (।*)
शब्दार्त्थ-न्याय-लोकज्ञः कविः पाटलिपुत्रकः (॥*) ४

5 कृत्स्न-पृथ्वी-जयार्त्थेन[6] राज्ञैवेह सहागतः (।*)
भक्त्या भगवतश्शम्भोर्ग्गुहामेतामकारयत् (॥*) ५

No. 12—Sanchi Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 93 (=412 A.D.).

SĀÑCHĪ, former Bhopāl State, now Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh. FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 31 f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1262 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] In the left margin in the level of line 3.

[3] The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as

०सुर्व्व्यां भाति निरन्तरम् ।
दिवा-विभावरी-व्यापि० ॥

[4] For स, Fleet reads मा; but the *ā*-sign is not clear and the *akshara* may be read as a partially preserved स. The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as यस्य शासन-संरक्ता धर्मज्ञस्य वसुन्धरा. अवक्रय =price.

[5] Cf. *amātyas* described as *pitṛipaitāmaha* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 100, 26; etc.

[6] Chandragupta II was a *digvijayin*. This claim apparently refers to his expedition against the Śakas of Western India.

TEXT[1]

[सिद्धम् ॥*][2]

1 का[कना*]दबोट-श्रीमहाविहारे[3] शील-समाधि-प्रज्ञा[4]-गुण-भावितेन्द्रियाय परम-पुण्य-

2 क्षे[त्र][ग*]ताय[5] चतुर्द्दिगभ्यागताय श्रमण-पुङ्गवावसथायार्य्य-सङ्घाय महाराजाधि-

3 रा[ज-श्री]चन्द्रगुप्त-पाद-प्रसादाप्यायित-जीवित-साधनः अनुजीवि-सत्पुरुष-सद्भाव-

4 वृ[त्त्यर्थं*] जगति प्रख्यापयन् अनेक-समरावाप्त-विजय-यशस्पताकः सुकुलिदेश-न

5 ष्टी * * * वास्तव्य उन्दान-पुत्राम्रकार्द्दवो मज-शरभङ्गाम्रराट-राजकुल-मूल्य-की-

6 त-[म] * * * * ईश्वरवासकं पञ्च-मण्डल्या[ं*] प्रणिपत्य ददाति पञ्चविंशतिश्च[6] दीना-

7 रान् (॥*) * * * * * * * [7] यादर्द्धेन महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज इति प्रि-

8 य-ना[म्नः*][8] * * * * * रितस्य सर्व्व-गुण-संपत्तये यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पञ्च भिक्षवो भुंज-

9 तां र[त्न*]-गृ[हे*] [च*] [दी*][प]को ज्वलतु (।*) मम चापरार्द्धात्पञ्चैव भिक्षवो भुंजतां रत्न-गृहे च

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] Above the beginning of line 1.

[3] Kākanādaboṭa was apparently the old name of Sāñchī.

[4] Originally व was engraved instead of प.

[5] Fleet reads क्ष···ताय ; but the first *akshara* is clearly चे and traces of त्र still remain. *Kshetra*° seems to be more suitable than *kshetr-ā*°.

[6] Read विंशतिश्च.

[7] Fleet : त[द्द]त्त...... Pañchamaṇḍalī is supposed to be the mod. Pañchāyat, the village jury of five or more persons. Cf. पाञ्चक of a Nepalese inscription (*C. I. I.*, III, Intro., p. 183). राजकुल is a person belonging to the royal family or a nobleman; cf. mod. Rāwal. The word *rājakula* also means the king's court or court of justice, and hence a member of that court. It appears that the locality called Īśvaravāsaka was purchased by Āmrakārdava from the *Rājakulas* Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta and was offered to a monastery.

[8] Fleet fills up the lacuna by प्रियनामामात्यो भवत्येतस्य, and takes देवराज to be the name of an officer of Chandragupta II. देवराज or देवगुप्त was however another name of this king. The grants of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II mention Chandragupta II, his maternal grandfather, as देवगुप्त. See *infra*, Nos. 60-62.

10 दीपक इ[ति] (॥*) [त]देतत्प्रवृत्तं य उच्छिन्द्यात्स गो-ब्रह्म-हत्यया संयुक्तो भवेत्पञ्चभिश्चान-

11 न्तर्य्यैरिति[1] (॥*) सं ९० (+*) ३ भाद्रपद-दि ४ (॥*)

No. 13—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 90+x (=409-10+x)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 49 ff., Nos. 133 ff.

First Side[2]

Bust of king Chandragupta to right with traces of Greek letters[3]; on left:—

व ९० (+*) [*][4] (=[गुप्त]-वर्षे ९० + x)

Second Side

Garuḍa, standing, facing, with outspread wings; border of dots; above on right, cluster of dots; inscription in Late Brāhmī Characters of the Northern Class:—

परमभाग[व*]त-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त- विक्रमादित्य[:*][5]

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[1] The पञ्चानन्तर्यकर्म or ०धर्म are the five sins that bring with them immediate retribution. They are five of the six *abhiṭhānas* (*supra*, p. 70, note 8), viz. *mātughāto* (matricide), *pitughāto* (parricide), *arahantaghāta* (killing an Arhat), *lohituppādo* (shedding the blood of a Buddha), *saṅghabhedo* (causing divisions among the priesthood), *aññasatthuddeso* (following other teachers)—with the exception of the last or the last but one.

[2] From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate X, No. 15.

[3] The silver issues of Chandragupta II were originally meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śaka Satraps. The introduction of the king's bust, traces of Greek characters and the date are all due to the influence of the Satrapal coins. The silver coins of the Guptas were called *rūpaka* just as their gold coins were styled *dīnāra* (cf. No. 41 below).

[4] There is a small sign after the figure for 90. We cannot be definite regarding its value. The date shows that Western India was conquered before 409-10+x A.D. Cf. *supra*, p. 188, note 2, and the provenance of *supra*, Nos. 3 and 10-12.

[5] The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate. On another variety of these coins, we have the legend—श्री-गुप्त-कुलस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमाङ्कस्य (Allan's *Cat.*, p. 51).

No. 14—Meharaulī Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra[1]

MEHARAULĪ or Meṁharaulī, near Delhi

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1243 (for earlier references); *J. A. H. R. S.*, X, pp. 86ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., V, pp. 407ff.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th century A.D.[2]
Metre: Verses 1-3 – शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[3]

1 य[स्यो]द्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमु[र]सा शत्रून्समेत्यागता-
न्वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनो(ऽ*)भिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्ति[र्भु]जे (।*)
2 तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि[4] येन [स]म[रे] सिन्धोर्ज्जिता [व]ाह्लिका[5]

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[1] He should probably be identified with Chandragupta II. The facts (1) that his name was Chandra (cf. the name on the copper coins of Chandragupta II) who died in the fifth century (cf. note 2 below), (2) that he went on a *digvijaya* (cf. *supra*, No. 11, line 5), (3) that he was lord of an empire (cf. line 5), (4) that the Delhi region formed part of his kingdom, and (5) that he was a Vaishṇava, suggest a monarch like Chandragupta II. His identification with Chandragupta I, the Nāga Chandrāṁśa, or Chandravarman of Mālwā or of the Susuniyā record, etc., is less convincing. The identification with Maurya Chandragupta is absurd.

[2] As has been pointed out by Fleet, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving on iron, the characters approximate in many respects the Allahābād inscription (*supra*, No. 1), supposed by that scholar to be later than Samudragupta; but with the very marked *mātrās* or horizontal top-strokes, the letters resemble most closely those used in the Bilsaḍ inscription of Kumāragupta (No. 15, *infra*). The record must therefore be assigned to the 5th century. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.

[3] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. This pillar was brought here from some hill near the Beas by some energetic ruler of Delhi (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, p. 401). Cf. Aśoka's pillars transferred to Delhi by Fīrūz Shāh (*supra*, p. 53, note 1).

[4] For the seven mouths of the Indus, see *Periplus*, § 38, and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i. § 2.

[5] Bhau Daji reads वाल्हिका. The right arm of the triangle of व is not preserved. ह्लि is however quite clear. Bhandarkar places this Vâhlika (=Balkh) on the Vipāśā (Beas) on the strength of the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse quoted at p. 285, note 4, *infra*. There however the reading वाह्लिकान् is certainly a mistake for वाहिकान् or वाहीº. For the

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यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्व्वीर्य्यानिलैर्द्दक्षिणः (॥*) 1[1]
3 [खि]न्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्ग्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या[2] कर्म्म-जिताबनिं[3] गतवतः कीर्त्या[2] स्थितस्य क्षितौ (।*)
4 शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
न्नाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशित-रिपोर्य्यत्नस्य शेषः क्षितिम् (॥*) 2[4]
5 प्राप्तेन स्व-भुजार्ज्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र-चन्द्र-[स]दृशीं वक्त्र-श्रियं बिभ्रता (।*)

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well-known Vāhīka country (=the Punjab) on the Beas and other rivers, cf. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठाणां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः। तान्धर्म्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥······वहिश्च नाम ह्रीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ। तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥ *Mbh.*, VIII, 44, vv. 7 and 41; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 184 ff.

[1] The verse simply refers to the four limits of the territory claimed to have been traversed by the king in course of his *digvijaya*. The eastern limit was वङ्ग; the southern limit दक्षिण-जलनिधि; the western limit सुखानि सिन्धोः; and the northern limit वाह्लिक. The conventional claim is on a par with that of later kings, *e.g.*, Yaśodharman who boasts of conquering the whole country to the west of the लौहित्य, to the south of the तुहिन-शिखरिन्, to the east of the पश्चिमपयोधि and to the north of the महेन्द्र (cf. Mahendrāchala in the Tirunelveli Dist.). It is a प्रशस्ति which may have germs of truth, but is conventional and may not be entirely historical. For the conventional *Chakravarti-kshetra* or sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler, see Sircar, *Stud. Geo. Anc Med Ind.*, pp. 1ff. For *sva-bhuj-ārjita* kingdom of a king's successor, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 251, text line 3, *IHQ*, XX, p. 78.

[2] Fleet unnecessarily corrects र्त्या to र्त्त्या.

[3] Read जितावनिं which is the reading of Fleet.

[4] Bhandarkar thinks that the king was not dead but alive when the eulogy was engraved, though he was no longer ruling. The natural interpretation of the verse however suggests that the pillar is posthumous. Cf. खिन्नस्य (= अविजितदेशाभावात् क्षुब्धस्य) गां (= इहलोकं) विसृज्य (= परित्यज्य) [नवदेशान् जेतुम्] इतरां गां (= लोकान्तरम्) आश्रितस्य (cf. इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजिविजयव्यापारपारंगतश्चक्रे शक्रजयाय कृष्ण-नृपतिः स्वर्लोक-यात्रा-गतम् in Hemādri's introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa* quoted in R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. Hist. Dek.*, App. C, verse 11); मूर्त्या (= देहेन) कर्मजितावनिं (= सुकृतार्जितस्वर्गलोकं) गतवतः, [परं] कीर्त्या क्षितौ स्थितस्य [च] नरपतेः (= यद्यपि शरीरम् इहलोकं त्यक्तवत्, तथापि कीर्त्तिः इह एव तिष्ठति यस्य राज्ञः); शान्तस्य (= स्वर्गतस्य [राज्ञः]; तथा—निर्वाणस्य अपि अविगत-तापस्य [हुतभुजः इव]), etc. If our identification is correct, the pillar was made for Chandragupta II about the end of his life; but the record was engraved by Kumāragupta I soon after his father's death.

6 तेनायं प्रणिधाय[1] भूमि-पतिना भावेन[2] विष्णो[3] मतिं
प्रान्शुर्व्विष्णुपदे[4] गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः (॥*) 3

No. 15—Bilsaḍ Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.)

—Gupta Year 96 (=415-16 A.D.).

BILSAḌ or Bilsanḍ, Eṭā (Etah) District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 43f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1263 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metres: Verse 1—स्रग्धरा; V. 2—शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[5]

1 [सिद्धम् ॥*] [सर्व्व-राजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-स*][लिला]-स्वादित-यशसो

2 [धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हि*]रण्यकोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुः

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[1] There are traces of an incomplete घा after धा in the original.

[2] Fleet reads धावेन. The first *akshara* with *serif* is भा of which however the left slanting stroke has been joined with the right vertical arm It may pass as a form of व, but not as ध which is written without serif. It may be tempting to suggest the correction देवेन referring the name to Chandragupta II Devagupta.

[3] Read विष्णौ.

[4] Read प्रांशु°. This Vishṇupada hill is not far from the Kurukshetra and the Beas. Cf. गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरूद्वह: ।...ततो गच्छेत धर्मज्ञो विष्णोः स्थानमनुत्तमम्। etc. (*Mbh.*, III, 73, 8ff.; also 103ff.); एतद्विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम्। एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी॥ (*ibid.*, III, 138, 8); ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान् (sic. वाह्वीकान्) सुदामानञ्च पर्वतम्॥ विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम्। (*Rām.*, II. 68, 18-19). Al-Bīrūnī (Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, II, p. 142) refers to Lake Vishṇupada in the Nishadha Range as the source of the Sarasvatī on the authority of the *Matsya P.* But the extant texts of the *Matsya* (121, 66), *Vāyu* (47, 64) and *Brahmāṇḍa* (51, 66) Purāṇas do not support this view.

[5] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

3 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्त्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्त्रस्य म*][हा]राजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्त्रस्य[1]

4 लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्त्रस्य*] [महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजा*]धिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-पुत्त्रस्य[2]

5 महादेव्यां दत्त[देव्यामुत्पन्नस्य*] [स्वयमप्रतिरथस्य*] [परम*]-भागवतस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्त्रस्य[2]

6 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्याभि[व]र्द्धमान-विजय-राज्य-संवत्सरे षण्णवते[3]

7 [अस्यान्दि]वस-पूर्व्वायां[4] भगवतस्त्रैलोक्य-तेजस्संभार-संभूताद्भुत[5]-मूर्त्तेर्ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य

8 * * * * निवासिनः स्वामि-महासेनस्यायतने[ऽ*]स्मिन्कार्त्तयुगाचार-सद्धर्म्म-वर्त्मानुयायिना

9 [माता][6] * * * * * * [प]र्षदा मानितेन ध्रुवशर्म्मणा कर्म्म महत्कृतेदम्[7] ।

10 कृ[त्वा] [नेत्र*]ाभिरामां मु[नि-वसति][मिह*] [स्व]र्ग[8]-सोपान-[रू]पां ।[9] कौबेरच्छन्दबिम्बां स्फटिकमणिदलाभास-गौरां प्रतीलीम् ।[10]

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[1] The illegible portion in lines 1-3 can be restored from passages in the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

[2] For the faulty construction here (properly समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्त्रस्य) and in line 5 (properly चन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्त्रस्य), see *supra*, p. 181, note 4, and the Gaṛhā inscription, p. 185.

[3] Read षण्णवतितमे. राज्यसंवत्सर = regnal year; but, when eras came into use, the same expression was technically used also with the year of an era (which took the place of the regnal year) just to indicate that the particular year of the era falls in the reign-period of the king. When both of them are mentioned, sometimes a distinction is made between the regnal year and the year of an era (cf. *supra*, No. 9).

[4] See *supra*, p. 124 text line 1; p. 137, note 3, etc. पूर्व्वा = what has been given above; the date indicated above; cf. मालव-पूर्व्वा in one record. The word *pūrvā* is often used in respect of *tithi* (date) and *praśasti* (eulogy).

[5] Fleet : संतता॰. See Jagannath in *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

[6] The lacuna may be filled up as मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यार्थं साधु-पर्षदा.

[7] Read कृतमिदम्.

[8] The letters are indistinct in the first half of line 10.

[9] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. कौबेरच्छन्द is a kind of pearl necklace.

[10] Properly गौरीं. प्रतोली = 'street, main road of a city', according to lexicons. Here the meaning appears to be 'a gateway, a gateway with a flight of steps'.

11 प्रासादाग्राभिरूपं गुणवर-भवनं [धर्म्म-स*]त्त्[1] यथावत् ।[2]
पुण्येष्वेवाभिरामं व्रजति शुभमतिस्तात-शर्म्मा-ध्रुवो(ऽ*)स्तु[3] ।(।*) 1
12 — ा — ी — स्य ⌣ — शुभामृतवर-प्रख्यात-ल[ब्धा भुवि] ।[4]
—̀ —̀ भक्तिरहीन-सत्व[5]-समता कस्तं न संपूजयेत् ।
13 [येनापूर्व्व*]-विभूति-सञ्चय-चयैः शैली ⌣ — — ⌣ — ः ।[4]
तेनायं ध्रुवशर्म्मणा स्थिर-वरस्तम्भो[च्छ्र]यः कारितः ।(।*) 2

No. 16—Dhānāidaha Copper-plate Inscription [of the time of Kumāragupta I]—Gupta Year 113 (=432-33 A.D.)

DHĀNĀIDAHA, Rājshāhī District, North Bengal (East Pakistan)

R. D. BANERJI, *J. A. S. B.*, V, pp. 459ff.; R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 347f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1267.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[6]

1 …………[स*]म्वत्सर-श[ते][7] त्रयोदशोत्त[रे*][8]

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[1] The restoration is due to Fleet.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[3] "May the venerable Śarmā endure for a long time". Here the second part of the name (शर्मा) represents the whole name (ध्रुवशर्मा). See *supra*, p. 269, note 3. There is a play on the word ध्रुव.

[4] The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[5] Read सत्त्व.

[6] From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. The record is fragmentary. Lines 15-16 show that each complete line of the epigraph contained some 40 *aksharas*. This is the right half of the original record containing about 22 *aksharas* in a line. But lines 1-5 and 16-17 are further damaged. According to Banerji, the fragments of the upper left corner which was broken in the exhibition ground in 1906-07 contained the two *aksharas* म and र which are evidently the second and third syllables of Kumāragupta's name. Nos. 16, 18, 19, etc., are essentially sale-deeds and not records of free gift. They record semi-gifts, the state land being sold at a reduced rate to Brāhmaṇas, etc., who purchased it with religious motives. The land was probably rent-free.

[7] Read संवत्सर. Some 28 *aksharas* are lost; but they may be conjecturally restored as १˝ चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादितयशसो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-कुमारगुप्तस्य संवत्सर॰.

[8] Here followed the names of the month and the *tithi* (cf. *infra*, No. 17, lines 3-4).

2 [सं १००+१०+३*]............ [अस्या*][न्दि]वस-पूर्व्वायां परमदैवत-पर-

3 [म-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीपतौ*] ...... कुटु[म्बि][1]

.... ब्राह्मण-शिवशर्म्म-नागशर्म्म-मह-

4 ....वकीर्त्ति-क्षेमदत्त[2]-गोष्ठक-वर्ग्गपाल-पिङ्गल-शुङ्कक-काल-

5 . ... विष्णु-[देव]शर्म्म-विष्णुभद्र[3]-खासक-रामक-गोपाल-

6 ....श्रीभद्र-सोमपाल-रामाद्यक(?)-ग्रामाष्टकुलाधिकरणञ्च[4]

7 ....विष्णुना(णा) विज्ञापिता इह खादा टा?)पार[5]-विषये(ऽ*)नुवृत्त-

मर्य्यादास्थि[ति]-

8 ....नीवीधर्म्म[ा]क्षयेण[6] लभ्य[ते] (।*) [त]दर्हथ ममाद्यानेनैव[7] क्क्रमेन(ण) दा[तुं]

9 ......समेत्या(?)भिहितै(ः*) सर्व्वमेव * * कर[8]-प्रतिवेशि(?)-कुटुम्बिभिरवस्थाप्य क-

10 ..... * रि * कन * यदितो * * [त]दवधृतमिति यतस्तथेति प्रतिपाद्य

11 ....[अष्टक-न*]वक-नला[भ्या]मपविञ्छ्य क्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप(ः*) मेकं(एकः)[9]

दत्तं(त्तः)(।*) ततः आयुक्तक-

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[1] The word *kuṭumbin* means 'an agriculturist householder'.

[2] Banerji : चमवन्त. The previous name is something like Śivakīrti.

[3] Banerji : विष्यभद्र.

[4] अष्टकुल, like पञ्चमण्डली (mod. पञ्चायत्) of *supra*, No. 12, may indicate the Pañchāyat Board. अधिकरण=court of justice and office of administration. The passage thus seems to mean 'the office of the Pañchāyat Board of the village'. अष्टकुल=eight families=representatives of eight (or more) families forming the board of administration.

[5] Banerji : महाखुषापार.

[6] I.e. अक्षयेन नीवीधर्म्मेण. Basak has धर्म्मंचयेण.

[7] मम=मह्यम्.

[8] Probably चेत्रकर.

[9] कुल्यवाप (lit. 'area which required one *kulya* of seed grains of the main crops') may be related to Old Beng. *kuṛobā*=mod. *bighā* (80×80=6400 square cubits=1600 sq. yards=$\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre which is 4840 sq. yards). But it appears to be a much larger area. This is supported by the price of a Kulyavāpa of land (4 Dīnāras=64 Rūpakas per Kulyavāpa of arable land and 2 Dīnāras=32 Rūpakas per K. of fallow land) considering the apparently high purchasing power of the Gupta coins. 4 Āḍhakas=1 Droṇa and 8 Droṇas=1 Kulya; therefore 4 Āḍhavāpas=1 Droṇavāpa and 8 Droṇavāpas=1 Kulyavāpa. In regard to Bengal, the reference should be to paddy seeds or more probably seedlings. According to the Bengal school of Smṛiti writers, a Droṇa of paddy is equal to 1 md. 24 srs. or 2 mds. As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 md. of paddy for 10 Bighās, seedlings of one Kulya of paddy would require between 125 and 160 Bighās. If it is supposed that the system refers to sowing of seeds and not of seedlings, one Kulyavāpa would be from 38 to 48 Bighās as the rate is 1 md. of paddy seeds for 3 Bighās. The Āṛhā (Āḍhavāpa), Don (Droṇavāpa) and Kulvāy (Kulyavāpa) are well-known units of land measurement in different parts of Bengal. But their present area have nothing to do with the original measurements. The areas have been modified owing to the

12 …… *श्ना(?)त्टकटक-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो दत्तं(त्तम्) (।*)
त[द्भव]-[1]

13 …… भूम्या दा[नाक्षे]पे च गुणागुणमनुचिन्त्य शरीर-क[ा*]ञ्चनकस्य चि-

14 [र-चञ्चलत्वं*] …… (॥*) [उ]क्तञ्च भगवता द्वैपायनेन (।*)
स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा[2]

15 [यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
[स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृ*]भिः सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि(णि) स्वर्गे मोदति [भू]मिदः (।*)

16 [आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥*] 2
[पू*]र्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीं [मही][मतां श्रे ष्ठ*]

17 [दानाच्छ्रेयोऽनुपालनं (नम्) (॥*) 3
……………………यं…[3]भद्रेन उत्कीर्ण्णा स्थम्भेश्वरदासे[न][4] (॥*)

No. 17—Karamdaṇḍā Stone Linga Inscription

of the time of Kumāragupta I

—Gupta Year 117 (=436 A.D.)

Bharāḍhī Ḍīh, near KARAMDĀṆḌĀ, Faizābād District, U.P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 71f, ; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1270 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

TEXT[5]

1 नमो महादेवाय । म[हाराजाधिराज-श्री] [चन्द्रगुप्त-पादा*]-

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varying length of the measuring rod as prevalent in different regions. See *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, pp. 943ff. See *infra*, Nos. 19 and 42 and notes. अपविञ्छ्य=severing=separating=measuring out.

[1] Possibly we have to restore भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानुमोद्यानुपालनीयं. ०स्वामिनः=°स्वामिने.

[2] Read दत्तां वा.

[3] The intended reading may be [लिखिता पट्टिके]यं अमात्य-भद्रेण. Traces of क before यं are visible. Basak reads सु(?)श्रीभद्रेन(ण).

[4] Read स्तम्भे°, Banerji reads स्थल्लेश्वर.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The script is described as the so-called western variety of the Gupta alphabet. The eastern variety is characterised by the letters

2 नुध्यातस्य चतुधु(रु)दधि-सलिलास्वादित-य[शसो] [महाराजा*]-

3 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्य- संवत्स[र]-शते सप्तदशोत्त[रे*]

4 कार्त्तिक-मास-दशम-दिवसे(ऽ*)स्यान्दिवस-पूर्व्वायां [च्छान्दोग्याचार्य्याश्व]वाजि-

5 सगोत्र-कुरम[ा]र[व्य?]भट्टस्य पुत्रो विष्णुपालितभट्टस्तस्य पू(पु)त्रो मह[ा]र[ा]-

6 जधिजाजा[1]-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यश्शिखरस्वाम्यभूतस्य पुत्रः

7 पृथिवीषेणो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो(ऽ*)न-

8 न्तरं च महाबलाधिकृतः[2] भगवतो महादेवस्य पृथिवीश्वर[3] इत्येवं समाख्यातस्या-

9 स्यैव भगवतो यथाकर्त्तव्य-धार्म्मिक-कर्म्मणा पाद-शुश्रूषणाय भगवच्छै-

10 लेश्वरस्वामि-महादेव-पादमूले आयोध्यक-नानागोत्रचरण तपः-

11 स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूक्त-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग-भारडिदसमद-देवद्रोण्यां[4]

12 ... ...

No. 18—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumaragupta I

—Gupta Year 124 (=444 A.D.)

DĀMODARPŪR, Dinājpur District, North Bengal, now in East Pakistan. R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 130 f.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verse 1 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

म (without a crescent-like curve in the left side), स (with a loop instead of the left curve) and ह (with the horizontal base absent and the lower part curved to left) I have not adopted the nomenclature as the forms are actually pre-Gupta and as they are sometimes used indiscriminately with the alternative forms.

[1] Read ०जाधिराज.

[2] See *supra*, p. 268, note 1; p. 272, note 9. Cf. अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्य in *supra* No 11, line 3.

[3] The Liṅga was apparently named after Prithivīshena. For the use of only the first part of the devotee's name in coining the name of the god installed, cf. Śiva installed under the name Mihireśvara by a lady named Mihiralakshmī in the Nirmand inscription (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 288). Fleet's suggestion that the name refers to a combination of solar and Saiva worship is apparently wrong.

[4] The lower portion of the *aksharas* of line 11 are broken away, and भारडिदसमद is doubtful. Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bhāraḍi (Bhāraḍida)?

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 सम्ब[2] १०० (+*) २० (+*) ४ फाग्गुण-दि[3] ७ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-
महाराज[ा*]-

2 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते पुण्ड्रवर्द्ध[न*]-

3 भुक्ताद्दुपरिक[4]-चिरातदतेनानुवलवानक[5]-कोटिवर्ष-विषये च त-

4 न्नियुक्तक[6]-कुमारामात्य-वेत्रवर्म्मन्य(ण्य)धिष्ठाणाधिकरणञ्च नगरश्रेष्ठि-

5 धृतिपाल-सार्त्थवाहवन्धुमित्र[7]-प्रथमकुलिकधृतिमित्र-प्रथमका[य*]-

6 स्थशाम्बपाल-पुरोगे संव्यवहरति[8]   यतः ब्राह्मण कर्प्पटिकेण(न)

---

and that समद may be समुद्र, an epithet of Śiva, But Samudra may be the *nām-aka-deśa* of a deity called Samudreśvara. One may suggest the correction पारगो भारडिद-समुद्र°. In that case, Bhāraḍida may possibly be identified with Bharāḍhī. देवद्रोणी=a procession with idols. But the passage श्रीसोमनाथ-देवद्रोणी-प्रतिबद्ध-महायणान्त:पाति° of the Veraval inscription, line 12, may suggest that the word sometimes meant the property of a temple. See *Ep. Ind.*: XXXIV, pp. 143-44 : also No. 46, note, below.

[1] From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

[2] Read संव which is a construction of संवत्सर: or संवत्सरे.

[3] Read फाल्गुन. दि stands for दिवस: or दिवसे.

[4] Read भुक्तावुप°. The city of Puṇḍravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* or province of this name comprised the Bogrā-Rājshāhī-Dinājpur region of North Bengal, though in a later period it also included parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. The chief town of Koṭivarsha=Bāṇapura (=Bāṇanagara, mod. Bāṇgaṛh)=Devīkoṭa was in the present Dinājpur District.

[5] Read °दत्ते अनुवहमानक°. उपरिक is the title of a provincial governor. *Infra*, No. 12 has °दत्तस्य भोगेनानु° (ever prospering under the rule of.. ...).

[6] Note that the governor of the *vishaya* was appointed by that of the *bhukti*.

[7] Read बन्धु.

[8] अधिष्ठान=city; अधिकरण=office of administration. Note that the governor was helped in the administration by a Pañchāyat Board of 4 members, viz., the guild-president the merchant, the representative of the artisan class and the representative of the writer class who possibly acted as secretary of the Board. The Board seems to have worked like the West Indian Chauthiā (Chaturjātaka) of which the chairman is the Nagar-seṭh (Nagara-śreshṭhin) and the Paṭel (village headman) and Paṭwari (accountant-scribe =Kāyastha) are members. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 6, note 2; XXXIII, p. 193; XXXIV, p. 142ff; etc. Note also that Mitra is typically and Pāla, etc., are usually cognomens of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. The Kāyasthas appear to be a mixed caste with both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa elements. So also are the Vaidyas. This is due to the fact that both are professional castes. The despised Vaidya born of Śūdra father and Vaiśya mother (*Mahābhārata*, XIII, 9) is the outcast now called Vediyā and has little to do with the Bengal Vaidyas. For non-Brāhmaṇical family names among the Brāhmaṇas, cf. the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate below.

7 विज्ञापित(म्*) अरर्हथ[1] ममाग्निहोत्रोपयोगाय[2] अप्रदाप्रहत-खि-

8 ल-क्षेत्र[ं*][3] त्वदीनारिक्य-कुल्यावापेण[4] शश्वता(दा)चन्द्रार्क्क-तारक-भोज्ये[त*]-

Second Side

9 या[5] नीवी-धर्म्मेण दातुमिति एवं दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने विनी[6] दीना[राण्यु*]-

10 पसंगृह्य यतः पुस्तपाल-रिशिदत्त[7]-जयनन्दि-विभुदत्तानामवधा-

11 रणया डोङ्गाया उत्तर-पश्चिणद्देशे[8] कुल्यवापमेकम् दत्तम्[9] (॥*)

12 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्बा[10] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
भूमि-[दान]-संवद्धा[ः*] श्लोका भवन्ति (।*)[11]

13 स विष्ठायां क्रिमिभूत्वा[12] पितृभि सह पच्यतेति[13] (।*) 1

No. 19—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I

—Gupta Year 128 (=447 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dināǰpur District, Bengal, now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 133 f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 193.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

---

[1] Read अर्हथ.

[2] *I.e.*, utilisation in the maintenance of sacred fire.

[3] खिल and अप्रहत both mean 'untilled land'. अप्रहत may here mean 'unreclaimed land'. प्रदा=gift; so अप्रदा=non-transferable (or unsettled) property. See below, No. 39, note. For नीवि, see *supra*, p. 152, note 10.

[4] Read वैदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन. Dīnāra is the Gupta gold coin named after the Roman Denarius which was the name of both a gold and a silver coin, the gold coin being specifically called Aureus.

[5] Read भोग्य०.

[6] Read वीथि. दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने =तथेति प्रतिपाद्य.

[7] Correctly ०पालर्षिदत्त *Pustapāla*=record-keeper. He determined whether the land could be and should be sold to the party.

[8] Read पश्चिमोद्देशे. Ḍoṅgā was a locality.

[9] Read ०वाप: एक: दत्त:.

[10] Read दत्तां वा.

[11] Properly भूमिदान-संबद्ध: श्लोको भवति and it should be read before स्वदत्तां.

[12] The usual spelling is कृमि.

[13] Read पितृभि: सह पच्यते ॥ इति ॥

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 स[ं] १०० (+*) २० (+*)८[2] वैशाख-दि १०(+*) ३ पर[मदैव]त-
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-[श्री][कुमा*]-

2 रगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ [तत्पाद]-परिगृहीतस्य पु[ण्ड्र[व र्द्ध]न-भुक्तावुप[रिक-चि]रात-
दत्त[स्य]

3 भोगेना[नुव]ह[मानक]-कोटिव[र्ष]-विषये तन्नियुक्तक-कु[मा]रामात्य-वे[त्र]-

4 वर्म्मणि[3] अधिष्ठाना[धिक]र[णञ्च] नगर[श्रे]ष्ठिधृतिपाल-सार्थवा[ह्व(ब)न्धुमि]त्र-प्र[थ]-

5 मकुलिकधृतिमित्र-[प्रथ]मकायस्थ[शाम्ब]पाल-पुरो[गे] सम्व्यव[हर]ति[4] [यतः*] स...[5]

6 विज्ञापितं अ[र्ह]थ[6] मम प[ञ्च]-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनायानुवृत्ताप्रदाक्षयनि[वी*]-[7]

7 मर्य्यादया दातुमिति (।*) एतद्विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपा[ल]-रिसिदत्त[8]-जयन[न्दि-वि]-
[भुदत्तानामव*]-

8 धारणया दीयतामित्यु[त्प]न्ने[9] एतस्माद्य[था]नुवृत्त-द्वैदीनारि[क्य-कु]ल्यवापे[न]

Second Side

9 [द्व]यमुप[संगृ]ह्य[10] [ऐरा]वता[गो]राज्ये पश्चिण[11]-दिशि पञ्चद्रो[णा]-

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[1] From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

[2] Basak : ६.

[3] Here as well as in many other records सन्धि has not been observed. सन्धि however is optional in Sanskrit prose, though in poetry it is compulsory and its violation there is called विसन्धि-दोष by grammarians.

[4] Read संव्य॰.

[5] Evidently this portion contained the name of the purchaser with the third case-ending.

[6] Read ॰पितमर्ह॰.

[7] Read नीवी॰. अनुवृत्त=customary, following the general rule. For the पञ्चमहायज्ञ, see मनु, III, 69.

[8] The name is ऋषिदत्त. Read ॰पालर्षिदत्त.

[9] उत्पन्न=ascertained, decided. अवधारणा=ascertainment, determination, affirmation. Cf. तथेति प्रतिपाद्य in *supra*, No. 16, line 10. See also *infra*, No. 41, note.

[10] दीनारद्वय॰ is to be understood. In that case 5 *droṇas* (=*droṇavāpas*) would be equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ *kulyavāpa* and $7\frac{1}{2}$ *droṇas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. Actually, however, 8 *droṇas*=1 *kulya*; 8 *droṇavāpas*=1 *kulyavāpa*. The *droṇ* is a land measure in many parts of Bengal even today; but it varies greatly according to the length of the measuring rod which again is of different length in different parts of the country. In some parts of Bengal the *droṇ* is a little less than 7 acres. See *infra*, Nos. 37, 42 and 43, and notes.

[11] Read पश्चिम.

10 [म]काः[1] ह[ट्ट]-पानकैश्च[2] सहितेति[3] दत्ताः (।*) तदुत्तर-कालं सम्व्यवहारिभिः[4] [धर्म्ममवेक्ष्या]नु[म]-

11 न्तव्याः[5] (।*) अपि च भूमि-दान सम्वद्धामिमौ[6] श्लोकौ भवतः (।*)
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजाति[भ्यो]

12 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीं महीवतां[7] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपा(ल*)नं[8] (॥*) 1
वहुभिर्व्वसुधा[9] दत्ता दी[य]ते च

13 पुनः पुनः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति[10] (॥*) 2

No. 20—Mankuwar Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of the time of Kumaragupta I

—Gupta Year 129 (=448 A.D.)

MANKUWAR, Allahābād District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 46 f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1273 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class[11]

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[1] Read °त्मकाः (भूखण्डाः*).

[2] It is difficult to accept the suggestion of F. W. Thomas that we should read here घरट्ट and translate the passage, "with drinking places having Persian wheels." हट्टपानकैः = हट्टापानकैः, 'together with the market place (*haṭṭa*) and the sheds for watering cattle (*āpāna*)'.

[3] Read सहिता इति.

[4] Read संव्य° = by the administering agents.

[5] अनुमन्तव्य = should be approved.

[6] Read सम्बद्धावि°.

[7] Read मही्मतां.

[8] Read °नम्. Often in inscriptions we find the *anusvāra* used in such cases.

[9] Read बहुभि°.

[10] Properly फलम् ॥ इति.

[11] The script is the so-called Eastern Gupta alphabet (cf. *supra*, p. 289, note 5).

TEXT[1]

1 १ँ नमो बुधान[2] (।*) भगवतो[3] सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्व-मताविरुद्धस्य[4] इयं प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता भिक्षु-बुद्धमित्रेण[5]

2 सम्बत्[6] १०० (+*)२० (+*) ९ महाराज[7]-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य राज्ये ज्येष्ठमास[8]-दि १० (+*) ८ सर्व-दुःक्ख-प्रहानात्र्थम्[9] (॥*)

No. 21—Inscription on the Aśvamedha type Gold Coins of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 66 ff.

First Side[10]

Horse standing to right, wearing breast-band and saddle, before *yūpa* on altar, the pennons from which fly over the back of the horse; between the legs of the horse, inscription in the Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

श्वमध (=अश्वमेधः or अश्वमेधाश्वः)[11]

Second Side

Mahishī Anantadevī standing to left, nimbate, holding chowry over right shoulder and some object in left hand, wearing ear-rings, necklace, armlets and anklets; sacrificial spear bound with fillets on left; border of dots; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters:—

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] The word सिद्धम् is expressed by the symbol. Possibly Prakrit बुद्धानं is intended. Read बुद्धेभ्यः or बुद्धाय.

[3] Read भगवतः.

[4] *I.e.*, 'one who was consistent with his own teachings,' 'who lived according to his own teachings.'

[5] There is no reason to identify this Buddhamitra with any particular monk of this name known from the history of Buddhism.

[6] Read संवत् which is a contraction of संवत्सरे or संवत्सरः.

[7] *Mahārāja* for *Mahārājādhirāja* in an unofficial record is of no historical importance.

[8] ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ.

[9] Read दुःख-प्रहाणार्थम्.

[10] From representation in Allan's Catalogue, Plate XII, No. 14; see also No. 13.

[11] On one specimen, we have जयत दव कुमर (=जयति दिवं कुमारगुप्तोऽयं ; Metre : उपगीति).

[श्री]-अश्व[मे]ध-महेन्द्र[ः*][1]

No. 22—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 124 (=443-44 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 107 ff., Nos. 385 ff.

First Side[2]

Head of king to right as on the silver issues of Chandragupta II; on right:—[व १००*] (+*) २० (+*) ४ (=गुप्तवर्ष १२४)[3]

Second Side

Peacock[4] standing, facing, with head to left and wings and tail outspread; border of dots; legend in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

[विजितावनिरव*]नि-पति[ः*] कुमारगुप्तो दिवं ज[यति*][5] (॥*)

---

[1] Properly, आश्वमेध°.

[2] From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XVII, Nos. 11ff. This type is supposed to have been issued in the Ganges valley. The West Indian issues have a Garuḍa on the reverse. Kumāragupta's viceroy in Mālwā was his brother, *Mahārāja* Govindagupta who is known from a Basāṛh clay seal and from a Mandasor record (of the Mālava year 524 =467 A.D.) of Dattabhaṭa, son of Govindagupta's general Vāyurakshita. See *infra*.

[3] Other specimens of this variety have the dates 118, 119 and 122 of the Gupta era, corresponding respectively to 437-38, 438-39 and 441-42 A.D.

[4] The peacock reminds us of the Peacock type of the gold coins of Kumāragupta I, having, on obverse, king feeding peacock from bunch of fruit and, on reverse, god Kārttikeya riding on his peacock called Paravāṇi by some authorities. Kārttikeya and his emblem, the peacock, on these coins apparently refer to the king's name *Kumāra* which indicates that god.

[5] Metre आर्या or उपगीति. The *anusvāra* and vowel-marks are not found on the Plate.

No. 23—Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Kumaragupta I and Ghaṭotkachagupta—

Gupta Year 116 (=435-36 A.D.)

TUMAIN, Guna District, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

M. B. Garde, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Owing to the fragmentary nature of the record the stanzas have not been numbered and metres have been indicated in the foot-notes.

TEXT[1]

1 ......⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— — —⏑— —⏑— —
⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— — —⏑— —⏑— —
⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑[र]ारिर्य्यंस्य[2] लोकत्रयान्ते ।
चरणकमलंमत्त्यं[3] वन्द्ये(न्द्य)ते सिद्धसङ्हैः[4] (॥*)[5]
राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनु जयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्
2 — — — —⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— —(।*)
— — — —⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— —
— — — —⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— —(॥*)[6]
…श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः
कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्] (।*)
ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्म्मपत्नीम्[7]
वीर्य्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् (॥*)[8]
3 … — — ⏑ — ⏑   ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [गब्भ(र्भ)]-गौरः (।*)

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. The first word may be मुरारि.

[3] Read कामलमन्त्यं.

[4] Read सङ्घैः.

[5] Metre : मालिनी.

[6] Metre : स्रग्धरा.

[7] Read पत्नीं. Note the verb *raraksha* in the Perfect tense, even though Kumāragupta was the ruling monarch of the time (cf, line 4 below).

[8] Metre : उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा).

क्षित्यम्बरे गुणसमूहमयूखजालो
नाम्नोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः (॥*)[1]
स पूर्व्वजानां स्थिरसत्व(स्व)कीर्त्ति-
भुंजार्ज्जितां कीर्त्तिमभिपपद्य ॥[2]

4 ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (॥*)[3]...
[गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्][4]
समा-शते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते ।
कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ प्रिथिव्याम्[5]
विराजामाने[6] शरदीव सूर्य्ये ॥[7]
वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे

5 ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (॥*)[8]...
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — त-
श्श्रीदेव इत्यूर्ज्जित नामधेयः (॥*)[9]
तदग्रजो(ऽ*)भूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञ-
स्ततो(ऽ*)नुजो यस्तु स धन्यदेवः (।*)
ततो(ऽ*)वरो यश्च स भद्रदेव-
स्ततᳵकनीयानपि सङ्हदेव[ः][10] (॥*)[11]

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[1] Metre: वसन्ततिलका. Ghaṭotkachagupta seems to have been Kumāragupta's son or brother and the viceroy of East Malwa.

[2] Only one *daṇḍa* is enough for proper punctuation.

[3] Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

[4] Read ०श्वराणां.

[5] Read पृथिव्यां.

[6] Read विराज०.

[7] Metre : उपजाति.

[8] Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Vaṭodaka has been identified with the village of Badoh in the Bhilsa (Vidisa) District, old Gwalior State.

[9] Metre : इन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

[10] Read सङ्घ०.

[11] Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा.

6 ...⏒ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –
⏒ – ⏑ – – ⏑ न-सक्त-चित्ताः (।*)
समानवृत्ताकृति[भावधीराः]
[कृता]लयास्तुम्बवने व[भू]वुः ॥[1]
अकारयंस्ते गिरि[श्रि]ङ्ग-तुङ्गं[2]
शशि-[प्रभं] देवनि[वास-हर्म्यंम्*] (।*)
⏒ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –
⏒ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – (॥*)[3]

No. 24—Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarman—

Malava[4] Years 493 and 529 (=436 and 473 A.D.)

MANDASOR, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 81 ff.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 6 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2. **शार्दूलविक्रीडित**; V. 3 **वसन्ततिलका**; V. 4 **आर्या**; Vv. 5-6 **वसन्ततिलका**; Vv. 7-9 **उपेन्द्रवज्रा**; V. 10 **उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा)**; V. 11 **वसन्ततिलका**; V. 12 **उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा)**; V. 13 **आर्या**; V. 14 **वसन्ततिलका**; V. 15 **द्रुतविलम्बित**; V. 16 **हरिणी**; V. 17 **इन्द्रवज्रा**; V. 18 **वसन्ततिलका**;

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[1] Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Tumbavana is modern Tumain in the Guna District, old Gwalior State.

[2] Read शृङ्ग.

[3] Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. The stanza records the construction of a Vishṇu temple (cf. line 1).

[4] See V. 35 below, and *supra*, p. 91, note 6. The era which became connected with the name of Vikramāditya about the 8th century A.D. was earlier known as the *Kṛita* era or the era of the Mālavas or of the Mālava kings. As regards *Kṛita*, it may be noticed that we have also the spelling *Krita* (=*Krīta*?) in early records. According to Buddhist traditions, Madhyāntika who preached Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kashmīra, built 500 monasteries, and "he bought foreign slaves to serve the Brethren. Sometimes after his decease, these inferiors became *rulers of the country*, but neighbouring states despising them as a lowborn breed would not have intercourse with them and called them *Krita* or 'the

V. 19 मालिनी; V. 20 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 21 आर्या ; V. 22 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 23 वंशस्थ ; V. 24 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 25 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 26 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 28 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; Vv. 30-32 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 33 आर्या (defective, with यतिभङ्गदोष) ; Vv. 34-37 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) ; Vv. 38-39 आर्या (with यतिभङ्गदोष in V. 39); V. 40 वसन्ततिलका ; Vv. 41-42 आर्या ; V. 43 मालिनी ; V. 44 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

1 [सिद्धम् ॥]

[यो] [वृत्य(स्य)र्थं]मुपास्यते सुर-गणै[स्सिद्धैश्च] सिद्ध्यर्त्थिभि-
र्ध्यानैकाग्र-परैर्व्विधेय-विषयैर्म्मोक्षार्त्थिभिर्य्योगिभिः ।
भक्त्या तीव्र-तपोधनैश्च मुनिभिश्शाप-प्रसाद-क्षमै-
र्हेतुर्य्यो जगतᳵक्षयाभ्युदययो≍पायात्सवो भास्करः ।(।*) 1[2]

तत्व[3]-ज्ञान-विदो(ऽ*)पि यस्य न विदुर्ब्रह्मर्षं-

2 यो(ऽ*)भ्युद्यता-
ᳵकृत्स्नं यश्च गभस्तिभिः प्रवृसृतै≍पु[ष्ण]ाति लोक-त्रयम् ।
ग[न्ध]र्व्वामर-सिद्ध-किन्नर-नरैस्संस्तूयते(ऽ*)भ्युत्थितो
भक्तेभ्यश्च ददाति यो(ऽ*)भिलषितं तस्मै सवित्रे नमः ।(।*) 2

य≍[प्र]त्यहं प्रतिविभात्युदयाचलेन्द्र-
विस्तीर्ण्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखर-स्खलितांशुजालः (।*)
क्षीबाङ्गना-

Bought' (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 265). If it may be believed that the background of the above tradition is the Skytho-Parthian occupation of N.W. India (and that some of those foreign kings had originally been slaves like those of the Turkish Slave dynasty of a later period), the name *Krita* (= *Krīta*; *Kṛita* may be a later emendation) may refer to the foreign origin of the era. That this era and the earlier Skytho-Parthian era are identical is suggested by the date (year 103) of the Takti-Bāhī inscription (*supra*, pp. 125f.) of the Parthian king Gondopharnes who was a contemporary of St. Thomas and lived in the first century A.D. according to Christian traditions. Cf. *Vikrama Volume*, ed. R. K. Mookerjee, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 557 ff.

[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III; cf. *infra*, Nos. 51-52.

[2] Note the use of the उपध्मानीय (old *visarga* before प् and फ्) indicated by ≍ and the जिह्वामूलीय (old *visarga* before क् and ख्) by ᳵ here and elsewhere in the record.

[3] Read तत्त्व.

3 जन-कपोळ-तलाभिताम्र-
-पायात्स वस्सु[कि]रणाभ[रणो] विवस्वान् ।(।*) 3
कुसुमभराननततरुवर-देवकुल-सभा-विहार-रमणियात्[1] ।
लाट-विषयान्नगावृत-शैळाज्जगति प्रथित-शिल्पाः ।(।*) 4
ते देश-पार्त्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाश-
मध्वादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखा-
4 न्यपास्य ।
जातादरा दशपुरं[2] प्रथमं मनोभि-
रन्वागतास्ससुत-बन्धु-जनास्समेत्य ॥ 5
मत्तेभ-गण्ड-तट-विच्युत-दान-बिन्दु-
सिक्तोपलाचळ-सहस्र-विभूषाणायाः[3] (।*)
पुष्पावनम्र-तरु-षण्ड[4]-वतंसकाया
भूमे परन्तिलक-भूतमिदं क्रमेण ॥ 6
तटोत्थ-वृक्ष-च्युत-
5 नैक-पुष्प-
विचित्र-तीरान्त-जलानि भान्ति ।
प्रफुल्ल-पद्माभरणानि यत्र
सरांसि कारण्डव[5]-संकुलानि ॥ 7
विलोल-वीची-चळितारविन्द -
पतद्रजः-पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः ।
स्व-केसरोदार-भरावभुग्नैः
क्वचित्सरांस्यम्बुरुहैश्च भान्ति ।(।*) 8
स्व-पुष्प-भारावनतैर्न्नगेन्द्रै-
र्मद-
6 प्रगल्भालि-कुल-स्वनैश्च ।
अजस्रगाभिश्च पुराङ्गनाभि-

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[1] Read रमणीयात्. Lāṭa was the modern Nausari-Broach region. Navasārikā (mod. Nausārī) in the Surat District of Gujarat was one of its chief cities.

[2] Modern Man-Dasor (Mandasor).

[3] Read विभूषणायाः.

[4] Fleet: मण्ड; R. G. Bhandarkar suggested the emendation खण्ड (*Collected Works*, III, p 400). For the reading षण्ड, 'multitude,' see *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

[5] *Kāraṇḍava* is a kind of duck.

र्व्वनानि यस्मिन्समलंकृतानि ॥ 9
चलत्पताकान्यबला-सनाथा-
न्यत्यर्त्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।
तडिल्लता-चित्र-सिताभ्र-कूट-
तुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥ 10
कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्या-
न्याभान्ति दीर्ग्घ-वलभी-
7 नि सवेदिकानि ।
गान्धर्व्व-शब्द-मुखरानि[1] निविष्ट-चित्र-
कर्म्माणि लोल-कदली-वन-शोभितानि ॥ 11
प्रासाद-मालाभिरलंकृतानि
धरां विदार्य्यैव समुत्थितानि ।
विमान-माला-सदृशानि यत्र
गृहाणि पूर्ण्णेन्दु-करामलानि ॥ 12
यद्भात्यभिरम्य-सरिद्वयेन[2] चपलोर्म्मिणा समुपगूढं[3] (।*)
8 रहसि कुच-शालिनीभ्यां प्रीति-रतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥ 13
सत्य-[क्षमा]-दम-शम-व्रत-शौच-धैर्य्य-
[स्वाध्या]य-वृत्त-विनय-स्थिति-बुद्ध्युपेतैः ।
विद्या-तपो-निधिभिरस्मयितैश्च विप्रै-
र्य्यद्भ्राजते ग्रहगणैᳵखमिव प्रदीप्तैः ॥ 14
अथ समेत्य निरन्तर-सङ्गतै-
रहरहः-प्रविजृम्भित-
9 सौहृदाः (।*)
नृपतिभिस्सुतवत्प्रतिम[ा]निताः
प्रमुदिता न्यवसन्त सुखं पुरे ॥ 15
श्रवण-[सु]भग[ं] ध[ा]नुर्व्वे[द्यं] दृढं परिनिष्ठिताः
सुचरित-शतासङ्गाᳵकेचिद्विचित्र-कथाविदः ।
विनय-निभृतास्सम्यग्धर्म्म-प्रसङ्ग-परायणा-
ᳶप्रियमपरुषं पथ्यं चान्ये क्षमा बहु भाषितुं(तुम्) ॥ 16

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[1] Read मुखराणि.

[2] Read सरिद्वयेन.

[3] Properly गूढम् ; but in this record and in others the use of the *anusvāra* is found in many such cases.

10 केचित्स्व-कर्म्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-
र्व्विज्ञायते ज्योतिममात्मवद्भिः[1] ।
[अद्यापि] चान्ये समर-प्रगल्भा-
[××कु]र्व्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसह्य ।(।*) 17
प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञ-वधवः प्रथितोरुवंशा
वंशानुरूप-चरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
सत्यव्रताः प्रणयिनामुपकार-दक्षा
विस्रम्भ-

11 [पूर्व्व]मपरे दृढ-सौहृदाश्च ॥ 18
विजित-विषय-सङ्गैर्द्धर्म्म-शीलैस्तथान्यै-
[र्मृ]दुभि]रधि]क-स[त्वैर्ल्लोकयात्रा]मरैश्च[2] ।
स्व-कुल-तिलक-भूतैर्म्मुक्तरागैरुदारै-
रधिकमभि[वि]भाति श्रेणिरेवंप्रकारैः ॥ 19[3]
तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितो(ऽ*)पि सुवर्ण्ण-हार-
तांबूल-पुष्प-विधिना सम-

12 [लंकृ]तो(ऽ*)पि ।
नारी-जनः श्रियमुपैति[4] न तावदग्र्यां[4]
यावन्न पट्टमय-वस्त्र-[यु]गानि धत्ते ॥ 20
स्पर्श[वता[5] वर्ण्णा]न्तर-विभाग-चित्रेण नेत्र-सुभगेन [।]
यैस्सकलमिदं क्षितितलमलंकृतं पट्टवस्त्रेण ॥ 21
विद्याधरी-रुचिर-पल्लव-कर्ण्णपूर-
वातेरिता[स्थि]रतरं प्रविचिन्त्य

---

[1] Read ज्योतिष॰.

[2] Read सत्त्वै॰

[3] Note that sections of the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lāṭa country (=Nausārī-Broach region), when they settled at Daśapura (=Man-Dasor), adopted different professions, such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This shows the looseness of the caste-restrictions at least in Western India about the time of this record.

[4] Fleet reads प्रिय° and corrects ॰दश्र्यां (his reading for ॰दय्यां) to ॰दग्र्यां. See Jagannath in *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

[5] Jagannath reads स्पर्शाज्जात (*Proc. I. H. C., loc. cit.*). But that does not suit the metre and the sense. Of course स्पर्शजात would suit the metre.

13 [लो]कं(कम्) ।
मानुष्यमर्त्थ-निचयांश्च तथा विशालां
[स्ते]षां शुभा [म]ति[रभूद]चला ततस्तु[1] [॥] 22
चतु[स्समुद्रान्त]-विलोल-मेखलां
सुमेरु-कैलास-बृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्त-वान्त-स्फुट-पुष्प-हासिनीं
कुमारगुप्ते प्रिथिवीं[2] प्रशासति ॥ 23
समान-धीश्शुक्र-बृहस्पतिभ्यां
ललामभूतो भुवि

14 पार्त्थिवानां(नाम्) ।
रणेषु यः पार्त्थ-समानकर्म्मा
बभूव गोप्ता नृप-विश्ववर्म्मा ॥ 24
दीनानुकंपन-परः कृपणार्त्त-वर्गं-
सन्ध[ा]प्रदो(ऽ*)धिकदयालुरनाथ-नाथः ।
[क]ल्पद्रुमः प्रणयिनामभयं प्रदश्च[3]
भीतस्य यो जनपदस्य च बन्धुरासीत् ॥ 25
तस्यात्मजः स्थैर्य्य-नयोपपन्नो
ब[न्धु]-प्रियो

15 बन्धुरिव प्रजानां(नाम्) ।
बंध्वर्त्ति-हर्त्ता नृप-बन्धुवर्म्मा
द्विड्दृप्त-पक्ष-क्षपणैक[द]क्षः ॥ 26
कान्तो युवा रण-पटुर्व्विनयान्वितश्च
राजापि सन्नुपसृतो न मदैः स्मयाद्यैः ।
श्रृङ्गार-मूर्त्तिरभिभात्यनलंकृतो(ऽ*)पि
रूपेण यᳵकुसुम-चाप[4] इव द्वितीयः ॥ 27
वैधव्य-तीव्र-व्यसन-क्षतानां

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[1] The word ततस्तु='and then' is connected with the sentence with कारितं (line 16). The intervening verses are by way of a parenthesis.

[2] Read पृथिवीं.

[3] Better read °भय-प्रदश्च.

[4] Fleet's transcript has याᳵकु°.

16 स्त्रि(स्मृ)त्वा यमद्याप्यरि-सुन्दरीणां(णाम्)[1] ।
भयाद्भवत्यायत-लोचनानां
घन-स्तनायासकरः प्रकम्पः ॥ 28
तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपति-व्रि(वृ)षे बंधुवर्म्मण्युदारे
सम्यक्स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पाळयत्युन्नतांसे ।[2]
[शि]ल्पावाप्तैर्द्धन-समुदयैः पट्टवा[यैरु]दारं
श्रे[णीभूतै]र्भ्भवनमतुलं कारितं
17 दीप्तरश्मेः ॥ 29
विस्तीर्ण्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखरं शिखरि-प्रकाश-
मभ्युद्गतेन्द्वमळ-रश्मि-कलाप-[गौ]रं(रम्) ।
यद्भाति पश्चिम-पुरस्य निविष्ट-कान्त-
चूडामणि-प्रतिसमन्नयनाभिरामं[3] ॥ 30
रामा-सनाथ-[र•]चने दर-भास्करांशु-
वह्नि-प्रताप-सुभगे जल-लीन-मीने ।
चन्द्रांशु-हर्म्यतळ-
18 चन्दन-ताळवृन्त
हारोपभोध[4]-रहिते हिम-दग्ध-पद्मे ॥ 31
रोध्र-प्रियंगुतरु-कुन्दलता-विकोश-
पुष्पा[सव]-प्रमु[दि]ताळि-कलाभिरामे ।
काले तुषार-कण-कर्क्कश-शीत-वात
वेग-प्रनृत्त-लवली-नगणैकशाखे ॥ 32
स्मर-वशग-तरुणजन-वल्लभाङ्गना-विपुळ-कान्त-पीनोरु-
19 स्तन-जघन-घनालिङ्गन-निर्भर्त्सित-तुहिन-हिम-पाते ॥ 33[5]
[मा]लवानां गण-स्थित्या या[ते] शत-चतुष्टये ।

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[1] A म् was originally engraved after णां.

[2] This suggests that Daśapura was the capital of Bandhuvarman.

[3] Read रामम्. Fleet's transcript has रसं. Daśapura is called Paśchimapura, 'city of the west', apparently because it was then one of the greatest cities of Western India.

[4] Read ०भोग.

[5] This verse composed of only one compound and several other defective features of the poem show that the author was only a second or third rate poet. The composition which shows more labour than poetic skill belongs to what is called the Gauḍī-rīti by rhetoricians.

त्रिनवत्यधिके(ऽ*)ब्दानाम्रि(मृ)तौ सेव्य-घनस्तने[1] ॥ 34
सहस्यमास-शुक्लस्य[1] प्रशस्ते(ऽ*)ह्नि त्रयोदशे ।
मङ्गलाचार-विधिना प्रासादो(ऽ*)यं निवेशितः ॥ 35
बहुना समतीतेन
20 कालेनान्यैश्च पार्त्थिवैः ।
व्यशीर्य्यतैकदेशो(ऽ*)स्य भवनस्य ततो(ऽ*)धुना ॥ 36[2]
स्वयशो-[वि](वृ)द्धये सर्व्वमत्युदा(र)मुदारया ।
संस्कारितमिदं भूयः [श्रेण्या] भानुमतो गृहं(हम्) ॥ 37
अत्युन्नतमवदातं नभ स्पृशन्निव[3] मनोहरैश्शिखरैः ।
शशि-भान्वोरभ्युदयेष्वमल-मयूखायतन-
21 भूतं(तम्) ॥ 38
वत्सर-शतेषु पंचसु विंशंत्यधिकेषु[4] नवसु चाब्देषु ।
यातेष्वभिरम्य-[तप]स्यमास[4]-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायां(याम्) ॥ 39
स्पष्टैरशोकतरु-केतक-सिंदुवार-
लोलातिमुक्तकलता-मदयंतिकानां(नाम्)[5] ।
पुष्पोद्गमैरभिनवैरधिगम्य नून-
मैक्यं विजृंभित-शरे हर-पूत-देहे[5] ॥ 40
22 मधुपान-मुदित-मधुकर-कुलोपगीत-नगनैक[6]-पृथु-शाखे ।
काले नव-कुसुमोद्गम-दंतुर-कांत-प्रचुर-रोध्रे ॥ 41

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[1] Fleet ०स्तने. स्थित्या = according to the established custom, i.e., the custom of calculation established by the Republic of the Mālavas; cf. ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या in *infra*, No. 58, line 6. सहस्य = पौष and शुक्ल = शुक्लपक्ष.

[2] Here the period of about 36 years has been mentioned as 'a long time'. Fleet translates, 'under other kings, part of the temple fell into disrepair'. The language, however, seems to support D. Sharma who wants to translate, 'a part of this building was destroyed (damaged?) by other kings'. He thinks of the occupation of Central India by the Hūṇas (*Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 379ff.; IV, pp. 262f.). Bandhuvarman must have died long before 473 A.D. But the passage may refer to an attack on Daśapura by hostile kings and not to the occupation of the kingdom by the Hūṇas, which probably took place later. Cf. the Mandasor inscriptions of the time of Prabhākara and others below.

[3] Alternatively नभः. स्पृशन् (masc.) does not suit गृहं (neut.). Fleet suggests the correction नभः स्पृशतीव which, however, does not suit the text quite well. Read स्पृशत्त्विव. Fleet : मनोहरैः शि०.

[4] Read विंशत्य०. तपस्य = फाल्गुन.

[5] Fleet suggests the correction धूत ; the expression means Madana. Fleet : मदयन्तिकानां.

[6] Read नगणैक.

शशिनेव नभो विमलं कौ[स्तु]भ-मणिनेव शार्ङ्गिणो वक्षः ।
भवन-वरेण तथेदं पुरमखिलमलंकृतमुदारं(रम्) ॥ 42
अमलिन-शशि-
23 लेखा-दंतुरं पिङ्गलानां
परिवहति समूहं यावदीशो जटानां(नाम्) ।
वि[कच[1]-क]मल-मालासंस-सक्तां च शार्ङ्गी
भवनमिदमुदारं शाश्वतन्तावदस्तु ॥ 43
श्रेण्यादेशेन भक्त्या च कारितं भवनं रवेः ।
पूर्व्वा[2] चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना ॥ 44
24 स्वस्ति कर्तृ-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 25—Junagaṛh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Years 136, 137 and 138 (=455, 456 and 457-58 A.D.)

JUNĀGAṚH, former Junāgaṛh State, Kaṭhiāwāṛ, now Junāgaṛh District, Gujarat State.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 58ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1276 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 मालिनी; V. 4 आर्या; V. 5 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 6-12 इन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 13-15 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 16 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

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[1] Fleet : विकट.

[2] The word प्रशस्तिः is understood here पूर्वा=the above (cf. line 7 of the Deogarh rock inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 127; etc.). It has been recently suggested that the word has been used here and in other cases as a synonym of *praśasti* (B. C. Chhabra in *Sarūpabhāratī*, pp. 14-24); but note the use of the word also in relation to *tithi* understood. The word really means 'the *praśasti* or *tithi* quoted or referred to above'. It has also to be noted that, although *pūrvā* is often found in such contexts in epigraphic literature, it is not recognised in the lexicons in the sense of a *praśasti* or *tithi*.

or **वैतालीय-औपच्छन्दसिक** ; Vv. 17-20 **उपजाति** (**इन्द्रवज्रा** + **उपेन्द्रवज्रा**) ; Vv. 21 25 **इन्द्रवज्रा** ; V. 26 **वंशस्थ** ; V. 27 **इन्द्रवज्रा** ; Vv. 28-31 **वंशस्थ** ; Vv. 32-37 **उपजाति** (**इन्द्रवज्रा** + **उपेन्द्रवज्रा**) ; Vv. 38 39 **मालिनी** ; V. 40 **उपजाति** (**वंशस्थ** + **इन्द्रवंशा** ; Fleet wrongly takes it to be **वंशस्थ** defective in the first syllable of the first and third *pādas*) ; Vv. 41-42 **इन्द्रवज्रा** ; Vv. 43-44 **वसन्ततिलका** ; V. 45 **आर्या** (?) ; Vv. 46-47 **वसन्ततिलका**.

TEXT[1]

Part I

1 **सिद्धम् ॥**
श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां
त्रिदशपति-सुखार्त्थं यो बलेराजहार ।
कमल-निलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः
2 **स जयति विजितार्त्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णुः ॥ 1**
तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्री[2]**-परिक्षिप्त-वक्षाः**
स्वभुज-जनित-वीर्यो राजराजाधिराजः ।
नरपति-
3 **भुजगानां मानदर्प्पोत्फणानां**
प्रतिकृति-गरुडा[ज्ञां] निर्व्विषी[ं] चावकर्त्ता ॥ 2[3]
नृपति-गुण-निकेतः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथु-श्रीः[4]
चतुरु[दधि-जल]ान्तां स्फीत-पर्यन्त-देशाम् ।

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. For the early history of the Sudarśana lake, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67. The lake was made exclusively to help cultivation in the Junāgaṛh region. Its history speaks eloquently of the beneficent activities of ancient Indian kings.

[2] Read **शश्वच्छ्री०**

[3] Fleet translates, "who plucked [and utilised] the authority of [his local] representatives who were so many Garuḍas, and used it as antidote against the [hostile] kings who were so many serpents." But **प्रतिकृतिगरुडाज्ञा** may mean 'command conveyed through the Garuḍa in its representation,' i.e., a command under the Garuḍa seal of the Gupta king. **निर्व्विषी** is a kind of grass used as an antidote against all sorts of poison.

[4] Read **०श्रीश्चतु०**

4 अवनिमवनतारिर्यः चकारात्म-संस्थां
पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्म-शक्त्या ॥ 3[1]
अपि[2] च जित[मे]व तेन[2] प्रथयन्ति यशांसि यस्य रिपवो(ऽ*)पि (।*)
आमूल-भग्न-दर्प्पा नि[र्वचना][3] [म्लेच्छ-देशेषु][3] ॥ 4
5 क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुणं प्रधार्य्य
ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान्गुण-दोष-हेतून् ।
व्यपेत्य सर्व्वान्मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्रां(न्ँा)-
ल्लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥ 5[4]
तस्मिन्नृपे शासति नैव कश्चि-
द्धर्म्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।
6 आर्त्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो
दण्डेन[5] वा यो भृश-पीडितः स्यात् ॥ 6
एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां
भग्नाग्र-दर्पा[न्] द्विषतश्च कृत्वा ।
सर्व्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तृन्[6]
संचिन्तया[मा]स बहु-प्रकारम् ॥ 7
स्यात्को(ऽ*)नुरूपो
7 मतिमान्विनितो[7]
मेधा-स्मृतिभ्यामनपेत-भावः ।
सत्यार्जवौदार्य-नयोपपन्नो
माधुर्य-दाक्षिण्य-यशोन्वितश्च ॥ 8

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[1] Cf. Vv. 4 and 6 of *infra*, No. 28.

[2] Fleet's transcript has आपि. Practically, "जितमेव तेन" इति.

[3] This is Fleet's conjectural reading. Mlechchha may indicate the Hūṇas who may have advanced against Central India about the end of Kumāragupta's reign.

[4] मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्र may simply indicate 'princes'; but it may also refer to other Gupta princes who might have struggled with Skandagupta for the imperial throne after Kumāragupta's death. See *supra*, No. 23 and note, and *infra*, No. 31 and note.

[5] Fleet reads दण्ड and suggests the emendation दण्ड्यो. See Jagannath, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

[6] Read गोप्तॄन्. गोप्ता = governor. Skandagupta's deliberation over the appointment of a governor of the westernmost Gupta province may have been due to the Hūṇa menace in Central India. Cf. *infra*, Vv. 12-13.

[7] Read ०न्विनीतो. Note the accomplishments of an ideal ruling officer in verses 8-11; cf. also verses 17-18 and above, p. 180, text line 19.

भक्तो(ऽ*)नुरक्तो नृ-[विशे]ष-युक्तः
सर्व्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्ध-बुद्धिः ।
आनृण्य-भावोपगतान्तरात्माः[1]
सर्व्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः ॥ 9
8 न्यायार्ज्जने(ऽ*)र्थस्य च कः समर्थः
स्यादर्जितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च ।
गोपायितस्यापि [च] वृद्धि-हेतौ
वृद्धस्य पात्र-प्रतिपादनाय ॥ 10
सर्व्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु
यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् ।
आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु पर्णदत्तो
भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः ॥ 11
9 एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन
नैकानहो-रात्र-गणान्स्व-मत्या ।
यः संनियुक्तो(ऽ*)र्थनया कथंचित्
सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनि-पालनाय ॥ 12
नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां
स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवु[ः] (।*)
पूर्व्वेतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं
नियुज्य राजा धृतिमांस्तथाभूत् ।(।*) 13
10 तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मज-भाव-युक्तो
द्विधेव चात्मात्म-वशेन नीतः ।
सर्व्वात्मनात्मेव च रक्षणीयो
नित्यात्मवानात्मज-कान्त-रूपः ।(।*) 14[2]
रूपानुरूपैर्ल्ललितैर्व्विचित्रैः[3]
नित्य-प्रमोदान्वित-सर्व्वभावः ।

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[1] Read ॰रात्मा. नृविशेषयुक्त = endowed with manly characteristics; having relations only with the best men.

[2] "His son, possessed of a filial disposition, as if his own self reduplicated; trained by self control; worthy to be protected like his own self by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form."

[3] Read ॰चित्रैर्नित्य॰.

प्रबुद्ध-पद्माकर-पद्मवक्त्रो
नृणां[1] शरण्यः शरणागतानाम् ।(।*) 15

11 अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितो(ऽ*)सावितति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य ।
स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदा[त्तै]ः[2] पितरं यश्च विशेषयांचकार ।(।*) 16

क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च
शौर्यं विना शौर्य-मह[ा]र्च्चनं च ।
दाक्ष्यं[3] दमो दानमदीनता च
दाक्षिण्यमानृण्यम[शू]न्यता च ।(।*) 17

सौंदर्यमार्येतर-निग्रहश्च[4]
अविस्मयो धैर्य्यमुदीर्णता च ।
12 इत्येवमेते(ऽ*)तिशयेन यस्मि-
न्नविप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति ।(।*) 18

न विद्यते(ऽ*)सौ सकले(ऽ*)पि लोके
यत्रोपमा तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत ।
स एव कार्त्स्न्येन गुणान्वितानां
बभूव नृणामुपमान[1]-भूतः ।(।*) 19

इत्येवमेतानधिकानतो(ऽ*)न्या-
न्गुणान्प[री]क्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्रा ।
यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां
विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार सम्यक् ।(।*) 20

13 आश्रित्य वियं[5] [स्वभु]ज-द्वयस्य
स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्पं (पम्) ।
नोद्वेजयामास च कंचिदेव-
मस्मिन्पुरे चैव शशास दुष्टाः[6] ।(।*) 21

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[1] Both नृणां and नॄणां are correct.

[2] उपस्कृत = blamed.

[3] Fleet : वाक्यं(?).

[4] Properly निग्रहश्चाविस्मयो ; read ॰ह्रो ह्यविस्म॰ to suit the metre. Note that this record sometimes disregards the rules of *sandhi* at the junction between the first and second and the third and fourth *pādas* of a stanza.

[5] Read वीर्यं, 'prowess'; 'process' in Fleet's translation seems to be a misprint.

[6] Read दुष्टान्.

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विस्रंभमल्पे न शशाम यो(ऽ*)स्मिन्
काले न लोकेषु स-नागरेषु ।
यो लालयामास च पौरवर्गान्
[स्वस्येव*] पुत्रान्सुपरीक्ष्य दोषान् ।(।*)[1] 22
संरंजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव
पूर्व्व-स्मिताभाषण-मान-दानैः ।
14 निर्यन्त्रणान्योन्य-गृह-प्रवेशै(ः*)
संवर्द्धित-प्रीति-गृहोपचारैः ।(।*) 23
ब्रह्मण्य-भावेन परेण युक्तः
[श]क्तः[2] शुचिर्दानपरो यथावत् ।
प्राप्यान्स काले विषयान्सिषेवे
धर्म्मार्थयोश्चा(प्य*)विरोधनेन ।(।*) 24
[यो — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ पर्ण्णदत्ता]-[3]
त्स न्यायवानत्र किमस्ति चित्रं(त्रम्) ।
मुक्ता-कलापाम्बुज-पद्म-शीता-
च्चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित् ।(।*) 25
15 अथ[4] क्रमेणाम्बुद-काल आग[ते]
[नि]दाघ-कालं प्रविदार्य्य तोयदैः ।
ववर्ष तोयं बहु संततं चिरं
सुदर्श्शनं येन बिभेद चात्वरात्[5] ।(।*) 26
संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि षड्भिरेव ।
भ
रात्रौ दिने प्रौष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे
गुप्त-प्रकाले गणनां विधाय ।(।*) 27[6]

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[1] "Even in this age which is a mean one, he did not fail to maintain confidence in the people together with those of the city (=those who have contracted the vices of city life)."

[2] शक्त = प्रियंवद.

[3] May we restore यो(ऽ*)जायताऽस्मात् खलु पर्ण्णदत्तात् ?

[4] Fleet's transcript has अथा.

[5] अत्वरात् = suddenly.

[6] Bhau Daji read गुप्तस्य काला[द्ग]णनां विधाय which appears to be wrong. प्रोष्ठपद or प्रौष्ठपद = भाद्रपद.

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16 इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गता[:*]
पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
समुद्र-कान्ताः[1] चिर-बन्धनोषिताः
पुनः पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययुः ।(।*) 28
अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भ्रमं
महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभितो
17 नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ।(।*) 29
विषाद्य[मानाः] [खलु] [सर्वतो] [ज]ना[:]
कथं-कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
मिथो हि पूर्वापर-रात्रमुत्थिता
विचिन्तयां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः ।(।*) 30
अपीह लोके सकले सुदर्शनं
पुमां[2] हि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।
18 भवेन्नु सो(ऽ*)म्भोनिधि-तुल्य-दर्शनं
सुदर्शन — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — (॥*) 31
⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ वणे स भूत्वा
पितुः परां भक्तिमपि प्रदर्श्य ।
धर्मं पुरो-धाय शुभानुबन्धं
राज्ञो हितार्थं नगरस्य चैव ।(।*) 32[3]
संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
19 त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि सप्तभिश्च ।
[गुप्त-प्रकाले*] [नय*]-शास्त्र-वेत्ता[4]
[विश्वे](ऽ*)प्यनुज्ञात-महाप्रभावः ।(।*) 33

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[1] Read कान्ताश्चिर. The Raivataka is the hill opposite the Ūrjayat or Girnar. Note that the rainy season is supposed to be the proper time to meet one's lover. Suvarṇasikatā = mod. Soṇarekhā.

[2] Read पुमान्. Fleet साम्भोनिधि॰. उत्सुक=anxious.

[3] Note that Chakrapālita was made governor of Girinagara by his father Parṇadatta who was Skandagupta's viceroy in Surāshṭra. Both father and son appear to have had their headquarters at Girinagara.

[4] Fleet: प्र .. and चेत्ता.

आज्य-प्रणामैः[1] विबुधानथेष्ट्वा
धनैर्द्विजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा ।
पौरांस्तथाभ्यर्च्य यथार्हमानैः[1]
भृत्यांश्च पूज्यान्सुहृदश्च दानैः ।(।*) 34
20 ग्रैष्मस्य[2] मासस्य तु पूर्व-प[क्षे]
⏑ – ⏑ – – [प्र]थमे(ऽ*)ह्नि सम्यक् ।
मास-द्वयेनादरवान्स भूत्वा
धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् ।(।*) 35
आयामतो हस्त-शतं समग्रं
विस्तारतः षष्टिरथापि चाष्टौ ।
21 उत्सेधतो(ऽ*)न्यत्त् पुरुषाणि [सप्त?]
⏑ – ⏑ – [ह]स्त-शत-द्वयस्य ।(।*) 36[3]
बबन्ध यत्नान्महता नृदेवा-
न[भ्यर्च्य?] सम्यग्घटितोपलेन ।
अ-जाति-दुष्टप्रथितं तटाकं
सुदर्शनं शाश्वत-कल्प-कालम् ।(।*) 37
22 अपि च सुदृढ-सेतु-प्रान्त(?)-विन्यस्त-शोभ-
रथचरणसमाह्व-क्रौंचहंसास-धूतम् ।
विमल-सलिल – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
भुवि त ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – द[ने](ऽ*)र्कः शशी च ।(।*) 38
23 नगरमपि च भूयाद्वृद्धिमत्पौर-जुष्टं
द्विजबहुशतगीत-ब्रह्म-निर्नष्ट-पापं(पम्) ।
शतमपि च समानामीति-दुर्भिक्ष-[मुक्तं*]
⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – [॥*] 39

[इति] [सुद]र्शन-तटाक-संस्कार-ग्रन्थ-रचना [स]माप्ता ॥

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[1] Read ॰सैर्विबु॰ and ॰मानैर्भृ॰.

[2] ग्रैष्म=belonging to ग्रीष्म (=ज्यैष्ठ and आषाढ). The first of Jyaishṭha appears to be intended.

[3] Fleet believes that the embankment made was 100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation. But *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67, line 7 would suggest that the dam near the foot of the hill was actually much larger. The reference is possibly to the breach caused by the flood.

Part II

24 दृप्तारि-दर्प-प्रणुदः पृथु-श्रियः
स्व-वङ्श[1]-केतोः सकलावनी-पतेः ।
राजाधिराज्याद्भुत[2]-पुण्य-[कर्मणः]
⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — (॥*) 40
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)
द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महतां च नेता
दण्ड-स्थि[ता*]नां
25 द्विषतां दमाय ।(।*) 41
तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन
गोविन्द-पादार्पित-जीवितेन ।
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (॥*) 42
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ —र्धं
विष्णोश्च पादकमले समवाप्य तत्त्व ।
अर्थव्ययेन
26 महतामहता[3] च काले-
नात्म-प्रभाव-नत-पौरजनेन तेन ।(।*) 43
चक्रं विभर्त्ति रिपु — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
तस्य स्व-तंत्र-विधि-कारण-मानुषस्य ।(।*) 44
27 कारितमवक्र-मतिना चक्रभृतः[4] चक्रपालितेन गृहं हम्)।
वर्षशते(ऽ*)ष्टात्रिंशे गुप्तानां काल-[क्रम-गणिते*] (॥*) 45
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

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[1] Read वंश.

[2] Better read राजाधिराजा°.

[3] I. e. महता + अमहता.

[4] Read °भृतश्चक्र°.

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —. (।*)
—[स*]ार्थमुत्थितमिवोर्जयतो(ऽ*)चलस्य[1]
28 कुर्वत्प्रभुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥ 46
अन्यच्च मूर्द्धनि सु — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ रुद्ध-विहंग मार्गं
विभ्राजते ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (॥*) 47

No. 26—Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (=460 A.D.)

KAHAUṂ or KAHAWAṂ, Gorakhpur District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 67; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1278 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-3 स्रग्धरा

TEXT[2]

सिद्ध(म्*) [।][3]
1 यस्योपस्थान-भूमिर्नृपति-शत-शिरः[4]-पात-वातावधूता
2 गुप्तानां वन्शजस्य[5] प्रविसृत-यशसस्तस्य सर्व्वोत्तमर्द्धेः (।*)
3 राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते[6]
4 वर्षे त्रिन्शद्दशैकोत्तरक[7]-शततमे ज्येष्ठ-मासि[7] प्रपन्ने ।(।*) 1

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[1] The temple was possibly called here the *chūḍā-ratna* of the hill.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[3] This word stands in the left margin, सि on the level of line 2, and द्ध a little above that of line 3.

[4] There is a sign resembling a punctuation mark, which might have been an accidental slip on the part of the engraver.

[5] Read वंश०.

[6] The word may refer to the fact that Skandagupta's reign became peaceful after the early years of struggle. शान्त = undisturbed by enemies, calamities, etc. Of course the *śānti* may have been temporary or local. पतेः looks like पतिः in the original..

[7] Read त्रिंशद्दशै०. ज्येष्ठ = ज्यैष्ठ.

5 ख्याते(ऽ*)स्मिन्ग्राम-रत्ने ककुभ[1] इति जनैस्साधु-संसर्ग्ग-पूते ।[2]
6 पुत्रो यस्सोमिलस्य प्रचुर-गुण-निधेर्भट्टिसोमो महा[त्मा] (।*)
7 तत्सूनू रुद्रसोम(:*) पृथुल-मति-यशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्य-संज्ञो ।[2]
8 मद्रस्तस्यात्मजो(ऽ*)भूद्द्विज-गुरु-यतिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान्यः ।(।*) 2
9 पुण्य-स्कन्धं स चक्रे जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्वीक्ष्य भीतो
10 श्रेयोर्त्थं भूत-भूत्य पथि नियमवतामर्ह्हतामादिकर्त्तॄन्[3] (।*)
11 पञ्चेन्द्रां[3] स्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततो(ऽ*)यम् (यं)[3]
12 शैल-स्तम्भः सुचारुगिरिवर-शिखराग्रोपमः कीर्त्ति कर्त्ता (॥*) 3

No. 26A—Supia Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (=460 A.D.)

Supia, old Rewah State, now in Madhya Pradesh.
D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306ff.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT[4]

1 [श्री]घ[टो]त्कच(:*) तद्वन्शो[5] प्रव[र्त्तमा*]-
2 [ने*] महार[ा*]ज-[श्रीसमुद्रगु]प्त(:*) त[स्पु]-
3 [त्र]-श्रीविक्रमा[दित्य](:*) त[स्पुत्र]-महारा[ज]-
4 [श्री]महे[न्द्रादित्य](:*) तस्य [पु*]त्र(:*) चक्र[व]-

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[1] Kakubha is the old name of modern Kahāum.

[2] The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[3] Read पञ्चेन्द्रान्. The expression is usually translated 'five excellent [images]' referring to the five naked Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras sculptured on the column. *Indra* (Lord) may however indicate *Jinendra* (lord of the Jinas) and refer to the five favourite Tīrthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. धरणिधरमय = शिलामय ; अर्हतां पथि आदि-कर्त्तॄन् (= आदि-पथ-कर्त्तॄन्) = those who lead the way in the path of the Arhats; नियम looks like वियम.

[4] See the facsimile of the inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII. The use of the title *Mahārāja* instead of *Mahārājādhirāja* in the inscription, which is a private document, is of no importance (see p.295, note 7). Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I have been mentioned here by their titles respectively as Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya.

[5] Read तद्वंशे.

5 [र्त्ति]तु[ल्यो] [महा]बलविक्क[मे]ण र[ाम]-
6 [तु]ल्यो ध[र्म्म]प[र]तया युधिष्ठिर[1] स[त्ये]-
7 नचरवि[नय][2] महाराज-श्रीस्क[न्द]-
8 गुप्तस्य[3] राज्य[सम्व][4]त्सरशते एक-
9 चत्वारि[न्शोत्त]रके[5] (।*) [अस्यां] दिवसपू-
10 र्व्वायां याम् (।) अवडर-वास्तव्य-कुटुम्बि[क*]-
11 कैवर्त्तिश्रेष्ठि-नप्तृ(प्ता) हरिश्रेष्ठि-पु[त्र] :* श्रीद-
12 [त्त](: ।*) तद्भ्रातृ(ता) वर्ग्ग(: ।*) त[द्भ्रा]त(ता) च्छ(छ)न्दक[श्चेति*] (।*)
13 स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्थं यशः-की-
14 [र्त्ति]-प्रवर्द्धय* मान-गोत्र-शैलिका बल-य-
15 ष्ठि(ष्टिः)[6] प्रतिष्ठापिता वर्ग्गग्रामिकेण
16 जे(ज्ये)ष्ठमास-शुक्लपक्षस्य द्विती-
17 [यायां] ति[थौ] (॥*)

No. 27—Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 146(=466 A.D.)

INDOR, near Dibhāī, Bulandshahr District, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 70 f. ; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1279 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metres: Verse 1 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा

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[1] Read युधिष्ठिर: or better युधिष्ठिरतुल्य:

[2] Read सत्येनाचारविनयै: or सत्याचारविनयै:

[3] Read °गुप्त: तस्य.

[4] Read संव°.

[5] Read °रिंशो°. Lines 16-17 should have been engraved here.

[6] For *yashṭi* meaning 'a pillar raised in memory of one's dead relatives', see *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XV, p. 6 ; above, Bk. II, Nos. 41, 63-66 *Bala yashṭi* means 'a strong (or stout) pillar'. It is called a *gotra-śailikā* or 'family pillar' because it was raised by Varga, who was a *grāmika* (headman) of the village of Avaḍara (apparently identical with or in the vicinity of Supia), in the memory of several deceased members of his family. For *va(ba)la-yashṭi* in the Bhumara inscription, wrongly interpreted by Fleet (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 110ff.), see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 167ff.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् (॥*)

यं विप्रा विधिवत्प्रबुद्ध-मनसो ध्यानैकताना स्तुवः[2]
यस्यान्तं त्रिदशासुरा न विविदुर्न्नोर्ध्वं न तिर्य-

2 ग्गति[म्][3] (।*)

यं लोको वहु-रोग-वेग-विवशः संश्रित्य चतोलभः
पायाद्वः स जगत्पि[धा]न-पुट-भिद्रश्म्या-

3 करो भास्करः ॥ 1

परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्याभिवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्य-संव्वत्सर[4]-शते षच्चत्वा-[5]

4 [वि*]ङ्शदुत्तरतमे[6] फाल्गुन-मासे तत्प(ा*)द-परिगृहीतस्य विषयपति-शर्व्वनाग-स्यान्तर्व्वेद्यां[7] भोगाभिवृद्धये वर्त्त-

5 माने चेन्द्रापुरक[8]-पद्मा-चातुर्व्विद्य-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-देवविष्णुर्देव-पुत्रो[9] हरित्रात-पौत्रः डुडिक-प्रपौत्रः सतताग्निहो-

6 त्र-छन्दोगो[10] राणायणीयो[11] वर्षगण-सगोत्र इन्द्रापुरक-वणिग्भ्यां[12] क्षत्त्रियाचल-वर्म्म-भ्रुकुण्ठसिङ्हाभ्यामघिष्ठा-[13]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] Read ०तानस्तवाः ; or स्तुमः, i e. [वयं] विधिवत्प्रबुद्धमनसः विप्राः यं ध्यानैकतानाः [सन्तः] स्तुमः.

[3] Fleet ०ग्गतिः.

[4] Read सव्वत्सर or संवत्सर. See *infra* No. 41, note.

[5] Read षट्चत्वा०.

[6] Read ०विंश०.

[7] The traditional Antarvedi is the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Hardwār. The Bulandshahr District lies actually in this Antarvedi. Cf. कालिन्दी-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं (*infra*, No 35, line 3).

[8] Fleet चन्द्रापुरक. Cf Jagannath in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59. Indrāpura is Indor, the findspot of the record. The same spelling of the name is found in line 6, though lines 7 and 8 have Indrapura.

[9] "The Brāhmaṇa Devavishṇu who is the son of Deva and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of [the locality called] Padmā in [the town called] Indrāpura."

[10] Read ०च्छन्दोगो.

[11] Read ०नीयो.

[12] Note that the Kshatriyas adopted the conventional profession of the Vaiśyas.

[13] Read भ्रुकुण्ठसिंहा०. Fleet : ०धिष्ठा.

7 नस्य प्राच्यां दिशीन्द्रपुराधिष्ठान-माडास्यात[1]-लग्नमेव प्रतिष्ठापितक-भगवते सवित्रे दीपोपयोज्यमात्म-यशो-

8 भिवृद्धये मूल्यं प्रयच्छतिः[2] (॥*) इन्द्रपुर-निवासिन्यास्तैलिक-श्रेण्या जीवन्त-प्रवराया[3] इतो(ऽ*)धिष्ठानादपक्र्‌म-

9 ण-संप्रवेश-यथास्थिरायाः आजस्रिकं ब्रह्मपतेर्द्विज-मूल्य-दत्तमनया[4] तु श्रेण्या यदभग्न-योगम्

10 प्रस्थमाहा्त्य(व*)च्छिन्न-संस्थं[5] देयं तैलस्य तुल्येन[6] पलद्वयं तु २[7] चन्द्रार्क्क-सम-कालीयं(यम्) (॥*)

11 यो व्यक्क्रमेद्दायमिमं[8] निबद्धम्[9]
गोघ्नो गुरुघ्नो द्विज-घातकः सः (।*)
ते. पातकै(:*)

12 पञ्चभिरन्वितो(ऽ*)ध-
र्गच्छेन्नरः[10] सोपनिपातकैश्चेति[11] ॥ 2

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[1] Fleet could not find out the meaning of माडास्यात which however appears to be the name of a locality in the town of Indrāpura. मूल्य=endowment, of which the interest or income was to be utilised [for the maintenance of a lamp for the Sun-god]. लग्न=touching. The deity was installed on the boundary of Māḍāsyāta.

[2] Read प्रयच्छति. The *visarga* may have also been meant for a mark of punctuation.

[3] Jīvanta was the *Pravara* or President of the oilmen's guild.

[4] आजस्रिक=अजस्र=perpetual. दत्त=gift. Better, दत्तम् । अनया.

[5] Read प्रयमा०. ०माहो-व्यच्छि० ?

[6] तुल्य seems to signify the same thing as तौल्य (weight).

[7] This is evidently an abbreviation of तुल्येन पलद्वयम्. "This gift of a Brāhmaṇa's endowment for [the temple of] the Sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen of which Jīvanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, even in moving away from this settlement and returning to it. But there should be given [daily] by this guild for the same time as the moon and the sun endure two *palas* of oil by weight [or in figures] *tu 2*, uninterrupted in use and continuing without any diminution from the original value."

[8] Better read योऽतिक्रमे०

[9] Read निबद्धं.

[10] Read ०धो गच्छे०.

[11] Better ०श्च ॥ इति.

No. 28—Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.)

BHITARĪ, near Sayyidpur, Ghāzīpur District, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 53f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1549 (for other references); Sewell's List, p. 349.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verse 1 पुष्पिताग्रा; Vv. 2-6 मालिनी; Vv. 7-8 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; Vv. 9-12 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT[1]

[सिद्धम् ॥*][2]

1 [सर्व्व]-रा[जो]च्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधिसलिल[ा]स्वादित-यशसो धनद-वरुणेन्द्र[ा]न्तक-स[मस्य]

2 कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागत[ा]नेक-गो-हिरण्य-[को]टि-प्रदस्य चिरो[त्स]न्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तु-र्महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्र[स्य]

3 महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि-[3] दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुम[ा]र[दे]व्या-

4 मुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त-देव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः[4]

5 परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम-

6 भागवतो महाराजाधिर[ा]ज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य

प्रथित-पृथुमति-स्वभाव-शक्तेः
पृथु-यशसः पृथिवी-पतेः पृथु-श्रीः (।*)
7 पि[तृ]-प[रि]गत-पादपद्म-वर्त्ती
प्रथित-यशाः पृथिवी-पतिः सुतो(ऽ*)यम् (॥*) 1

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] Faint traces of apparently this word are found above the beginning of line 1.

[3] Usually लिच्छवि.

[4] See *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, note 3; also line 3 of the Bhitarī seal of Kumāragupta II (*infra*, No. 32).

जगति भु[ज]-बलाढ्यो[1] गुप्त-वङ्शैक-वीरः[2]
प्रथित-विपुल-
8 धामा नामतः स्कन्दगुप्तः (।*)
सुचरित-चरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं[3]
न विहतममलात्मा तान-[धीदा?]-विनीतः[4] (॥*) 2
विनय-
9 बल-सुनीतैर्व्विक्रमेण क्रमेण
प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन ल[ब्ध]ा (।*)
स्वभिमत-विजिगीषा-प्रोद्यतानां परेषां
प्रणि-
10 हित इव ले[भे] [सं]विधानोपदेशः (॥*) 3[5]
विचलित-कुल-लक्ष्मी-स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन
क्षितितल-शयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा (।*)[6]
समु-
11 दित-ब[ल]-कोशा[न्पुष्यमित्रांश्च][7] [जि]त्वा
क्षितिप-चरणपीठे स्थापितो वाम-पादः (॥*) 4
प्रसभमनुप[मै]र्व्विध्वस्त-शस्त्र-प्रतापै-
र्विन[य-स]मु-
12 [चितैश्च*] क्षान्ति-शौ[र्यै]र्न्निरूढम् (।*)
चरितममलकीर्त्तेर्ग्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं
दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः (॥*) 5
पितरि दिवमुपे[ते]

---

[1] Read बलाढ्यो.

[2] Read ॰वंशैक॰

[3] वृत्त=observance of law; virtuous conduct. विहत=obstructed.

[4] Fleet: 'disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?).' Possibly, 'modest owing to his knowledge of the objects of senses.'

[5] परेषां प्रणिहिते=in the application against enemies. संविधानोपदेश=instruction in execution.

[6] This shows that before the actual seizure of power, Skandagupta passed sometime in utter distress probably owing to defeat and the success of a rival for the throne. See verses 6-7 below and above, No. 25, line 4.

[7] According to some ॰न्युध्यमित्रांश्च. It is however not possible to be definite about the reading of the *aksharas* as they are not distinct. A people called Pushyamitra is known from the Purāṇas. Cf. Pargiter, *Dyn. Kali Age*, Section LI.

13 विप्लुतां वङ्श[1]-लक्ष्मीं
भुज-बळ-विजितारिर्य्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः (।*)
जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सास्र-नेत्रां
हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपे-

14 [त]ः[2] (॥*) 6
[स्वै]र्द[ण्डैः] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — त्प्रचलितं वङ्श[3] प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो
बाहुभ्यामवनिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वार्त्तेषु कृत्वा दयाम् (।*)
नोत्सिक्तो [न] च विस्मितः[3] प्रतिदिनं

15 संवर्द्धमान-द्युति-
र्गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दक-जनो(?) यं [प्रा]पयत्यार्य्यता[म्] (॥*) 7
हूणैर्य्यस्य[4] समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कंपिता
भीमावर्त्त-करस्य

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[1] Read वंशं. For Skandagupta's difficulties immediately after Kumāragupta's death, see also *supra*, No. 25, line 4 : पितरि सुर-सखित्वं प्राप्तवति, etc., and verses 4 above and 7 belew.

[2] Sewell suggests that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devakī. The simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle (cf. No. 29, V. 3) of Skandagupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for some time.

[3] Read वंशं. Cf. V. 4 above. उत्सिक्त=haughty; disturbed in mind; विस्मित=proud.

[4] The Hūṇas (Epthatites or White Huns) were possibly related to the Central Asian tribe known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. They showed great migrative activity in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when their leader Attila (c. 406-53 A.D.) tried to destroy the Roman empire. Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, refers for the first time to the Hūṇas in relation to Indian politics; but he places the Hūṇa-land on the Oxus. They were apparently knocking at the western gates of the Gupta empire at the time of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and ultimately succeeded in establishing an empire extending from Central Asia to Central India. But the success of the Hūṇas in Central India was short-lived. It ended with Mihirakula who was defeated by Yaśodharman, king of Mālwā, and king Bālāditya of the Gupta family. But the Hūṇas as a political power in India are referred to in inscriptions., e.g., Unā grant (Vikrama 956) of the Pratihāras; Ajmer *Harakelināṭaka* inscription (Vikrama 1210) of the Chāhamānas; etc. Guhila Allaṭa (Atpur inscription of Vikrama 1031) and Kalachuri Karṇa (Khairba ins. of Kalachuri 823) married Hūṇa princesses. The Hūṇas were thus assimilated into Hindu society, and Hūṇa is known to be one of the 36 Rājput clans. Tod (*Annals*, Calcutta ed., I, p. 87) spells the name as Hun, Hoon and Hool. The *Harshacharita* places the Hūṇa kingdom in the Punjab region.

16 शत्रुषु शरा — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — (।*)
— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — विरचितं(?) प्रख्यापितो [दीप्तिदा?]
न द्यो(?)ति ⌣ न — ⌣ लक्ष्यत इव श्रोत्रेषु शार्ङ्ग[1]-ध्वनिः (॥*) 8
17 [स्व]-पितुः कीर्त्ति — * * * * * ⌣ — ⌣ * (।*)
* * * * ⌣ — * * * * * * ⌣ — ⌣ * (॥*) 9
[कर्त्तव्या?] प्रतिमा काचित्प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः (।*)
18 [सु]प्रतीतश्चकारेमां य[ावदाचन्द्र-तारकम् (॥*) 10
इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठित-शासनः (॥*)
ग्राममेनं स विद[धे][2] पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये (॥*) 11
19 अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यश्चात्र संस्थितः (?) (।*)
उभयं निर्द्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्य-धीरिति ॥[3] 12

No. 29—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 122ff. Nos. 451ff.

First Side[4]

Bust of king to right; traces of Greek legend.[5]

Second Side

Burning altar in centre; legend in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class—

परमभागवत-श्रीविक्रमादित्य-स्कन्दगुप्त[ः*][6]

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[1] Fleet : गार्ङ्ग. See Jagannath in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60. Fleet : नभीषु स०

[2] Some writers may regard this part as metrically defective.

[3] Properly ०धीः ॥ इति ॥. संस्थित (settled) may refer to the gift village. Skandagupta may have installed the image of Vishṇu and granted the village for the latter's worship for the merit of Kumāragupta I on the occasion of an annual *śrāddha* of the dead king.

[4] From representation in Allan's Catalogue, No. 454, Plate XX, Nos. 13ff.

[5] On some specimens of the Garuḍa type, we have the word वर्षे and date behind king's head. The definite dates on Skandagupta's silver issues are Gupta years 146 and 148 (465-66 and 467-68 A.D.). The date on the coin No. 527 in Allan's *Cat.* has been doubtfully read as 145 or 148. A comparison of the figures for 8 on the coins of the Śakas of Western India however shows that the date is 148=167-68 A.D.

[6] The full legend can be reconstructed from a study of several coins, as the legend is often imperfect. On some silver specimens, we see Śiva's bull in place of altar and क्रमादित्य instead of विक्रमादित्य in the legend, while, in others, the legend is विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति दिवं स्कन्दगुप्तोयं or ०पतिः श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति (Metre : उपगीति).

No. 30—Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription[1] of Pūrugupta (?)

BIHĀR (Bihārsharif), Pāṭuā District, Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 49f. ; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1548 (for other references) ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Ind. Cult.*, X, pp. 170 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verse 1 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा (defective in the 7th syllable of the 3rd foot); Vv. 3-4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 5 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 6-7 a metre the जाति type ; Vv. 8-10 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT[2]

Part I[3]

1[4] ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — : (।*)
नृ-चन्द्र इन्द्रानुज-तुल्य-वीर्य्यो
गुणैरतुल्यः ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — (॥*) 1

2 — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
— — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — (।*
तस्यापि सूनुर्भुवि स्वामि-नेयः
ख्यातः स्व-कीर्त्त्या ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — (॥*) 2

3 ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — (।*)
[स्व]सैव यस्यातुल-विक्रमेण[5]
कुमारगु[प्तेन] ◡ — ◡ — — (॥*) 3

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[1] Fleet assigns the inscription to Skandagupta.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Lines 26-33 from Fleet's transcript with emendations.

[3] In Part I, the writing appears to have extended over four faces of the column ; but, in Part II, over three faces of it.

[4] The first and second *pādas* entirely and parts of the fourth *pāda* of these verses have peeled off. Thus about 22 *aksharas* at the beginning and about 6 at the end are lost in each line of Part I. Lines 1-10 contained a verse of about 44 *aksharas* each. A line in Part II contained about 27 *aksharas*, of which about 18 from the beginning are lost.

[5] Cf. p. 323, note 2. The reference is probably to Kumāragupta's marriage with someone's sister.

4 — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)
[पि]तिंश्च[1] देवांश्च हि हव्य-कव्यैः
सदा नृशंस्यादि ⌣ — ⌣ — — (॥*) 4

5 ⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ —
⌣ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — (।*)
[अ]चीकरद्देव-निकेत-मण्डलं
क्षितावनौपम्य ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — (॥*) 5

6 ....[बटे?] किल (।*)
स्तम्भ-वरोच्छ्रिय[2]-प्रभासे तु मण्ड...... ॥*) 6

7 ....भिर्वृक्षाणां(णाम्) (।*)
कुसुम-भरानताग्र-[शृंग?]-व्यालम्ब-स्तवक......(॥*) 7

8 — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)
भद्रार्य्यया भाति गृहं नवाभ्र-
निर्म्मोक-निर्मु[क्त] ⌣ — ⌣ — — (॥*) 8

9 — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)
स्कन्द-प्रधानैर्भुवि मातृभिश्च[3]
लोकान्स सुष्य(?) ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (॥*) 9

10 — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣यूपोच्छ्रयमेव चक्रे (॥*) 10
भद्रार्य्यादी..................

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[1] Read पितॄंश्च.

[2] Read ॰रोच्छ्रय.

[3] The divine mothers were originally seven and then eight in number; cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा। माहेन्द्री चैव वाराही चामुण्डा सप्तमातरः॥ or ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चण्डी वाराही वैष्णवी तथा। कौमारी चैव चामुण्डा चर्चिकेत्यष्टमातरः॥ Afterwards the number was further raised to nine, sixteen, etc. The Mothers are mentioned with Svāmi-Mahāsena (Skanda) in the records of some early dynasties, e.g., the Kadambas and the Chālukyas. There may have been a reference to Skandagupta in this section of the record.

11 ...... न्द्रगुप्त-वटे अन्शानि[1] ३० (+*) ५ ता(?)म्रकटा-
कु(?): कल ....

12 ......पितुः स्वमातुर्य्यँद्यस्ति हि दुष्कृतं भजतु तने...........

13 ....काग्रहारे अन्शानि[1] २ अनन्तसेनेनोप ....

Part II[2]

14 ....[सर्व्व-राजोच्छे*]त्तुः प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य[3]

15 [चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे*]न्द्रान्तकसमस्य कृतान्त-

16 [परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरो*]त्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुः

17 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्त्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटो*]त्कच-पौत्त्रस्य महाराजा-

18 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्त्रस्य लिच्छवि-दौहित्त्रस्य म*]हादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य

19 [महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्त्र*]स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां

20 [दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः पर*]मभागवतो महाराजा-

21 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्या*]तो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्या-

22 [मुत्पन्नः परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य*] पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः

23 [परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीपू*][रु]गुप्तः (॥*)[4]

24 ....परमभागवतो

25 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री पूरुगुप्तः*] ... .. [वै*]षयिकाजपुरक-सामै[ग्रा][म*]-

26 ....ग्रा . क ..[अ*]क्षय-नीवी ग्रामक्षेत्त्र'

27 .... कृ...उपरिक कुमारामात्य-

28 ... . ङ्गि कुलः(?) वणि(ज*)क-पादितारिक-

29 ... . [आ*]ग्रहारिक-शौल्किक गौल्मिकास(न)न्यांश्च(श्च)-

30 ... . वा[सि]कादीनस्मत्प्रसादोपजीविनः

31 [समाज्ञापयामि*]... ... ...वर्म्मणा विज्ञापितो(ऽ*)स्मि मम पितामहेन

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[1] Read अंशा: In line 11, Fleet reads स्क(?)न्दगुप्तबटे.

[2] There are two demarcating lines between the two parts of the record. The second part looks like the copy of a charter of which lines 14-23 represent the seal.

[3] Read पृथिव्या॰. The lost words in lines 14-23 are supplied with the help of other inscriptions and seals.

[4] In lines 23 and 25, Fleet suggests स्कन्दगुप्त.

32 … … … नमे भट्ट-गुहिलस्वामिना भद्रा[र्य्य]का[1]

33 … … …. [प्र]ति[ष्ठापिता*] …… आम्रोकय…नाकय… … … ..[2]

No. 31—Sārnāth Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Kumāragupta II[3]—Gupta Year 154

(=473 A.D.)

Sārnāth, Benares District, U. P.
Gupte, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15, p. 124.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: V. 1 उद्गीति ; V. 2 आर्य्या ; V. 3 गीति (?).

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[1] Bhadrāryakā is probably the same as Bhadrāryā of lines 8 and 11. It appears to be the name of a goddess, possibly Pārvatī (=Āryā) since. Bhadra is a name of Śiva. V. S. Agrawala (*J. N. S. I.*, III, p. 82) suggests that Bhadrā is the wife of Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa).

[2] The rest of the record is lost.

[3] Some scholars identify this Kumāragupta with the Kumāragupta of *infra*, No. 32; others however point out that, in that case, the reigns of Pūrugupta, Narasiṃhagupta and Kumāragupta (who are placed after Skandagupta's death about 467 A.D. and before Budhagupta whose earliest known date is 476 A.D.) would be abnormally short, and take this Kumāragupta as a different king, the successor of Skanda and predecessor of Budha. But abnormally short reigns are sometimes found in history. We have moreover to consider the troubled period (cf. verses 4-6 of *supra*, No. 28) that followed Kumāragupta's death (455 A.D.). Some scholars suggest that Pūrugupta, Narasiṃhagupta and Kumāragupta represent a rival line ruling (or merely claiming to rule) side by side with the line represented by Skandagupta and Budhagupta. It is also suggested that the Dāmodarpur grant of Gupta Year 224(=543 A.D.) belongs to Kumāragupta [III of the seal] and that his grandfather Pūrugupta succeeded Budhagupta as supreme ruler after 495 A.D., although Pūrugupta then must have been very young at the time of his father's death. But we have now the Nālandā seal of Budhagupta represented as the son of Pūrugupta (*I. H. Q.*, XIX, p. 273). A damaged seal discovered at Nālandā in the Patna District, Bihar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. pp. 335ff. and *infra*) proves that Kumāragupta of No. 32 had a son named Vishṇugupta. The inscription found at Mangraon (Shāhābād Dist , Bihār), dated in the 17th year [सम्व(संव)त्सरे सप्तदशे सम्व(संव)त् १०(+*)७ ; see *ibid.*, p. 246] does not belong to this Vishṇugupta, but to Vishṇugupta, grandson of Ādityasena of the 'Later Gupta' dynasty. If Pūru's son Narasiṃha succeeded Budha, Kumāra of No. 31 was another son or brother of Pūru.

TEXT[1]

1 वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे (।*)[2]
भूमिं रक्षति कुमारगुप्ते मासि ज्येष्ठे[3] द्वितीयायाम् ॥ 1
2 भक्त्यावर्ज्जित-मनसा यतिना पूजार्त्थमभयमित्रेण (।*)
प्रतिमाप्रतिमस्य गुणै[र]प[रे]यं [का]रिता शास्तुः[3] ॥ 2
3 माता-पितृ-गुरु-पू[र्व्वै]ः[4] पुण्येनानेन सत्व(त्त्व)-कायो(ऽ*)यं(यम्) (।*)
लभतामभिमतमुपशम-[* * * * म्[5] ॥ 3

No. 32—Bhitarī Seal of Kumāragupta II[6]

BHITARĪ, Ghāzīpur District, U.P.

HOERNLE, *J. A. S. B.*, LVIII, Part i, p. 89; J. F. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX (1890), p. 225.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT[7]

1 [सर्व्व]-राजोच्छेत्तु‿पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज-श्री[गुप्त]-प्रपौ[त्र]स्य महाराज-
श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य म[हा]-
2 [राजा]धिर[ा]ज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्रस्य] म[हादे]व्य[ां]
[कुमा]रदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Ind*, A R., 1914-15. Plate. LXIX—N. The Nālandā seals of the same king offer an identical text (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 66; Plate VIII, d-e).

[2] Read सच्चतुः॰ to rectify the metre.

[3] ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ ; शास्ता=बुद्ध.

[4] Gupte : पूर्त्तैः ; D.R. Sahni : पूर्व्वैः. पूर्व=ancestors.

[5] May we suggest ॰मुपशमं हितसुखं तदेव भवतु सत्त्वानाम् ? सत्त्वकाय=a person who is an abode of virtue.

[6] See p. 328, note 3. For the gold coins of Kumāragupta surnamed Śrī-Kramāditya, see Allan, *Cat.* (Gupta), pp. 140f.

[7] From the facsimile in *J.A.S.B.*, LVIII, Part i. The upper part of the seal of the Guptas is occupied by emblems, the chief of them being Garuḍa in relief on a countersunk surface.

3 [श्री]समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्परि]गृही]तो म[हादेव्या[न्दत्तदेव्या]मुत्पन्नस्स्वयं च[ा]प्रतिरथ‿परमभाग-[1]

4 [वतो] [महाराजा]धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य [पुत्त्र]स्तत्पाद[ा]नु[द्ध्या]तो महादेव्य[ां] [ध्रु]वदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म[हारा]-

5 [जाधि]राज-श्रीकुमार[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्या[तो] महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्य[ा]मुत्पन्नो महा[रा]-

6 [जाधिरा]ज-श्री[पूरुगुप्त]स्तस्य[2] पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्य[ातो] महादे[व्यां] श्रीचन्द्र-[3] देव्यामुत्प[न्नो] म[हा]-

7 [राजाधिरा]ज-श्रीनरसिंहगु [पु]त्त्रस्त[त्पा]दा[नुद्ध्यातो] मह[ादेव्यां] श्रीम[न्मित्र]-[5]

8 [देव्या]मु[त्प]न्न‿परमभ[ा]गवतो मह[ाराजाधिरा]ज-श्रीकुम[ा]र[गुप्तः ॥]

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[1] Hoernle : च प्रति०.

[2] Cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist Cong.*, Lahore, 1940,6 Allan (*Cat.* [Gupta], p 134, Pl. XXI, No. 23) describes a gold coin of Pūrugupta with the legend पुर on the obverse beneath the king's left arm and श्रीविक्रमः (or श्रीविक्रमादित्यः) on the reverse. S. K. Saraswati thinks that the *akshara* read as प looks like ब and is inclined to suggest that the name is बुध (*Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 691f.). It is difficult to be sure on the point. Pūrugupta has been identified with king Vikramāditya of Śrāvasti or Ayodhyā, who was the father of Bālāditya and a patron of Vasubandhu and is known from Buddhist traditions (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, pp. 210f.). पूरुगुप्त was originally read as पुरगुप्त.

[3] Fleet reads श्रीवत्स०. On the Nālandā seal, the name has been read as वैण्यदेवी by H. Shastri and चन्द्रदेवी by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 77 ; *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1934-35, p 63).

[4] For some gold coins with the obverse legend नर beneath the king's left arm and the incomplete verse [जयति ?] नरसिङ्ह(सिंह)गुप्तः, and the reverse legend वा(बा)लादित्यः see Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 137f. According to Buddhist traditions, Bālāditya, a Buddhist king of Magadha, was a contemporary of king Mihirakula who invaded Bālāditya's territory and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards set free. See Watters, *op. cit*, pp. 288f. If Pūrugupta ascended the Imperial Gupta throne after Budhagupta (494 A.D.), the contemporaneity of this Narasiṃhagupta with the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (*circa* 515-35 A.D.) is apparent. But Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 503) relies on the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* which suggests that Buddha(Budha)gupta was succeeded by Tathāgatagupta, after whom Bālāditya II [contemporary of Mihirakula], succeeded to the empire. A Nālandā seal represents Budha as the son of Pūru (*I.H.Q.*, XIX, p. 273 and *infra*).

[5] Fleet reads महा[लच्मी?]देव्या० But cf. the Nālandā seals referred to above.

No. 33—Sārnath Buddhist Image Inscription of Budhagupta[1]—Gupta Year 157 (=476 A.D.)

SĀRNĀTH, Vārāṇasī District, U.P.

Gupte, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15. pp. 124-25; Jagannath, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-4 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

1 गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपंचाशदुत्तरे (।*)
शते समानां[3] पृथिवीं बुधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥ 1
[वैशाख-मास-सप्तम्यां मूले श्याम-गते*][4]
2 मया (।*)
कारिताभयमित्रेण प्रतिमा शाक्य-भिक्षुणा[5] ॥ 2
इमामुद्दण्ड[6]-सच्छत्र-पद्मास[न-विभूषितां (ताम् ।*)]
[देवपुत्रवतो दिव्यां*]
3 चित्रव[न्या]स-चित्रितां[7] ॥ 3
यदस्ति[8] पुण्यं प्रतिमां[8] कारयित्वा ममास्तु तत्[9] (।*)
माता-[पित्रोर्गु][रूणां च लोकस्य च समाप्तये ॥*] 4

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[1] Buddhist tradition refers to a Buddhagupta, son of Śakrāditya who was king of the territory including Nālandā (Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 164). *Buddha* was formerly taken to be a mistake for *Budha* and Śakrāditya to be the same as Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I) and thus Budhagupta was supposed to have been a son of Kumāragupta I. But there is evidence now to show that Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I. See No. 36A below.

[2] From the facsimile in Plate LXIX—P in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15. The restorations are made with the help of a similar record in Plate LXIX—O.

[3] The metre is generally believed to require a short fifth and long sixth syllable.

[4] मूले श्यामगते = at the time of the asterism Mūlā belonging to the dark fortnight.

[5] Śākya was the name of the clan to which the Buddha belonged. Later, it was also used to indicate a follower of the Śākyamuni Buddha. Note that the Bhikshus and Arhats are often called *Buddha-putra*.

[6] Gupte: ०मुद्रस्त०. देवपुत्रवत् = आदि-बुद्ध, the origin of the Dhyānī-Buddhas?

[7] Read चित्रिताम्. Gupte: चित्रविद्यासचित्रितां.

[8] Gupte: यदत्र.

[9] Gupte: मया भृतम्.

No. 33A—Vārāṇasī Pillar Inscription of the time of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 159 (=479 A. D.)

RĀJGHĀṬ at Vārāṇasī, Vārāṇasi District, U.P.

D. C. Sircar, *J.R.A.S.B.*, XV, 1949, pp. 5ff.

Language : Sanskrit
Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

TEXT[1]

1 स[म्व][2] १०० (+*) ५० (+*) ९ मार्ग्ग-दि[3] [२०] (+*)८ महाराजाधिरा[ज]-

2 बुध[गु*]प्त-राज्ये पार्व्वरिक-वास्तव्य-मार-

3 [विष ?]-दुहिता(ता) साभाटि (?)-दुहि(ता*) च दामस्वा-

4 मि[न्या] शिलास्तम्भ[4] स्था[पि]तः (॥*)

No. 34—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 163 (=482 A. D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 135f.

Language : Sanskrit
Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[5]

First Side

1 [सं १००*] (+*) [६०] (+*) ३ आषाढ-दि १० (+*) ३ परमदैवत-परम-
भट्ट[ा]र[क-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीबुधगुप्ते [पृथि]वी-पतौ तत्पाद-[परि]गृहीते पुण्ड्र[व]-

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Read *saṁva*=*saṁvat*=*saṁvatsare*.

[3] I e. *Mārggaśīrsha-divase*.

[4] The *visarga* is elided according to the option allowed by Sanskrit grammar. The pillar was probably raised by Dāmasvāminī in memory of her dead parents, Māravisha and Sābhāṭī.

[5] From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

2 [र्द्धन]भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-ब्रह्मदत्ते संव्यवहरति (।*) स्व[स्ति] (।*) पलाश-वृन्दकात्सविश्वासं महत्तराद्यष्टकुलाधि[क]-

3 [र]ण(णं) ग्रामिक-कुट्टुम्बिनश्च[1] चण्डग्रामके ब्राह्मणाद्यान्नक्षुद्र-प्रकृति-कुट्टुम्बिनः कुशल-मुक्त्वानुदर्शयन्ति [यथैवं ?]

4 [वि]ज्ञापयती नो[2] ग्रामिक-नाभको(ऽ*)हमिच्छे[3] मातापित्रोस्स्वपुण्याप्यायनाय कदि(ति)चिद्ब्राह्मणार्य्यान्प्रतिवासयितुं

5 [तद]र्हथ ग्रामानुक्रम-विक्रय-मर्य्यादया मत्तो हिरण्यमुपसंगृह्य समुदयबाह्याप्रद-खिल-क्षेत्राणा[ं]

6 [प्र]सादं कर्त्तुमति[4] (।*) यतः पुस्तपाल-पत्रदासेनावधारितं युक्तमनेन विज्ञापित-मस्त्ययं विक्रय-

7 मर्य्यादा-प्रसङ्गस्तद्दीयतामस्य परमभट्टारक-महाराज-पा[दे]न पुण्योपचयायेति[5] (।*) पुनरस्यैव

8 [पत्रदा]सस्यावधारणयावधृत्य नाभक--हस्ताद्दीनार-[द्वय]मुपसंगृह्य[6] स्थायपाल-[7] कपिल श्रीभद्राभ्यायायकृ[त्य][8] च समुदय-

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[1] Read कुटुम्बि० and ०नक्षुद्र०. महत्तर = elders; the head of the village jury. The passage means "the village jury consisting of eight members and headed by the *mahattara* (older), and the agriculturist householders who are village headmen." The word कुटुम्बिन् is the origin of *Kurmi* or *Kulmbi*, a prominent agriculturist caste of Northern India. ग्रामिक = headman of a village; Manu (VII, 115-19) seems to suggest that he was the king's representative in the village. Palāśavṛindaka was the centre of local administration of a group of villages, one of which was Chaṇḍagrāma. Two villages called Palāśbāṛī and another called Palāśdāṅgā lie not far off from Dāmodarpur. स्वस्ति (may it be well) introduces the record proper, the preceding part being considered as the date portion. सविश्वासं अनुदर्शयन्ति = tell (or, inform as follows) with confidence [in the addressees].

[2] Basak suggests the correction विज्ञापयतीति. Read ०पयति. नः = अस्मान्.

[3] Read इच्छये or इच्छामि.

[4] Read ०मिति. ग्रामानुक्रमविक्रयमर्यादया (cf. सत्यमर्य्यादया in line 9) = according to the custom of sale prevalent in the villages. समुदयबाह्य = yielding no income (See pp. 345, 360). अप्रदा = non-transferable property (cf. pp. 292, 349.

[5] Cf. *infra*, p. 348, note 6. Better महाराजपादानां·

[6] द्वय had at first been omitted and was then engraved in the lower margin of the plate. Note that two *dīnāras* instead of three are accepted in this case. Waste land of the State, available for sale for the purpose of reclamation, was thus of different types and prices.

[7] Possibly स्थानपाल = watchman, policeman.

[8] Read ०भ्यामायीकृत्य (*infra*, No. 41, line 14). Apparently the money was received through the two persons.

Second Side

9 [बाह्याप्रद*]-[खि]ल-क्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमेकमस्य वायिग्रामकोत्तर-पार्श्वस्यैव च सत्य-मर्य्यादाया[1] दक्षिण-पश्चिम-पूर्व्वेण

10 मह[त्त]राद्यधिकरण-कुटुम्वि(म्बि)भिः प्रत्यवेक्ष्याष्टक-नवक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविन्छ्य[2] चतुस्सीमोल्लिङ्ग्य[3] च नागदेवस्य

11 [दत्तं(त्तम्)] (।*) [तदु]त्तर-कालं संव्यवहारिभिर्द्धर्म्ममवेक्ष्य प्रतिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च[4] महर्ष्षिभिः (।*)

स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
12 [स विष्ठा]यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
13 तदा फलं(लम्) (॥*) 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥[5] 3

No. 35—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 165 (=484 A.D.)

EṚAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 89; *ibid.*, p. 88 for other references.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 आर्या.

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[1] Read मर्य्यादया.

[2] Read °ष्टक-नवक-नला° as in other records. It may be suggested that the unit of the measurement was 8×9 reeds (measuring rods). But the *dvivachana* may also indicate that two rods were used in measuring a plot of land. In that case, the custom may have been to measure the length with a rod 9 cubits long and the breadth by one 8 cubits long. It is also possible that *ashṭaka*, *navaka* and *navaka* here are related respectively to *dakshiṇa*, *paśchima* and *pūrva* of line 9. अपविञ्छ्य=having severed, *i.e.* having measured out.

[3] Basak च तुष्टिमो°. Read °सीमा उ°. उल्लिङ्ग्य=making clear by marks (*infra*, No. 41, line 19). °देवस्य = देवाय. Bāyigrāma=Baigrām near Hili, Bogra District.

[4] Better read °नीयम् । उक्तञ्च.

[5] Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

TEXT[1]

1 जयति विभुश्चतुर्भुजश्चतुरर्ण्णव-विपुल-सलिल-पर्य्यङ्कः [।]
जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्ति-न्य[यादि*]-[2]

2 हेतुर्ग्गरुड-केतुः (॥*) 1
शते पञ्चषष्ट्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते ।
आषाढ-मास-[शुक्ल]-

3 [द्वा]दश्यां[3] सुरगुरोर्द्दिवसे ।(।*) 2
सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ५ (॥*)
कालिन्दी-नर्म्मदयोर्म्मध्यं पालयति लोकपाल-गुणै-[4]
र्ज्जगति महा[राज]-

4 श्रियमनुभवति सुरश्मिचन्द्रे च । (।*) 3
अस्यां संवत्सर-मास-दिवस-पूर्व्वयां[5] स्वकर्म्माभिरतस्य क्रतु-याजि[नः]

5 अधीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेर्म्मैत्रायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्रविष्णोः प्रपौत्रेण पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुण[विष्णोः]

6 पौत्रेण पितरमनुजातस्य[6] स्व-वंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः पुत्रेणात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तेन विधातुरिच्छया स्वयंवरयेव र[ा]ज-

7 लक्ष्म्याधिगतेन चतुःसमुद्र-पर्य्यन्त-प्रथित-यशसा अक्षीण-मानधनेनानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णुना महाराज-मातृविष्णुन[ा][7]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] The restoration is due to Hall. न्यय = चय = प्रलय.

[3] Prinsep : त्रयो°. The date is Thursday, the 21st June, 484 A.D. This is the earliest use of the name of the weekdays, which the Indians learnt probably from works of the Greek astronomers of Alexandria. Greek influence on Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.) is well known. His *Pauliśasiddhānta* is based on the works of Paul of Alexandria (c. 378 A.D.); cf. also his *Romakasiddhānta* in which *Romaka* = Graeco-Roman.

[4] Read गुणैः । जगति. With the province called कालीन्दी-नर्म्मदा-मध्य, compare अन्तर्वेदी of *supra*, No. 27, line 4. Rivers were apparently taken to be the natural boundaries of some of the Gupta *vishayas*.

[5] पूर्व्वायां (=during the above) is an idiomatic use for पूर्व्वायां तिथौ. See above, p 137, note 3.

[6] पितरम् अनुजातः=one who takes after or resembles his father [in merits].

[7] The Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa and Dhanyavishṇu (*infra*) proves that the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūṇas almost immediately after Budhagupta (possibly during the reign of Bhānugupta; cf. *infra*, No. 38), and it is not impossible that the western part of Central India had been gradually conquered by them during the later years or

8 तस्यैवानुजेन तदनुविधायिन[ा] तत्प्रसाद-परिगृ[ही]तेन धन्यविष्णुना च ।[1] मातृ-प्रित्रोः[2] पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतः ।[1]

9 पुण्यजनार्द्दनस्य[3] जनार्द्दनस्य ध्वजस्तम्भो(ऽ*)भ्युच्छ्रितः (॥*) स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-[पु]रोगाभ्यः सर्व्व-प्रजाभ्य इति ।(।*)

No. 36—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.
R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV. pp. 138f.; D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Cult.*, V, pp. 432f.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[4]

First Side

1 ... ... फाल्गुन-दि १० (+*) [५] परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीवुधगु[प्ते][5] [पृथिवी*]-

2 [पतौ*] [त*]त्पाद-परिगृहीतस्य पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-जयदत्तस्य[6] भोगेनानु[वहमा]-

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after the death of Skandagupta. But the evidence of the *Harshacharita* suggests that the 'Later' Guptas ruled Mālava (East Mālwā) after the short rule of the Hūṇas, while the local line represented by Yaśodharman (cf. *infra*, Nos. 53ff.) regained power in West Malwa.

[1] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] Read मातापित्रोः.

[3] पुण्यजनार्द्दन = troubler of the demons (पुण्यजन).

[4] From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

[5] Read बुध°. The year of the Gupta era is lost at the beginning of the record.

[6] Jayadatta appears to have belonged to the family of Chirātadatta and Brahmadatta of *supra*, No. 34 (cf. names of the *śreshṭhins* Dhṛitipāla and Ṛibhupāla; the *sārthavāhas* Bandhumitra and Vasumitra; the *Kulikas* Varadatta and Matidatta; the *Kāyasthas* Śāmbapāla, Viprapāla and Skandapāla). The cognomens like *Gupta* show that the second member of the father's name was usually continued in the son's, and thus gave rise to a family-name. The successors of Chandragupta I and Gopāla had names ending in *gupta* and *pāla*, and thus the lines came to be known as the Gupta and Pāla families. In the

3 नके [को]टि[वर्ष]-विषये च तन्नियुक्तकेहायुक्तक-षण्डके[1] अधिष्ठानाधिकरण[ं*] नगरश्रेष्ठिरिभु-

4 पा[ल]-सार्त्थवाहवसुमित्र-प्रथमकुलिकवरदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थविप्रपाल-पुरोगे च स[म्व्य]-वहरति[2]

5 अनेन श्रेष्ठि-रिभुपालेन विज्ञापितं हिमवच्छिखरे[3] कोकामुखस्वामिनः[4] चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः [श्वे]तव-

6 राहस्वामिनो(ऽ*)पि[5] सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशन्सिनो[6] पुन्याभिवृद्धये[7] डोङ्गाग्रापे[8] पूर्व्वं मया

7 अप्रदा अतिसृष्टकास्तदहन्तत्क्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ[9] तयोराद्य-कोकामुखस्वामि-श्वेतवराह-

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fifth century A. D., such cognomens appear to have been prevalent in Bengal as also in some other parts of India. Most of the modern Bengali family-names are of this type, though some (e g. Niyogī) are derived from official titles (some of them being of Muhammadan times) and from *mūlagrāmas* or *gāñis*, i.e. villages where the families claimed to have originally lived (e.g. Vandyopādhyāya from a village called Vandya or Vandyaghaṭa).

[1] This may also be read as गण्डके.

[2] Read संव्य॰. The correct form of the Śreshṭhin's name is ऋभुपाल.

[3] हिमवच्छिखर literally means "the peak of the Himalayas". The reference is to Barāhachhatra (Varāhakshetra) in Nepal; cf. my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 217 ff. The situation of the land granted to the gods (cf. *infra*, p. 338, note 1 and line 14; No. 39, line 17) suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. It has been wrongly supposed that the Koṭivarsha district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal. Actually a pilgrim of these parts visited Barāhachhatra and dedicated in favour of the deities worshipped there some land lying in his home district. Better हिमवच्छिखरस्थस्य.

[4] A *tīrtha* called कोकामुख is mentioned in *Mbh.*, III, 84, 158; XIII, 25, 52, and the Purāṇas, and this is the present Barāhachhatra at the confluence of the Kokā and Kauśikī in Nepal. The word *ādya*, 'original', refers to the deities at Barāhachhatra as distinguished from the two gods of the same names installed in a temple near the gift land at a later date. Kokāmukha was a form of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu. See my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 217 ff.

[5] The name of the deity clearly shows that he represented the Boar form of the god Vishṇu.

[6] Read ॰शंसिना. [7] Read पुण्या॰.

[8] Read ग्रामे. The village has also been mentioned in *supra*, No. 18.

[9] Better ॰सृष्टकाः (=दत्ताः)। तद॰.

8 स्वामिनोर्ना[म]ल्लिङ्गमेकं[1] देवकुल-द्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिका-द्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छाम्यहंथ वास्तुना

9 सह [कुल्य]वापान्यथाक्रय-मर्य्यादया दातुमिति (।*) यतः पुस्तपाल-विष्णुदत्त विजय-[नन्दि]-स्थानु-[2]

10 नन्दिनाःसवधारणयावधृतमस्त्यनेन हिमवच्छिखरे तयोः कोकामुखस्वामि-श्वेतवरा[ह]-स्वामि[नोः]

11 अप्रदा-क्षेत्त्र-कुल्यवापा[3] एकादश दत्तकास्तदर्थञ्चेह देवकुल-कोष्ठिका-करणे[4] युक्त[मे]त[द्विज्ञा]-

12 [पितं][क्र]मेण तत्क्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ वास्तु दातुमित्यनुवृत्त-त्रिदीनारिक्यकु[ल्यवा]प-विक्रय[मर्य्या]द-[5]

Second Side

13 [या*]... ... ...

14 ... ... पु[ष्करि]णी पू [र्व्वेण] रिभु[पा]ल-पु[ष्करिणी ?] [दक्षिणेन]

15 ... ... दत्ताः (।*) [त]दुत्तरकालं [सं]व्यवहारिभिर्द्देवभ[क्त्या]नु-मन्तव्या[6] [उक्तं] व्यासेन (।*)

स्व-दत्तां परदत्ता-

16 [म्वा[7] यो हरेत] वसुन्धराम् (।*)

स विष्टा[यां] क्रिमिभ्भूत्वा[8] पि[तृ]भिस्स[ह पच्यते] (।।*) 1

पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो

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[1] Read नाम-लिङ्गमेतद्°, नामलिङ्ग=marked by the names [of Kokāmukhasvāmin and vetavarāhasvāmin]; देवकुल=temple; कोष्ठिका=store-room. These were meant for two new deities named after the original gods of Barāhachhatra. The new temples were built in the forest area near the gift land (cf. *atr=āraṇye* in No. 39 below). It appears that the gift land was transferred to the local imitations of the gods of Barāhachhatra because it was difficult for the donor to send the income of the land to the original gods in distant Nepal.

[2] Read स्थाणु°. वास्तु=building ground.

[3] Or अप्रदा(:*).

[4] करणे=करणाय or करणविषये. क्रमेण=in proper order; in due course of time.

[5] क्रयमर्यादा (line 9) from the purchasers' viewpoint is the same as विक्रयमर्यादा from the sellers' viewpoint. Lines 13-15 contained a description of the boundaries of the land.

[6] Better °मन्तव्याः । उक्तं. [7] Read °त्तां वा.

[8] The usual spelling is कृमि, विष्टा= विष्ठा. Read °र्भूत्वा

17 [यत्नाद्रक्ष यु]धिष्ठिर (।*)
महीं [महीमतां] श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं][1] (॥*) 2
[बहु]भिर्व्वसु[धा द]त्ता
18 [राजभिश्च] पुनः पुनः (।*)
[य]स्य [य]स्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य तस्य] त[दा] फलमिति[2] (॥*) 3

No. 36A—Nalanda Seal of Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.)

Nālandā, Pāṭnā District, Bihār.

H. SASTRI, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 64; A. GHOSH. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIX, 1943, pp. 119 ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, pp. 273 ff.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT[3]

1 [सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज*]-श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीघटोत्क-
2 [चपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि*]-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्वां कुमार-
देव्यामुत्पन्न-
3 [स्य महाराजाधिराज श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि*]गृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः
4 [स्वयञ्चाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री*]-चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
नुध्यातो
5 [महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज*]-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
6 [नुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म*]हाराजाधिराज-श्री-[पूरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
7 [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्री*][महा ?]देव्यामुत्पन्नः
8 [परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री*]-बुधगुप्तः (॥*)

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[1] Read ०नम्.

[2] Better फलम् ॥ इति ॥

[3] From the photograph in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66. The record is fragmentary; but it establishes beyond doubt that Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I. The concluding part of this record may be compared to the corresponding section of the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Budhagupta's stepbrother Narasiṁhagupta—

6 [दानुध्यातो म*]हादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः महाराजाधिराज-श्रीपूरुगुप्तस्तस्य पु
7 [त्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो*] महादेव्यां श्रीचन्द्रदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभाग-
8 [वतो महाराजाधिरा*]ज-श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तः (॥*)

See *Ind. Hist. Quart*, XIX, p. 273. The spelling of the name of Narasiṁhagupta's father is here clearly *Pūrugupta*.

No. 36B—Nālandā Seal of Vishṇugupta[1]

Nālandā, Pāṭnā District, Bihār.
KRISHNA DEVA, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 239.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Northern Brāhmī of the 5th or 6th century A.D.

TEXT[2]

... ...

... ...

... ...

... .

1 ... ... [म*]हाराजाधिराज-श्र[ी*]-[पूरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो

... ...

2 ... ... [म*]ह[ा*]र[ा]ज[ा]धिराज-श्रीनरसिंह[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो

3 ... ... [महा*]राजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो म[हा]-

4 [देव्यां ... ... देव्यामुत्प*]न्न‿परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीविष्णुगु[प्तः*](॥*)

No. 37—Guṇaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainyagupta—Gupta Year 188 (=507 A.D.)

GUṆAIGHAR, 18 miles to the north-west of Comilla, Tippera District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, pp. 53ff.; M. GHOSH, *ibid.*, p. 561.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

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[1] It is not known whether he ruled before or after Budhagupta (476-94 A.D.).

[2] From the photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. The upper part and the left side of the seal are broken away and lost.

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) महानौ[2]-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात्क्रीपुराद्भगवन्महादेव-पादानुद्ध्यातो[3] महाराज-श्रीवैन्यगुप्तः[4]

2 कुशली * * * * * * * *[5] स्वपादोपजीविनश्च कुशलमाशंस्य समाज्ञापयति (।*) विदितं भवतामस्तु यथा

3 मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु[ण्या]भिवृ[द्ध]ये(ऽ*)स्मत्पाददास-महाराज-रुद्रदत्त-विज्ञाप्यादनेनैव माहायानिक-शाक्यभिक्षवा-

4 चार्य्य-शान्तिदेवमुद्दिश्य गोप(?) … … …. [दिग्भागे ?] कार्य्यमाणकार्य्यावलोकितेश्वराश्रम-विहारे[6] अनेनै-

5 वाचार्य्येण प्रतिपादित[क?]-माहायानिक-वैवर्त्तिक-भिक्षु-संघनाम्परिग्रहे[7] भगवतो बुद्धस्य सततं त्रिष्कालं[8]

6 गन्ध-पुष्प-दीप-धूपादि-प्र[वर्त्तनाय।] [त*]स्य भिक्षुसंघस्य च चीवर-पिण्डपात-शयनासन-ग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यादि-

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[1] Prepared with the help of Bhattacharya's transcript. The plates published in *Ind. Hist. Quart*, VI, are not quite satisfactory. The seal has the figure of a recumbent bull to right and the legend : महाराज-श्रीवै[न्यगुप्तस्य]. See note for below.

[2] महानौ = ship. Note that the navy gradually became an important factor in the army of Indian kings, though the conventional units are said to have been हस्त्यश्व-रथ-पादातं सेनाङ्गं स्याच्चतुष्टयम्. Note also the omission of the chariot. Cf. above, Nos. 4-5.

[3] The king was a devotee of Śiva ; but the way in which the idea is expressed is rare in inscriptions ; cf., however, वामदेव-पादानुध्यात in the Kalachuri and नागदेवपादानुध्यात in the Chalukya records. For अनुध्यात, see *supra*, p. 279, note 5.

[4] In literature, the name is often written वैण्य°. It is interesting that his पाददास and उपरिक are also styled महाराज (lines 3 and 16). His title महाराज therefore cannot prove that Vainyagupta was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as महाराजाधिराज. His dominions possibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihār.

[5] Some 8 *aksharas* are lost and may be restored as ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बिनः or समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः.

[6] Mahāyāna is a developed school of Buddhism, the early orthodox school being called Hīnayāna. The Mahāyānists worshipped many gods and goddesses, such as the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas derived from the Ādi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajñā, the numerous Bodhisattvas, etc. Avalokiteśvara was a Bodhisattva. See *supra*, p. 133, note 5.

[7] Read सङ्घानां. The Vaivarttikas (following the doctrine of *Vivartta* or Māyā?), otherwise unknown, were apparently a sect of the Māhāyānikas. An emendation that has been suggested is माहायानिकावैवर्त्तिक°.

[8] Possibly त्रिकालं (= त्रिसन्ध्य') is intended.

7 परिभोगाय[1] विहारे [च] खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्कार-करणाय[2] उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्ते-डद्दकग्रामे[3] सर्वतो भो-

8 गेनाग्रहारत्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्ताम्र-पट्टेनातिसृष्टाः (।*) अपि च खलु श्रुति-स्मृती-

9 [ति*]हा[स]-विहितां[5] पुण्य-भूमिदान-श्रुतिमैहिकामुत्त्रिक-फल-विशेषे स्मृतो[6] भावतः समुपगम्य स्वतस्तु पी-

10 डामप्यूरीकृत्य पात्रेभ्यो भूमिं * * * * * * *[7] (।*) * * * द्विष(?)द्भिरस्म-द्वचन-गौरवात्स्व-यशो-धर्म्मावाप्तये चैते

11 पाटका अस्मिन्वि(?)हारे शश्वत्कालमभ्य[नुपालयितव्याः ॥*][8] अनुपालनम्प्रति च भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्या-

12 सेन व्यासेन गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति (।*)
षष्टिं वर्ष-स[हस्रा]णि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-

13 न्येव न[र*]के वसेत् (॥*) 1

---

[1] चीवर=cloth; पिण्डपात=giving alms; here possibly getting food शयनासन=bed and seat; ग्लानप्रत्यय-भैषज्य=पीडाहेतुक॰=medicine or medical treatment for diseases.

[2] फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फटित.

[3] *I.e.*, in the village of Kānteḍadaka in the division called Uttara-maṇḍala.

[4] पाटक is the name of a land measure. According to Hemchandra, it means half of a village (cf. Beng. *pāḍā*). By a calculation of the area of the five plots, we see that $8\frac{3}{4}$ *pāṭakas*+90 *droṇavāpas*=11 *pāṭakas*; or $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pāṭakas*=90 *droṇavāpas*. *Pāṭaka* was therefore=40 *droṇavāpas*. For the *droṇ* of the Chittagong District as noticed by Hunter (*Stat. Ac. Beng.*, VI, p. 164), see *supra*, p. 293, note 10. Hunter (p. 301) says that in the Noākhāli District, the *droṇ* in Shāistānagar=about 48 acres, in Sandvīp=about 34 acres, and in Government estates=about 25 acres. 1 acre=$3\frac{1}{40}$ *bighās*. The scheme is 4 *kaḍā*=*gaṇḍā*, 20 *gaṇḍās*=*kānī*, 16 *kānīs*=*droṇ*; but measuring rod=14, 16 or 22 cubits, and cubit=18 or $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches (sometimes, reference is to the hand of a particular person, *i.e.* a cubit of uncertain length). See p. 361, note 7.

[5] Bhattacharya : ह्मपविह्निता.

[6] Read ॰षेण स्मृतौ Some suggest स्मृतां.

[7] Restore नापहरेत्, बाधाञ्च न कुर्यात्. पीडामप्यूरीकृत्य=even courting [pecuniary] troubles.

[8] Bhattacharya suggests ॰भ्यनुमन्तव्याः.

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा[1] यो हरेत [वसु]न्धरां(राम्) (।*)
[स] विष्ठायां कृमिर्भुत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते (॥*) 2

14 पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो[2](ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) 3
वर्त्तमानाष्टाशीत्यु-

15 त्तर-शत-संवत्सरे पौष-मासस्य चतुर्व्विन्शतितम-दिवसे[3] दूतकेन महाप्रतीहार-महापीलुपति-पञ्चाधि-

16 करणोपरिक-पाट्ट्युपरिक-[पुर?]पुरपालोपरिक[4]-महाराज-श्रीमहासामन्त-विजयसेने-नैतदेकादश-पाटक-दा-

17 नायाज्ञामनुभाविताः कुमारामात्य-रेवज्जस्वामी भामह-वत्स-भोगिकाः[6] (॥*) लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहारिकरण-काय-[7]

18 स्थ-नरदत्तेन (॥*) यत्रैकक्षेत्त्रखण्डे नव-द्रोणवापाधिक-सप्त-पाटक-परिमाणे सीमा-लिङ्गानि (।*) पूर्व्वेण गुणेका-

19 ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा विष्णुवर्धकि-क्षेत्त्रञ्च[8] (।*) दक्षिणेन मिदुविलाल(?)-क्षेत्त्रं राज-विहार-क्षेत्त्रञ्च[8] (।*) पश्चिमेन सूरी-नाशी-रम्पूर्व्वोक-

---

[1] Read दत्तां वा. [2] Read दानाच्छ्रेयो°. [3] Read °व्विंशति°.

[4] पुर seems to have been engraved twice owing to mistake.

[5] This Vijayasena has been identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Mallasārul inscription (*infra*). महाप्रतीहार=the chief officer superintending the defence of the gates of the royal palace and also of the capital city. पञ्चाधिकरणोपरिक=chief superintendent of five administering offices. पाट्युपरिक=chief officer of the accounts department (cf. पाटी=arithmetic). पुरपालोपरिक=the chief police officer of the royal city. उपरिक=superior officer. पीलु (Arabic *fīl*)=elephant (according to Medinīkara of the 14th century). See *supra*, p. 272, note 9. पीलुपति=leader of the elephant force, or keeper of the elephants (cf. *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 30, mentioning *pīlupati* and *gajapati* side by side), or both. Words like पीलु and दिबिर were introduced into Indian administration by foreign invaders like the Scytho-Parthians. The word गञ्जवर (originally Persian) is used in Book II, No. 26 सामन्त=feudatory chief.

[6] Read °गिकौ च. It appears that the *dūtaka* (executor) Vijayasena entrusted the business to *Kumārāmātya* Revajjasvāmin and to two other officers called *Bhogikas*. *Bhogika* indicates a *jāgīrdār* or an official enjoying an *inām* in lieu of salary.

[7] Read विग्रहाधि°. Naradatta was a scribe belonging to the office of the minister for peace and war.

[8] Read °त्रञ्च. वर्धकि=a carpenter in profession or caste. राजविहार=royal monastery.

20 क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) उत्तरेण दोषी-भोग-पुष्करिण[ी][1] … … … … … [ए*]वम्प्रियाकादित्य-व(ब)न्धु-क्षेत्राणाञ्च सीमा (॥*)

21 द्वितीय-खण्डस्याष्टाविन्शति-[2]द्रोणवाप-परिमाणस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण गुणिका-[3]ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन पक्क-

22 विलाल(?)-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन राजविहार-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) उत्तरेण वैद्य(?)-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (॥*) तृतीय-खण्डस्य त्रयोविन्शति[2]-द्रोणवाप-

23 परिमाणस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण … … … … क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) दक्षिणेन नखद्दा-र्च्चरिक(?)-क्षेत्त्र-सीमा (।*) पश्चिमेन

Second Side

24 ज(जो?)लारी-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) उत्तरेण नागी-जोडाक-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (॥*) चतुर्थस्य त्रिंशद्द्रोणवाप-परिमाण-क्षेत्त्र-खण्डस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण

25 बुद्धाक-क्षेत्र-सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन कालाक-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन [सू]र्य्य-क्षेत्त्र-सीमा (।*) उत्तरेण महीपाल-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (॥*) [प]ञ्चमस्य

26 पादोन-पाटक-द्वय-परिमाण-क्षेत्त्र-खण्डस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण खण्ड-वि[डु]ग्गुरिक-क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) दक्षिणेन मणिभद्र-

27 क्षेत्त्रं(त्त्रम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन यज्ञरात-क्षेत्त्र-सीमा (।*) उत्तरेण नादडदकग्राम-सीमेति (॥*) विहार-तलभूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि (।*)

28 पूर्व्वेण चूडामणिनगरश्रीनौयोगयोर्म्मध्ये जोला[4] (।*) दक्षिणेन गणेश्वर-विलाल-पुष्करिण्या नौ-खातः (।*)

29 पश्चिमेन प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल-[5]क्षेत्र प्रान्तः (।*) उत्तरेण प्रडामार-नौयोग-खातः (॥*) एतद्विहारप्रावेस्य-शून्यप्रतिकर-

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[1] भोग may be a personal name and दोषी may stand for Sanskrit ज्योतिषी. भोग may also indicate Doshi's temporary possession of the tank.

[2] Read विंशति.

[3] Guṇekāgrahāra of lines 18-19 and Guṇikāgrahāra of line 21 are apparently identical and the same as modern Guṇaighar.

[4] Beng. जोला (=खात) means a ditch. Between Chūḍāmaṇinagara and Śrīnauyoga; or, between the *nauyogas* (places for parking boats) of Chūḍāmaṇi and Nagaraśrī?

[5] For another temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva, see the Deopāḍā inscription (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, III, pp. 42 ff.).

30 हज्जिक[1]-खिळ-भूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि (।*) पूर्व्वेण प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुळ-क्षेत्त्र-सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन शाक्यभिक्ष्वाचार्य्यं-जित-

31 सेन-वैहारिक-क्षेत्त्रावसा(? नः(नम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन ह(?)चात-गंग उत्तरेण दण्ड-पुष्किणी[2] चेति ॥ सं १० (+*) ८० (+*) ८ पोष्ष[3]-दि २० (+*) ४ (॥*)

No. 38—Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhānugupta—Gupta Year 191 (=510 A.D.)

ERAṆ, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 92f.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verses 1 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्); Vv. 3-4 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT[4]

1 १॰[5] संवत्सर शते एकनवत्युत्तरे श्रावण-बहुळपक्ष-स[प्त]म्य[ं](म्याम्) (।*)

2 संवत् १०० (+*) ९० (+*) १ श्रावण-ब-दि[6] ७ ॥

* * क्रु[7]-वङ्गादुत्पन्नो[8] * *-[9]
श

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[1] Cf. Beng. हाजा in the expression हाजा-शुका, flood and drought, loss caused by them. Here हज्जिक may mean 'marshy land'. विहारप्रावेश्य=land regarded as a part of the site of the monastery (प्रावेश्य derived from प्रवेश, income, revenue) for the purpose of assessment (*J.A.S.*, Letters, 1952, p. 78, note). शून्यप्रतिकर=not yielding any revenue. तलभूमि=land granted to a religious establishment for its maintenance at the time of consecration (pp. 357, 360). विलाल=possibly, a mechanic caste like वर्धकि. गंग (Beng. गाङ्), rivulet.

[2] Read पुष्करिणी.

[3] Read पौष°.

[4] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[5] सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

[6] ब is an abbreviated form of बहुल-पक्ष and दि of दिवस. Sometimes we have व (=वद्य) instead of ब (=बहुल).

[7] Fleet suggested that, of the three letters, the third is च and the second may be ल.

[8] Read वंशा°.

[9] The two letters containing the name cannot be read. There are possibly traces of a subscript *r* sign which may suggest that the name was something like भ्रुवराज. Or, गोपराज ?

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3 राजेति विश्रुतः (।*)
तस्य पुत्त्रो(ऽ*)तिविक्रान्तो नाम्ना राजाथ माधवः ॥ 1
गोपराज[:]

4 सुतस्तस्य श्रीमान्विख्यात-पौरुषः (।*)
शरभराज-दौहित्त्रः स्व-वङ्ग[1]-तिलको(ऽ*)धुना(?) (॥*) 2
श

5 श्री-भानुगुप्तो[2] जगति प्रवीरो
राजा महा(न्*) पार्थ-समो(ऽ*)ति-शूरः(।*)
तेनाथ सार्द्धन्त्विह गोपर[ाजो]

6 सित्त्वानु[गत्येन][3] किळानुयातः ॥ 3
कृत्वा (च*) [यु]द्धं सुमहत्प्रक[ा]शं
स्वर्ग्गं गतो दिव्य-न[रे?][न्द्र-कल्पः*] (।*)

7 भक्तानुरक्ता च[4] प्रिया च कान्ता
भ[ार्य्याव]ल[ग्न]ानुगता[ग्नि]र[ा]शिम् ॥ 4[5]

No. 39—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 224 (=543 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind*, XV, pp. 142f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 193f.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

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[1] Read वंश.

[2] It is not impossible that, when Vainyagupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire, Bhānugupta was ruling the western part and another line of rules had control over the central part.

[3] The *aksharas* are indistinct. Fleet conjecturally reads वत्यार ; but the last *akshara* appears to be न.

[4] Fleet thinks that the metre is faulty as this च has been lengthened by the influence of प्रि. But the conjuncts प्र and क्र as also व्र and क्र are said to be exceptions to the rule वर्णसंयोगपूर्वस्य and, before them, the vowels may be short by a sort of poetical licence; cf. *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 11; *Siśupālavadha*, X, 60, etc.

[5] Here is an early reference to the Suttee. Cf. *JAHRS*, XIX, pp. 203 ff. The battle referred to may represent a phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūṇas in Central India.

TEXT[1]

Seal

कोटिवर्षाधिष्ठानाधि[करणस्य][2] ।

First Side

1 स[म्व][3] २००(+*) २०[4] (+*) ४ भाद्र-दि ५ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-म[हा]-
राजाधिराज-श्री...[5]

2 गुप्ते पृथिवीपतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते[6] पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरि[क-महाराज]स्य [महा*]-

3 राजपुत्र-देवभट्टारकस्य हस्त्यश्व-जन-भोगेनानुवहमा[न]के को[टिव]र्ष-विष-
[ये] च त-

4 न्नियुक्तकेह-विषय-पति-स्वयम्भुदेवे[7] अधिष्ठानाधिकरण(ञ्च*) आर्य्य[न]गर-
[श्रेष्ठिरिभु]पाल-[7]

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[1] From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

[2] "[The seal] of the administrative board of the city of Koṭivarsha". See p. 291, note 8, above.

[3] Read संव which is the contraction of संवत्सरः or ०रे.

[4] Basak : १०.

[5] Basak suggests बुधगुप्त, while Krishna Sastri wants to restore कुमारगुप्त, sometimes identified with the king mentioned in *supra*, No. 32, though Vishṇugupta's name may also be thought of (cf. No. 36-B). It may be pointed out that, besides the controversy regarding the ascription of Narasiṁhagupta and his son Kumāra and grandson Vishṇu before or after Budha, the position is complicated due to the existence of other rulers of the family like Vainya and Bhānu. It may also be noted that the आर्य्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 671-76) gives the list of later Imperial Gupta kings as बालाख्य (बालादित्य)-कुमार-उकाराख्य-देव. If this Deva[gupta?] may be identified with Deva-bhaṭṭāraka (who appears to have been the emperor's son made governor of the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana) of the present inscription, the missing name may be conjecturally restored as उपगुप्त. The possibility of an Upagupta in the Gupta genealogy has been suggested by Raychaudhuri on the basis of the name of Upaguptā, mother of Maukhari Īśānavarman (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 500, note).

[6] Read गृहीतस्य. The technical difference between अनुध्यात and परिगृहीत is not known. One of them possibly indicates appointment and the other acceptance of an appointment or position at least in some cases.

[7] Basak's corrections इह० and स्वयम्भू० are unnecessary. *Ribhu*° is written for *Ṛibhu*°.

5 सार्त्थवाहस्थाणुदत्त-प्रथमकुलिकमतिदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थस्कन्दपाल-पुरोगे [स]ंव्य[वह]रति

6 आयोध्यक-कुळपुत्त्रक[1]-अमृतदेवेन विज्ञापितमिह-विषये समुदयबाह्याप्रहत-[2]
खिल-[क्षे]त्रा-

7 णां त्रिदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः तदर्हथ मत्तो दीनारानुपसंगृह्य
मन्मातुः [पु]ण्या-

8 भिवृद्धये अत्रारण्ये[3] भगवतः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनो देवकुले खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रति-[4]
[सं]स्का[र]-[क]-

9 रणाय बलिचरुसत्रप्रवर्त्तन-गव्यधूपपुष्पप्रापण-मधुपर्क्कदीपाद्युप[यो]गा[य] च

10 अप्रदा-धर्म्मेण ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य क्षेत्र-स्तोकन्दातुमिति[5] (।*) यतः प्रथमपुस्तपाळ-
नर[न]न्दि-

11 गोपदत्त-भट(?)नन्दिनामवधारणया युक्त[त]या ध[र्म्माधि]कार-[बु]द्ध्या विज्ञापित(ं*)[6]
ना[त्र*] [वि*]-

---

[1] Read ०पुत्त्रकामृत०. Ayodhyā, whence Amṛitadeva hailed, is the ancient city near modern Faizābād. कुलपुत्र=born of a noble family.

[2] *Supra*, p. 292, note 3. It may also be suggested that, of the two terms खिल and अप्रहत, one indicates land never tilled (or not tilled for a long time) and the other land whose cultivation has been stopped for some time (or for a short period). Some scholars translate खिल as 'fallow' and अप्रहत as 'untilled'.

[3] Note that the original deity was worshipped on the Himavach-chhikhara (*supra*, No. 36) while his substitute was installed at a place which has been indicated here as a local forest. See above, p. 337, notes 3 and 4; p. 338, note 1.

[4] Prakrit फुट्ट is for Sanskrit स्फुटित. *I.e.*, "for making repairs of whatever is broken or torn."

[5] "For instituting बलि, चरु and सत्र; for supplying cow's milk, incense and flowers, and for applying मधुपर्क, lamp, etc." बलि=oblation, animal sacrificed to a deity चरु=oblation of rice or barley usually boiled in milk; सत्र=oblation; here possibly, distribution of food (प्रसाद), or giving food and shelter to guests. मधुपर्क=usually दधि सर्पिर्जलं क्षौद्रं सिता चैतैश्च पंचभिः। प्रोच्यते मधुपर्कः··· स्तोक=a small plot. गव्य=milk (sometimes क्षीरं दधि तथा चाज्यं मूत्रं गोमयमेव च).

[6] Basak: विज्ञापितवा···; see No. 41, lines 12-13; No. 42, lines 15-17. Basak's translation has "......a quarrel with the Vishayapati. However, through his Highness *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the victory of right is assured." There is however no doubt that श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादेन धर्मपरतावाप्तिः is the same as भट्टारकपादानां धर्मफल-षड्भागावाप्तिः of *infra*, No. 41, line 13. परता=फल=result; धर्मपरतावाप्ति=धर्मरूपफलप्राप्ति. See also *infra*, No. 43, line 13. विरोध=अर्थविरोध (No. 41, lines 12 13)=opposition to one's interest. Or, विषयपतिनां विरोधः=objection from the District Magistrates.

12 षय-पतिना(।*) कश्चिद्विरोधः केवलं श्री-परमभट्टारकपादेन धर्म्मप[र]-

13 [तावाप्ति][ः*][1]

Second Side

14 इत्यनेनावधारणाक्रमेण एतस्मादमृतदेवात्पञ्चदश-दीनारानुपसंगृह्य एतन्मातु[ः*]

15 अनुग्रहेण स्वच्छन्दपाटके(ऽ*)[र्द्ध]टी-प्रावेश्य-लवङ्गसिकायाञ्च[2] वास्तुभिस्सह कुल्यवाप-द्वयं

16 साट्वनाश्रमके(ऽ*)पि वास्तुना सह कुल्यवाप एकः परस्पतिकायां पञ्चकुल्यवापकस्योत्त[रे]ण

17 जम्वून[द्या]ः[3] पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप एकः पूरणवृन्दिकहरौ पाटक-पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप एकः इत्येवं खिल-क्षेत्त्र-

18 स्य वास्तुना सह पञ्च कुल्यवापाः अप्रदा-धर्म्मेण[4] भग(व*)ते श्वेतवराहस्वामिने शश्वत्कालभोग्या दत्ताः (।*)

19 तदुत्तरकालं संव्यवहारिभिः[5] देवभक्त्यानुमन्तव्याः (।*) अपि च भूमि[दा]न-सम्वद्धाः[6] श्लोका भवन्ति (।*)

20 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा[7] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
स विष्ठायां क्रिमिभ्भुँत्वा[8] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता

---

[1] These *aksharas* are engraved below the closing words of the previous line. Better °वाप्तिरिति। अनेनाव°.

[2] मातुः अनुग्रहेण = out of consideration for his mother. अर्द्धटी-प्रावेश्य = included in Ardhaṭī to form a single unit for the assessment of revenue, प्रावेश्य being derived from प्रवेश (= revenue, income). See above, p. 345, note 1 and below, p. 351, note 5.

[3] Read जम्बू°. The areas of land referred to as पञ्चकुल्यवापक and पाटक possibly already belonged to the god. Pūraṇa-Vṛindikahari may be modern Brindakooree, 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur.

[4] *I.e.*, "according to the custom relating to अप्रदा" (see p. 292, note 3; p. 333, note 4). वास्तु = building land; खिल-क्षेत्र = fallow land.

[5] संव्यवहारिन् = officers in charge of administration.

[6] Read सम्ब°.

[7] Read दत्तां वा.

[8] Usually कृमि°. Read °र्भूत्वा.

21 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) (॥*) 2

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[1]

22 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[2] (॥*) 3

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[1] Properly, भूमिदः।

[2] Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES AND SUBORDINATES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

A—Inscriptions of Bengal

No. 40—Susuniyā Rock Inscription of Chandravarman[1] (c. 340-60 A.D.)

SUSUNIYĀ HILL, near Bānkuṛā, Bānkuṛā District, West Bengal. N. N. VASU, *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, III, pp. 268f.; H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 317ff.; XIII, p. 133; K. N. DIKSHIT, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, pp. 188f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 4th century A. D.

TEXT[2]

Part I

1 पुष्करणाधिपतेर्म्महाराज[3]-श्रीसिङ्हवर्म्मणः[4] पुत्रस्य

2 [5]महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रवर्म्मणः कृतिः (।*)

---

[1] This king is usually identified with the Āryāvartta ruler Chandravarman mentione in *supra* No. 2. Some scholars wrongly identify Pushkaraṇā with Pushkara near Ajmer and suggest that the king was a brother of Naravarman of Malwa (*infra*, No. 51) and was the same as king Chandra of *supra*, No. 14. Pushkaraṇā is however modern Pokharṇā, a place on the Dāmodar river in the Bānkuṛā District and Chandravarman was apparently a local ruler of South-East Bengal.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is found on the back wall of a ruined cave. ण in Part I is different in shape from the ण in Part II.

[3] °पते° looks like पुते ; but the subscript does not appear to be due to engraving. Shastri : °रज.

[4] Read °सिंह°.

[5] This line begins from below °णाधि of पुष्करणाधि° of the previous line.

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Part II

1 चक्रस्वामिनः दोसग्रणतिसृष्टः[1] (॥*)

No. 40A—Kalaikuri-Sultānpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (=439 A.D.)

Sultānpur near Naogāon, Rājshāhī District, East Pakistan. The inscription may have been lying originally at Kalaikuri in the same neighbourhood.

D. C. SIRCAR *I.H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 12ff.; N. B. SANYAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 57ff.

Language: Sanskrit
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class
Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) शृङ्गवेरवैथेय-पूर्व्व[कौ]शिकायाः[3] आयुक्त[काच्युतदासो(ऽ*)धिक]-
रणञ्च हस्तिशीर्षे [विभीतक्यां गुल्मगन्धि]-
2 [कायां] धान्यपाटलिकायां संगोहालिषु ब्राह्मणादीन्ग्रामकुटुम्बि[नः] [कुश]-
लमनुवर्ण्य बोधयन्ति (।*) विदितम्बो[4]
3 भविष्यति यथा[5] इह-वीथी-कुलिक-भीम-कायस्थ-प्रभुचन्द्र-रुद्रदास-देवदत्त-लक्ष्मण-
का[न्ति]देव-शम्भुदत्त-कृष्ण-

---

[1] Shastri: °दास. The vowel mark of the first consonant is *o*, and the consonant itself looks like फ. But we have to accept Shastri's correction दासाग्रेणातिसृष्टः (better °सृष्टा). Chakrasvāmin is Vishṇu to whom possibly the cave, Chandravarman's *kṛiti* (work), was dedicated. According to K. N. Dikshit, the village Dhosagrāma was made over to Chakrasvāmin by king Chandravarman (*A.S.I.*, A.R, 1927, p. 188).

[2] From impressions.

[3] The Śṛiṅgavera *vīthī* seems to be the modern Singra Police Station in the Rājshāhī District of East Pakistan..

[4] Read बोधयतः। विदितं वो. The plural number in बोधयन्ति suggested itself to the author of the record apparently because the अधिकरण consisted of a number of members. See below, No 41 (p. 356, note 6).

Read भवतु.

4 दास-पुस्तपाल सिङ्ह(सिंह)नन्दि-यशोदामभिः वीथी-महत्तर-कुमारदेव-गण्ड-प्रजापति-[1]
उमयश(शो)-रामशर्म-ज्येष्ठ-

5 दो(दा)म-स्वामिचन्द्र-हरिसिङ्ह(सिंह)-कुटुम्बि-यशोविष्णु-कुमारविष्णु-कुमारभव-कुमार-
भूति-कुमार-य[शोगु]प्त-वञ्छिनक-

6 शिवकुण्ड-वसुशिवापरशिव-दामरुद्र-प्रभमित्र-कृष्णमित्र-मघशर्म्म[1]-ईश्वरचन्द्र-रुद्र-भव-
स्वामि[देव]-

7 श्रीनाथ-हरिशर्म्म-गुप्तशर्म्म-सुशर्म्म-हरि[1]-अलातस्वामि-ब्रह्मस्वामि-महासेनभट्ट-षष्ठि(ष्ठी)
रा-[त]- गु* * *श-

8 र्म्म[5]-उण्टशर्म्म-कृष्णदत्त-नन्ददाम-भवदत्त[1]-अहिशर्म्म-सोमविष्णु-लक्ष्मणशर्म्म-कान्ति-
घोव्वोक-क्षेमशर्म्म-शु-

9 क्र शर्म्म-सर्प्पपालित कङ्कुटि-विश्व-शङ्कर-जयस्वामि-कैवर्त्तशर्म्म[2]-हिमशर्म्म-पुरन्दर-जय-
विष्णु[1]-उम * * *

10 सिङ्हत्त(सिंहदत्त)-बोन्द-नारायन(ण)दास-वीरनाग-राज्यनाग-गुह-महि-भवनाथ-गुह-
विष्णु-शर्व्व-यशोविष्णु-टक्क-कुलदाम - * * व-

11 श्री-गुहविष्णु-रामस्वामि-कामनकुण्ड-रतिभद्र[1]-अच्युतभद्र-लोढक-प्रभकीर्त्ति-जयदत्त-
कालुक[1]-अच्युत-नरदेव-भव-

12 भवरक्षित-पिच्चकुण्ड-प्रवरकुण्ड-शर्व्वदास-गोपाल-पुरोगाः वयं च विज्ञापिताः (।*)
इह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्र-

13 स्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीव्या द्विदीनारिक्य-खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यबा(वा)प-विक्रय-मर्य्या-
दया इच्छेमहि[3] प्रति

14 प्रति मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनक[4]-चातुर्व्विद्य-वाजि(ज)सनेय-चरणाभ्यन्तर-
ब्राह्मण-देव-

15 भट्ट[1]-अमरदत्त-महासेनदत्तानां[5] पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यबा(वा)पान्क्रीत्वा दातुं-
(तुम्) एभिरेवोप-[6]

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[1] The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.

[2] The name does not prove that this agriculturist Brāhmaṇa had anything to do with the Kaivarta community.

[3] Read इच्छामः.

[4] Puṇḍravardhana, headquarters of the province of that name, is modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, East Pakistan. चातुर्व्विद्य=community of the Chaturvedins.

[5] Note that Datta is no longer a Brāhmaṇa cognomen in Bengal. Some Brāhmaṇa families thus appear to have been merged in non-Brāhmaṇa communities.

[6] Read एष्वेवोप°.

16 रि-निर्द्दिष्टक-ग्रामेषु खिल-क्षेत्राणि विद्यन्ते (।*) तदर्हंथास्मत्तः अष्टादशदीनारान्गृहीत्वा एतान्नव-कुल्यबा(वा)[पा*]-

Second Side

17 न्यनु[पा]दयितु(तुम् ।)[1] यतः एषां कुलिक-भीमादीनां विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपाल-सिह्ह(सिंह)नन्दि-यशोदा[म्नोश्चा*]-

18 वधारणयावधृता(त)(म*)स्त्ययमिह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकर-खिल-क्षेत्रस्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगा-याक्षय-नीव्या द्विदीना-

19 रिक्य-कुल्यबा(वा)प-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तद्दीयतां नास्ति विरोधः कश्चिदित्यवस्थाप्य कुलिक-भीमादिभ्यो(भ्यः) अष्टादश-

20 दीनारानुपसङ्हरितका[2]नाय्यीकृत्य हस्तिशीर्ष-विभीतक्यां(की)-धान्यपाटलिका-[गुल्मगन्धिका]-ग्रामेषु* * * * -

21 द्यां दक्षिणोद्देशेषु अष्टौ कुल्यबा(वा)पाः धान्यपाटलिका-ग्रामस्य पश्चिमोत्तरोद्देशे [आद्य-खात]-परिखा-वेष्टित-

22 मुत्तरेण वाटानदी[3] पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिका-ग्राम-सीमानमि(श्चे)ति कुल्यवा(वा)-प[मे]को[4] गुल्मगन्धिकायां पूर्व्वे-

23 णाद्यपथः पश्चिमप्रदेशे द्रोणबा(वा)प-द्वयं हस्तिशीर्ष-प्रावेश्य[5]-ताप[सपोत्तके] दयितापोत्तके च वि-

24 भीतक-प्रावेश्य-चित्रवातङ्गरे [च] कुल्यबा(वा)पाः सप्त द्रोणबा(वा)पाः षट् (।*) एषु यथोपरि-निर्द्दिष्टक-ग्राम-प्र-

25 देशेष्वेषां कुलिक-भीम-कायस्थ-प्रभुचन्द्र-रुद्रदासादीनां मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये ब्राह्मण-

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[1] Better read °वापान् प्रतिपाद°.

[2] Read दीनारानुपसंहृतका°.

[3] The Vāṭā-nadī appears to be the modern Bārā-nai, Singrā lying about 10 miles to the north-east of its junction with the Atrai. Better read वेष्टित उत्तरेण.

[4] Read कुल्यवाप एको.

[5] *Prāveśya* appears to be the same as *praveśa* of other inscriptions (cf. *J. A. S.*, Letters, XVIII, p. 78). *Siviḍi-praveśa-Kandalīvāḍa-grāma* has been explained by us as meaning that Siviḍi and Kandalīvāḍa were adjoining localities, the latter having its rent assessed along with the former. In the present record, Tāpasapottaka was similarly attached to Hastiśīrsha and Chitravātaṅgara to Vibhītaka or Vibhītakī. See pp. 345, 349.

26 देवभट्टस्य कुल्यबा(वा)पाः पञ्च [कु[1] ५] अमरदत्तस्य[1] कुल्यबा(वा)प-द्वयं महासेनदत्तस्य कुल्यबा(वा [प-द्वयं])

27 कु[1] २ (।*) एषां लयागां पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय नव-कुल्यबा(वा)पानि प्रदत्तानि[2] (॥*) तद्युष्माकं * * * [निवेद्य]-

28 ति(ते) लिख्यते च (।*) समुपस्थित-का[लं] [ग्रे(ऽ*)प्यन्ये] विषयपतयः आयुक्तकाः कुटुम्बिनो(ऽ*)धिकरणिका वा [सम्व्य(संव्य)व]-

29 हारिणो भविष्यन्ति तैरपि [भूमिदानफल]मवेक्ष्य अक्षयनीव्यनुपालनीया (॥*) उक्तञ्च महाभारते भगव-

30 ता व्यासेन (।*)

स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो [हरेत] वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
[स] विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पि[तृभिः सह पच्यते] (॥*) 1
[षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि]
31 स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता [च] तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
कृशाय कृश[वृत्ताय] वृत्ति-क्षीणाय सीदते
32 [भूमिं] वृत्तिकरीन्दत्वा(त्त्वा) [सुखी] भवति कामदः (॥*) 3
[बहुभिर्व्वसुधा] भुक्ता भुज्यते च पुनः पुनः (।*)
यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य] तस्य
33 तदा फलं(लम् ॥) 4
पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष्य(क्ष) युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नु[पालनं(नम् ॥) 5

34 संव्वत्[3] १०० (+*) २० वैशाख-दि १ (॥*)

No. 41—Baigram Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (=448 A.D.)

BAIGRĀM, Bogra (Bagurā) District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.
R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 81f.

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[1] *Ku* is a contraction of *Kulyavāpa.*

[2] Better read कुल्यवापाः प्रदत्ताः.

[3] *I.e*, संवत् There is an era sure between सं and व्व. The year does not appear to be *121.*

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) पञ्चनगर्य्यां[2] भट्टारक[3]-पादानुध्यातः कुमारामात्य-कुलवृद्धिरेतद्विषयाधिकरणञ्च

2 वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृत(।*)-श्रीगोहाल्योः[4] ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्सम्व्यवहारि[5]-प्रमुखान्ग्राम-कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनु-

3 वर्ण्यं बोधयन्ति[6] (।*) विज्ञापयतोरत्रैव[7] वास्तव्य-कुटुम्बि-भोयिल-भास्करावावयोः पित्रा शिवनन्दि-

4 ना कारि[त]क(ं*) भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनः देवकुलस्तदसावल्पवृत्तिकः[8] (।*) इहविषये समुदय-

5 बाह्याद्यस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क्क-तारक-भोज्यानां-[9]मक्षय-नीव्या

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Cf. the text with that of the Nandapur copper-plate inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 54f.

[2] Pañchanagarī was apparently the chief town of the district, where Kulavṛiddhi's court was situated. It may be the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. *Pāñchbibi* may have come through Prakrit *Pañchanaarī* modified to *Pañchanārī*.

[3] The word evidently refers to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.), as the date of the record (Gupta 128=448 A.D.) falls in his reign.

[4] Trivṛitā and Śrīgohālī were localities connected with Vāyigrāma which is also mentioned in *supra*, No. 34, line 9, and is the same as modern Baigrām.

[5] Read °संव्य°. संव्यवहारिन्=officers in charge of administration; apparently the members of the अष्टकुलाधिकरण, *i.e.* the village jury consisting of 8 [or more] members.

[6] Read °बयत: since the order was issued by Kulavṛddhi and the administrative board of the *vishaya*. Cf. No. 40-A p. 352, note 4.

[7] Read °पयतोऽत्रैव. [8] Read देवकुलम्। तददोऽल्पवृत्तिकम्.

[9] Read भोज्यानामक्षय°. समुदयबाह्य=not yielding income in crops. आद्य-स्तम्ब =covered with original shrub, *i.e.* fallow. अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर=अप्रतिकर (line 12); cf. शून्यप्रतिकर (*infra*, No. 37, line 39, etc.). प्रतिकर=कर, taxes. अप्रतिकर=for which no tax is realised by the State. कुटुम्बिन्=agriculturist householder. See pp. 333, 345, 360.

6 द्विदीनारिक्क्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्क्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्हथावयोस्सकाशात्षड्दीनारानष्ट च रूप-कानायी-[1]

7 [कृ]त्य भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनो देवकुले [ख]ण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्क(ा*)र-करणाय[2] गन्ध-धूप दीप

8 सुमनसा(ं*) प्रवर्त्तनाय च त्रिवृतायां भोगिलस्य[3] खिलक्षेत्त्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं श्रीगोहाल्याश्चापि[4]

9 तळ-वाटकार्थ(ं*)[5] स्थळ-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापमेकं भास्करस्यापि स्थलवास्तुनो द्रोण-वापञ्च दातु-

10 मि[ति] (।*) यतो युष्मान्बोधयाम(ः*) पुस्तपाल-दुर्ग्गदत्तार्क्कदासयोरवधारणया[6] अवधृत-

11 मस्तीह-विषये समुदय-बाह्याद्यस्तम्ब-खिळ-क्षेत्त्राणा(ं*) शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क्क-तारक-भोज्यानां द्विदी-

12 नारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्क्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः (।*) एवंविधाप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्त्र-विक्क्रये च न कश्चिद्राजार्थ-

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[1] *I.e.*, Six *dīnāras* (gold coins) and eight *rūpakas* (silver coins). These apparently indicate the Gupta gold and silver issues. The price of 3 *kulyavāpas* and 2 *droṇavāpas* (= $\frac{1}{4}$ *kulyavāpa* of the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ *dīnāra*) was 6 *dīnāras* and 8 *rūpakas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *dīnāra*); see line 17. One gold coin was therefore equal to 16 silver coins. The rate of 2 *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*, as against 3 *dīnāras* elsewhere in the area, may indicate inferior quality of the land. See above, No. 34, line 8.

[2] फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

[3] Same as भोयिलस्य. भोगिल may be another form of the name, or a mistake for भोयिल.

[4] Read ०ल्याश्चा०.

[5] तलवाटक is the same as तलभूमि, तलवृत्ति, etc., which was the land granted in favour of a religious establishment at the time of its consecration; स्थलवास्तु=homestead land. In some cases तलवाटक has been explained as a class of persons serving in temples; see *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 216-17. Cf. pp. 355, 360.

[6] Basak: दुर्गा०. Note the nature of the work the *pustapālas* (record-keepers) did. They tried to determine whether, near about the donee's place, there was unproductive waste land belonging to the State, which could be sold rent-free without any loss to the State. In such cases, there was no loss of revenue; the king, as the lord of the land, was supposed to gain $\frac{1}{6}$ of the religious merit arising from the pious dead, for which the land was being purchased by the donee. But the reclamation of the waste land was a gain to the State since it led to the expansion of habitation, increase in the population, establishment of markets, etc., in the area.

13 विरोधं उपचय एव भट्टारक-पादानां धर्म्मफल-षड्भागावाप्तिश्च तद्वीयतामिति (।*) एतयोः

14 भोयिल-भास्करयोस्सका(शा*)त्षड्दीनारानष्ट च रूपकानायीकृत्य भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनो

15 देवकुलस्यार्त्थे भोयिलस्य त्रिवृतायां खिलक्षेत्त्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं तलवाटकाद्यर्त्थम्[1]

Second Side

16 श्रीगोहाल्या(ं*) स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापं भास्करास्याप्यत्रैव स्थले-वस्तुनो[2] द्रोणवाप-

17 मेव(ं*) कुल्यवाप-त्रयं स्थल-द्रोणवाप-द्वयञ्च अक्षयनीव्यास्ताम्र-पट्टेन[3] दत्तम् (।*) निन्न-[4]

18 कु ३ स्थल-द्रो २ (।*) ते[5] यूयं स्वकर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने[6] दर्व्वीकर्म्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-नवक-नलाभ्या-

19 मपविन्च्छ्य चिरकाल-स्थ(ा*)यि-तुषाङ्गारादिना[7] चिह्नैश्चातुर्द्दिशो नियम्य दास्यथाक्षय-

20 नीवी-धर्म्मेन[8] च शश्वत्कालमनुपालयिष्यथ (।*) वर्त्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहार्य्यादिभिरेत-

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[1] Read ०त्थं°. [2] Read भास्कर० and स्थल-वास्तु०. [3] Read ०नीव्या ताम्र०.

[4] निन्न is the ordinary Prakrit form for Sanskrit निम्न. Thus we have निन्न(=निम्नभूमि)-कुल्यवापाः ३, स्थल-द्रोणवापौ २। कुल्यवाप and द्रोणवाप are used in masculine and neuter.

[5] The Pāhāṛpur plate has तद् which is better. यूयं refers to the villagers.

[6] स्वकर्षणाविरोधिस्थाने=in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, i.e., in places which do not belong to any of the villagers. दर्व्वीकर्म्म (cf. also the Nandapur inscription, line 14) may have been the technical designation of the person who measured the area; cf. दूतकर्म=दूतक. Or, दर्वीकर्महस्त indicates a cubit of special length. *Infra*, Nos. 43-45 have a proper name in this place. हस्त thus may not indicate the fact that the measuring was done by the person. Even in records of the 19th century, reference is found to the hand of a person as a cubit of unspecified length. अपविन्छ्य=having measured out.

[7] Better ०रादीनां. Cf. Yājñavalkya : सीम्नो विवादे चैतस्य सामन्ताः स्थविरादयः। गोपाः सीमाकृषाणाश्च सर्वे च वनगोचराः॥ नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्रुमैः। सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नास्थिचैत्याद्यैरुपलक्षिताम्॥ (व्यवहाराध्यायः, १५०-५१); also Manu : अश्मनोऽस्थीनि गोवालांस्तुषान् भस्मकपालिकाः। करीषमिष्टकाङ्गाराञ्छर्करा वालुकास्तथा॥ यानि चैवम्प्रकाराणि कालाद्भूमिर्न भक्षयेत्। तानि सन्धिषु सीमायामप्रकाशानि कारयेत्॥ (VIII, 250-51). According to Bṛihaspati, प्रक्षिप्य कुम्भेष्वेतानि सीमान्तेषु निधापयेत्। Nārada speaks of the ध्वजिनी (trees), मत्स्यिनी (waters), नैधानी (interred coal, etc.), भयवर्जिता (settled by the parties) and राजशासननीता (fixed by the goverument) kinds of सीमा. See Kullūka and Vijñāneśvara on Manu and yajñvalkya respectively.

[8] Read धर्म्मेण.

21 द्धर्म्मापेक्षयानुपाळयितव्यमिति (॥*) उक्तञ्च भगव(ता*)[1] वेदव्यास-महात्मना (।*)
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां

22 व्वा[2] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां (राम्) ।
स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
षष्टिं वर्ष-सह-

23 स्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
पूर्व्व-

24 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
मही(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपाल-

25 नमिति[3] (॥*) 3
सं १००(+*)२०(+*)८ माघ-दि[4] १०(+*)९ (॥*)

No. 42—Pāhārpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (=479 A.D.)

PĀHĀRPUR, Rājshāhī District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 61ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[5]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) पुण्ड्र[वर्द्ध]नादायुक्तका[6] आर्य्यनगरश्रेष्ठि-पुरोगञ्चाधिष्ठानाधिकरणम्[7] दक्षिणांशकवीथेय-नागिरट्ट-

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[1] Basak : भगवद्वेद०.

[2] Read वा. Note the *sandhi* rule वा पदान्तस्य ; cf. संवत्सरः and सम्वत्सरः.

[3] Better पालनम् ॥ इति ॥

[4] सं = संवत्सरे ; दि = दिवसे.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX.

[6] Dikshit : ०युक्तकः. There were more Āyuktakas than one at Puṇḍravardhana, the headquarters of the province.

[7] Read ०णं. The *adhikaraṇa* or administrative board of the city was headed by the *nagaraśreshṭhin* and others who are known from *supra*, Nos. 18, etc. See above, p 291, note 8. The order was jointly issued in the present case by the Āyuktakas and this body.

2 माण्डलिक-पलाशाट्टपार्श्विक - वटगोहाली-जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्यपृष्ठिमपोत्तक-गोषाट-पुञ्जक-मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-

3 नित्वगोहालीषु[1] ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्महत्तरादि-कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनुवर्ण्यानुबोधयन्ति (।॰) विज्ञापयत्यस्मान्ब्राह्मण-नाथ-

4 शर्म्मा एतद्भार्य्या रामी च (।*) युष्माकमिहाधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्विदीनारिक्क्य-कुल्य-वापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्याक्षयनीवी-समुदयवाह्या-[2]

5 प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्हथानेनैव क्रमेणावयोस्सकाशाद्दीनार-त्रयमुपसङ्गृह्यावयो(ः*) स्व-पुण्याप्या-

6 यनाय वटगोहाल्यामवास्याङ्काशिक[3]-पञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक-निग्रन्थश्रमणाचार्य्य-गुह-[4] नन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे

7 भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध-धूप-सुमनो-दीपाद्यर्थन्तलवाटक[5]-निमित्तञ्च अ(तः*) एव वट-गोहालीतो वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धञ्ज-

8 म्बुदेवप्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके क्षे(क्षे)त्रं द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं। गोषाटपुञ्जाद्द्रोणवाप-

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[1] *I.e.*, in Vaṭa-gohālī, in Nitva-gohālī attached to Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa, and in Prishṭhima-pottaka attached to Jambudevas and Goshāṭapuñjaka—all situated in the Palāśāṭṭa *pārśva* within the Nāgiraṭṭa *maṇḍala* in the Dakshiṇāṁśaka *vīthi*. The word *gohālī* (Sanskrit *gośālā*; Bengali *goāl*) suggests that either Vaṭa-gohālī or Nitva-gohālī (possibly the former which was a more important place owing to the situation of the Jain Vihāra) is to be identified with the village of Goālbhiṭā near Pāhārpur. For प्रवेश and प्रावेश्य, see above, p. 345, note 1; p. 354, note 5. It seems that Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa was the headquarters of the Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala, and Jambudeva was named after a person. *Vīthi*=district on the banks of a river, according to some.

[2] Read बाह्या°. अप्रतिकर=शून्यप्रतिकर=not yielding any revenue (above, p. 345, note 1); समुदयबाह्य=not yielding any income in crops, etc. The State's waste land requiring reclamation was sold in this case at the cheaper rate of 2 *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*.

[3] Read °ल्यामेवा°. H. Sastri connects the name with Navyāvakāśikā and Dikshit with Kāśī. Guhanandin and the Pañchastūpa sect appear to have belonged to Vārāṇasī.

[4] निग्रन्थ=निर्ग्रन्थ=Jain. निग्रन्थ-श्रमण=a Jain monk. पञ्चस्तूप is suggested to have been the name of a locality. Cf. the modern name Pāñchthupī. पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक=belonging to the sect called पञ्चस्तूपनिकाय or पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकाय.

[5] तलवाटक=attached to or land granted for the maintenance of a religious establishment usually at the time of its consecration. See p. 345, note 1; p. 357, note 5.

चतुष्टयम् मूलनागिरट्ट-

9 प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीत: अर्द्धत्रिक-द्रोणवापानित्येवमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमक्षय-[1] नीव्या दातुमि[ति] (।*) यतः प्रथम-

10 पुस्तपालदिवाकरनन्दि-पुस्तपालधृतिविष्णु-विरोचन-रामदास-हरिदास-शशिनन्दि-[सु]प्रभ-मनुद[त्ताना]मवधारण-[2]

11 यावधृतम् अस्त्यस्मदधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्विदीनारिक्क्य-कुल्यवापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्या-क्षयनीवी-समु[दय]वाह्याप्रतिकर-[3]

12 [खिल*]क्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्क्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तद्युष्माम्ब्राह्मण[4]-नाथशर्म्मा एतद्भार्य्या रामी च पलाशाट्टपार्श्विक-वटगोहाली-स्थ[ायि]-

Second Side

13 [काशि*]क-पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकायिक[5]-आचार्य्य-निग्रन्थ-गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-सद्विहारे अरहतां[6] गन्ध-[धूप]ाद्युपयोगाय

14 [तल-वा*]टक-निमित्तञ्च तत्रैव वटगोहाल्यां वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्रञ्जम्बुदेव-प्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं

15 गोषाटपुञ्जाद्द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं मूलनागिरट्ट-प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीतो द्रोणवाप-द्वय-माढवा[प-द्व]याधिकमित्येवम-[7]

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[1] कुल्य was engraved upon द्रोण which had been originally incised. अध्यर्द्ध = 1½ and अर्द्धत्रिक = 2½. So the lands were: 1½ *vāstu-droṇavāpas* at Vaṭagohālī + 4 *droṇavāpas* at Pṛishṭhimapottaka + 4 *droṇavāpas* at Goshāṭapuñja[ka] + 2½ *droṇavāpas* at Nitvagohālī = in all 1½ *kulyavāpas* = 12 *droṇavāpas* (1 *kulyavāpa* being = 8 *droṇavāpas*). For 4 *āḍhavāpas* = 1 *droṇavāpa*, see note 7 below. Dikshit : दातुमि[त्यत].

[2] Or मनुदासा° ? Dikshit: शशिनन्दिषु प्रथम-नु...नामव°.

[3] Read °वाह्या°.

[4] Read °ष्मान्ब्राह्मण.

[5] Read °यिकाचार्य्य.

[6] Read अर्हतां.

[7] आढवाप here follows the formula चतुराढको भवेद्द्रोणः. Āṛhā is even now a land measure in some parts of Bengal. The Āṛhā in the Mymensingh District is said to be 100×100 square yards (*Journ. Dept. Let*, XVI : *E. Hist. Beng.*, p. 45), the scheme being 4 *kākas* = *gaṇḍā*; 20 *gaṇḍās* = *kāṭhā*; 20 *kāṭhās* = *kānī*; 4 *kānīs* = *āṛhā*; 16 *āṛhās* = *droṇ*. See p. 342, note 4. But, as regards Mymensingh, Hunter (*op. cit.*, V, pp. 447f.) speaks of *āṛhā* (a little above 1½ acres) as $\frac{1}{16}$ of *purā* (=25 acres 3 roods 12 poles) in some Parganās, or of *droṇ* which is equal to 5 acres 2 roods 12 poles in some Parganās but to 16 acres 3 roods 1 pole in others.

16 ध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापम्प्रार्त्थयते(ऽ*)त्र[1] न कश्चिद्विरोधः गुणस्तु यत्परमभट्टारक-पादानामर्त्थोपचयो[2] धर्म्म-षड्गागाप्याय-
भ

17 नञ्च भवति (।*) तदेवङ्क्रियतामित्यनेनावधारणा-क्रमेणास्माद्ब्राह्मणनाथशर्म्मत एतद्भार्य्यारामियाश्च[3] दीनार-त्र-

18 यमायीकृत्यैताभ्यां विज्ञापितक-क्रमोपयोगायोपरि-निर्द्दिष्ट-ग्राम गोह्लालिकेषु तल-वाटक(कं) वास्तुना सह[4] क्षेत्रं

19 कुल्यवाप(ः*) अध्यर्द्धो(ऽ*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्म्मेण दत्तः (।*) कु १ द्रो ४[5] (।*) तद्युष्माभिः स्व-कर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने[6] षट्-नडैरप-
क

20 विञ्छ्य[7] दातव्यो(ऽ*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्म्मेण च शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क्क-तारक-कालमनुपाल-यितव्य इति (॥*) सम् १००(+*)५०(+*)८

21 माघ-दि[8] ७ (।*) उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन (।*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (।*)

22 स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा[9] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
षष्टि-वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः (।*)

23 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
राजभिर्व्वहुभिर्द्दत्ता[10] दीयते च पुनः पुनः (।*)
यस्य यस्य

24 यदा भूमि[11] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (॥*) 3
पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ

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[1] Read प्रार्त्थयेते.

[2] The emperor referred to is no doubt Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.).

[3] Read राम्याश्च.

[4] Or तलवाटक-वास्तुना सह=together with the homestead land which was to be the principal source of maintenance.

कु=कुल्यवाप ; द्रो=द्रोणवाप.

[6] Dikshit reads स्वकर्म्मणा ; but see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 82, note 4. षट्क-नल=measuring rod 6 cubits long, and not possibly a unit of land measuring 6×6 reeds. नड=नल.

[7] N. P. Chakravarti connects the word with Bengali बाछा, to select, to choose.

[8] सम्=संवत्सरे ; दि=दिवसे.

[9] Usually क्रमि°.

[10] Read °र्ब्बहु°.

[11] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

25 दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) 4

विन्ध्याटवीष्वनम्भस्सु[1] शुष्क-कोटर-वासिन(:*) (।*)

कृष्णाहिनो[2] हि जायन्ते देव-दायं हरन्ति ये (॥*) 5

No. 43—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya[3]—Regnal Year 3

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, pp. 195f.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 710ff.; R. G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol.*, III, Part ii, pp. 475ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1722 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: V. 1 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[4]

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य (॥*)[5]

First Side

1 १̐[6] स्वस्त्यस्यां पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे(थ)-ययात्यम्बरिष[7]-सम-धृतौ(ति)-म-

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[1] Dikshit reads ०म्बुन्षु० and suggests the correction ०म्बुषु०.

[2] Read कृष्णाहयो. दाय=gift, donation; or, share.

[3] It is difficult to determine whether Dharmāditya was a scion of the Gupta family or a local prince who assumed independence during the decline of the Imperial Guptas. His name ending in *āditya* seems to connect him with the Guptas. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 844-46) appears to refer to the rule of a king called व and of his successor (or, younger brother) called ध. It is tempting to suggest that व=वैन्यगुप्त and ध=धर्म्मादित्य. But the text of the work is corrupt and the statements are often confused; it is therefore not easy to rely on them.

[4] From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record is spurious; but he was later convinced of its genuineness (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, I, 2nd ed., p. 94).

[5] वारक was originally the name of a मण्डल (subdivision); but वारक-मण्डल afterwards became the name of a विषय (district); cf. खेटक, खेटकाहार and खेटकाहार-विषय. Pargiter's translation 'a district in the province of Vāraka' is wrong. The seal apparently belonged to the board of administration of the *vishaya* called Vāraka-maṇḍala which seems to have included parts of the Goalundo Subdivision and the Koṭālipāṛā region in the Gopalganj Subdivision of the Faridpur District. See line 16, note (p. 356, note 7).

[6] Symbol for सिद्धम्. Better स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां.

[7] Read ०म्बरीष.

2 हाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्म्मादित्य-राज्ये तत्प्रसाद-लब्धास्पद-महाराज-स्था-

3 णुदत्तस्याध्यासन-काले स्तद्विनियुक्तक-वारकमण्डले[1] विषयपति-ज-

4 जावस्यायोगो(ऽ*)धिकरणं विषयमहत्तरेटित-कुलचन्द्र-गरुड-वृहच्च-[2]

5 ट्टालुकानाचार-भाशैत्य-शुभदेव-घोषचन्द्रानिमित्त[3]-गुणचन्द्र-कालस(सु?)-

6 ख-कुलस्वामि-दुर्ल्लभ-सत्यचन्द्रार्ज्जुन-बप्प[4]-कुण्डलिप्त-पुरोगा(:*) प्रकृतयश्च

7 साधनिक-वातभोगेन[5] विज्ञाप्ताः[6](।*) इच्छाम्यहं भवतान्सकाशा(त्*)[7] क्षेत्र-खण्डमुप-

8 क्रीय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिपादयितुं(तुम् ।) तदर्हथ मत्तो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विषये विभ-[8]

9 ज्य दातुमिति (।*) यतः एतदभ्यर्थनमधिकृत्य(।*)स्वाभिरकाल्ये[9] भूत्वा पुस्तपाल-
वि[न]-[10]

10 यसेनावधारणया अवधृतमस्तीह-विषये प्राक्समुद्र-मर्य्यादा च(चा)तुर्हे-

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[1] Read तद्वि॰ and ॰मण्डल-विषय॰. Note that Jajāva was appointed governor of the Vārakamaṇḍala not by Dharmāditya, but by Sthāṇudatta (cf. तत् in तद्विनियुक्तक), apparently the viceroy of Navyāvakāsikā. आस्पद=authority, office. अध्यासन=occupation=goverment. आयोग=appointment. Read आयोगे.

[2] Read बृह॰. As suggested by Pargiter, Chaṭṭa is apparently the same as modern Chaṭṭopādhyāya, a cognomen of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. According to tradition, however, the ancestors of the Kulīnas were brought to Bengal from Kānyakubja or Kolāñcha by a king named Ādiśūra sometime after the seventh century A. D. For the unreliability of the tradition, see *J. A. S* , Letters, XVIII, pp. 176-78; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIX, pp. 52ff.

[3] Pargiter suggested अनमित्र.

[4] Pargiter took अर्ज्जुनबप्प (father of Arjuna) as one name. Evidently however there are two names अर्ज्जुन and बप्प. बप्प is used as a personal name in many inscriptions, cf., e.g., the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman (Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 37, No. 88).

[5] साधनिक (derived from साधन, an army) was a commander of forces. दौःसाधिक, दौःसाधनिक or दौःसाधसाधनिक of later Bengal grants was a police officer dealing with dangerous criminals or difficult jobs, though, according to the *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, *dauḥsādhika*=*dvārapāla*, 'door-keeper'. *Sādhanika* (Hindī *Sāhnī*, army comrade) is mentioned as an official in many records; cf. also Harisheṇa's *Bṛihatkathākosha* (931-32 A. D.); see *J. U. P. H. S.*, XIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 78-79.

[6] Read विज्ञापिताः.

[7] Read भवतां सका॰.

[8] *I.e.* 'making it a distinctly demarcated unit in the *Vishaya*'. Cf. वीथ्यां संविभज्य in No. 46, line 12.

[9] Read ॰रैकात्म्ये. Pargiter : भूत्वा.

[10] Or, वि[ज]॰ ?

11 नारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्त्राणि विक्रीयमान(ण)कानि (।*)[1] तथा वाप-क्षेत्त्रखण्डल(ाः*)

12 कृत-कलना हस्ति-मात्त्-प्रवन्धेन[2] ताम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा[3] विक्रयमानका(ः*)[4] (।*) तच्च

13 परमभट्टारक-पादानामत्त्[5] धर्म्म-षड$\underset{\text{भ}}{\ }$ाग-लाभः[6] (।*) तदेतां प्रवृत्तिमधिगम्य न्यासा-

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[1] Pargiter's view that the *kulyavāpa* was 8×9 reeds [of 16 cubits], in area, i. e., a little more than an acre, is apparently wrong (cf. the high rate of price). It is interesting that the Faridpur District is connected with the Eastern Sea. In the Sāhitya Parishat plate, line 47, a village in the Nāvya (literally, navigable) district is said to have had the sea to its east. This Nāvya may be connected with Navya (Nāvya?)-Avakāśikā mentioned in No. 44. Samudra in some cases may indicate a *bil* (lake) like the Ḍhol-samudra (near Faridpur). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 157. But Prāk-samudra no doubt refers to the Bay of Bengal which touches the Faridpur District through several estuaries and was probably nearer that District in the Gupta age. As the Madaripur region (Faridpur) is called South Vikrampur and apparently formed a part of the Vikramapura-bhāga (Dacca) in ancient times, the main course of the Padmā must then have reached the sea through a mouth many miles to the west of the present Goalundo-Chandpur course. प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा=custom in [the countries bordering] the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal).

[2] Read हष्टि and प्रबन्धेन. वाप-चेत्र=cultivated field (as opposed to अप्रहत° or खिल-चेत्र). खण्डल=खण्ड, a plot. कृतकलन=कृतचिह्नाङ्क=whose boundary marks are fixed. हष्टिमात्रप्रबन्धेन =by a plan that can be settled in a moment. Note the different rates for the cultivated land. The word कलन is used in the Sāhitya Parishat plate in the sense of a plantation or a betel-nut plantation (*J.A.S.*, XX, p. 205). Thus कृतकलना may also mean 'land bearing a plantation.'

[3] Read धर्म्मेण. *I.e.*, according to the custom of a ताम्रपट्ट meaning 'rent-free land granted by copper-plate charters.'

[4] Read विक्रीयमाण°. Pargiter suggested °मानिका.

[5] Pargiter : °संव.

[6] Following Pargiter (*op. cit* , p. 197), Basak suggests (*op. cit* , pp. 483, 487) that the State was to receive only the sixth part of the price according to law in such transactions and that the remaining five-sixths of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies. The text (cf. also *supra*, No. 34, line 7; Nos. 39, 41, 42, etc.) however shows that the land was sold rent-free in view of the religious motive of the purchase. धर्मषड्भाग thus apparently refers to the king's share of $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the merit in lieu of the customary share of grain. As to the Brāhmaṇas' theoretical exemption from taxes, Vasishṭha quotes three Vedic texts to the effect that the king shares $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Brāhmaṇas' spiritual merit acquired by the performance of sacrifices and charitable works. The *Vishṇu-saṃhitā* (III, 13-14) also says, ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् ; ते हि राज्ञो धर्मकरदाः । राजा प्रजाभ्यः सुकृत-दुस्कृत-षष्ठांश-भाक् । See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Rev. Syst.*, p. 186.

14 धा[1] स्व-पुण्य-कीर्त्ति-संस्थापन-कृताभिलाषस्य यथा संकल्पाभि तथा[2] कृय[याद्व]-[3]
15 त्य साधनिक-वतभोगन[4] द्वादश-दीनारानग्रतो दत्वा[5](।*) शिवचन्द्र-ह[स्तेनाष्ट]-
16 क-नवक-नलेनामपविञ्छ्र[6] वातभोग-सकाशे(ऽ*)स्माभिर्ध्रुविलाट्यां[7] क्षेत्त्-[कुल्य]-
17 वाप-त्वयं तांम्रपट्ट धम्मणा[8] विक्क्रीत(म्*) (।*) अनेन(ा*)पि वातभोगेन
18 चन्द्रतारार्क्क-स्थितिकाल-संभोग्यं य(ा*)वत्परत्वानुग्रह-कांक्षिणा भ(ा*)रद्वाज-सगो-[9]
19 त्र-वाजसनेय-षलङ्गाध्यायिनस्य चन्द्रस्वामिनस्य[10] मातापित्रोरनुग्रहा-
20 य[11] मुदक-पूर्व्वेण[12] प्रतिपादितमिति (।*) तदुपरिलिखितकागाम-सामन्त-[13]
राजभि(:*) सम-
21 धिगतशास्त्रभि[14] भूमि-दानानुपालन-क्षेपानुमोदनेषु सम्य(ग्*)-दत्तान्यपि दानानि
22 राजभिरन्नै[15] प्रतिपादनीयानिति[16] प्रत्यवगम्य भूमिदानं सुतरामेव प्रतिपालनी-
23 यमिति (॥*) सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्र पूर्व्वेण हिमसेन-पाटके[17] दक्षिणेण[18]
त्रिघटिका[19]
24 अपर-ताम्रपट्टश्च पश्चिमेण[20] त्रिघट्टिकायाः शीलकुण्डश्च उत्तरेण [ना]वाता[21]

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[1] Pargiter read न्यासाधौ and suggested न्यासाधेः. Possibly न्यासनः or न्यसनात् is intended.

[2] Read ॰कल्पितं तथा. Pargiter suggested ॰कल्पाभिस्तथा.

[3] Read क्रिययाधृत्य in which आधृत्य=supporting. The intended reading may really be क्रियतामित्यवधृते.

[4] Read वातभोगेन.

[5] Pargiter : ॰नाग्रतो. Read दीनारा अग्रतो दत्ताः.

[6] Read नलेनापविञ्छ्र ; or possibly नलाभ्यामप॰.

[7] Dhruvilāṭī is identified with modern Dhulaṭ (near Pangsha in the Goalundo Subdivision) about 28 miles to the north-west of the Faridpur town.

[8] Read ताम्रपट्टधर्म्मेण.

[9] Pargiter : सागो॰.

[10] Read ॰षडङ्गाध्यायिने चन्द्रस्वामिने.

[11] *I e.*, ब्राह्मणात् पारत्रिकानुग्रहलाभाय.

[12] Read उदक॰. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद्ददानीति तथा वदेत्। तोयं दद्यात्ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ अग्निपुराण, २०९।४९-५०.

[13] Pargiter suggested ॰कागम. The intended reading seems to be लिखितकम् आगामि॰. ॰लिखितकं qualifies भूमिदानं in line 22.

[14] Read सामन्तराजैः समधिगत-शास्त्रैर्भूमि॰. क्षेप=transgressing.

[15] Read ॰रन्यैः. Pargiter suggested एभिः or एतैः.

[16] Read ॰नीति.

[17] Read पाटको (land measuring a *pāṭaka*).

[18] Read ॰णेन.

[19] Read त्रिघट्टिका which was possibly a locality having three *ghāṭs* (landing places) of a river. ताम्रपट्ट=॰पट्टप्राप्त-भूमि.

[20] Read ॰मेन. Śīlakuṇḍa was a small hamlet (No. 45, line 25).

[21] ना may also be read भा. नौ+आता (=door-frame)+क्षेणी (क्षयण, harbour)=ship-building harbour, according to Hoernle and Pargiter. Nāvātā and Kshenī may however be geographical names.

25 क्षेणी हिमसेन-पाटकश्च (॥*) भवति चात्त्र शोकः[1] (।*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्ताम्वा[2] यो ह-

26 रेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
श्व-विष्ठाया(ं*) क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पच्यते पितृभस्सह[3] ॥ 1

27 सम्वत्[4] ३ वैशा दि ५ (॥*)

No. 44—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya.

Faridpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, pp. 200 f.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1723 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[5]

First Side

1 स्वस्त्यस्याम्पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे[6] नृग-नधुष-ययात्य-[7]

2 म्बरीष-सम-धृतौ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्म्मादित्यभट्टारक-रा

3 ज्यै[8] तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्पदो[9] नव्यावकाशिकायां[10] महाप्रति-

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[1] Read श्लोकः.

[2] Read दत्तां वा.

[3] Read पितृभि°.

[4] Read संवत्. *I. e.*, संवत्सरः तृतीयः वैशाखमास-दिवसः पञ्चमः.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record (also Nos. 48 and 45) is spurious; but later he was convinced about its genuineness. The mistakes are due to the carelessness and incompetence of the engraver and to the fact that he could not follow the draft of the scribe.

[6] Better read स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां पृथिव्या°.

[7] Read नहुष. These are the names of some famous kings of Brahmanical tradition.

[8] Read °रके राज्यं पालयति.

[9] Read लब्धास्पदस्य.

[10] अवकाश=opening. The district had it headquarters at Navyāvakāśikā which may have derived its name from a canal. Nāgadeva seems to have originally been a *Mahāpratīhāra*; but later he was appointed *Uparika* (viceroy) of the Navyāvakāśikā district. The name of this city reminds one of Kāśiyānī in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur District. Bhattasali (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 85) suggests its identication with Sābhār (Dacca District).

4 हारोपरिक-नागदेवस्याद्ध्यासन-काले(ऽ*)नेनापि वारकमण्डल-
5 विषयाधिनियुक्तक-व्यापारकारण्डय-गोपालस्वामी[1] (।*)
6 यतो(ऽ*)स्य सम्व्यवहरतो[2] वसुदावस्वामिना[3] सादरमभिगम्य
7 ज्येष्कायस्थ[4]-नयसेन-प्रमुखमधिकरणम्महत्तार-[5]
8 सोमघोष-पुरस्सराश्च विषयान(।*) महत्तरा विज्ञाप्ताः[6] (।*)
9 इच्छेयम्भवतान्प्रसादाद्यथार्घेण[7] भवद्ध्योरेव[8] क्षेत्त्र-खण्डलकै-
10 क्क्रीत्वा[9] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुणा(ण्या)भिवृद्धये गुणवत्काण्व-द्वा-
11 जिसिनेय-लौहित्यसगोत्राय[10] ब्राह्मणे[11] सोमस्वामिने प्रति-
12 पादितु[12] (।*) तदर्हस्यस्मद्विज्ञाप[13]-वशान्यामांसम्विकुम्त्र[14] (।*) एतदावा-[15]
13 भ्यर्थानमधिकृत्त्यास्त्येतत्प्राक्क्रियमानक-मर्य्यादा[16] चतुर्द्दीनारिक्क्र-[17]
14 कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्त्राणि विक्रीयन्तानीत्यस्माद्वसु(देव*)स्वामिनः[18]

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[1] व्यापारकारण्डय=one who has to regulate trade, according to Pargiter. But possibly °कारण्डीय, 'one in charge of the boxes of documents relating to administration.'

[2] Read संव्यवहरतो.

[3] Read वसुदेव°. See lines 19-20.

[4] Read ज्येष्ठ°. ज्येष्ठकायस्थ is the same as प्रथमकायस्थ of other records.

[5] Read °हत्तर°.

[6] Read विज्ञापिताः.

[7] Read °वतां प्र°.

[8] Read भवद्भ्य एव.

[9] Read क्षेत्र-खण्डलकं (or, °कान्) क्रीत्वा.

[10] Read वाजसनेयि. *I.e.*, belonging to the Kāṇva-śākhā, Vājasaneyi-charaṇa and Lauhitya-gotra.

[11] Read ब्राह्मणाय, or ब्राह्मण-सोम°.

[12] Read °पादयितुम्.

[13] Read तदर्हन्त्यस्मद्वि°.

[14] Pargiter suggested अस्मद्विज्ञाप-वशान्यानमांसं विभक्तुमिति. May be °दस्मद्विज्ञाप्य-वशाद्यथान्यायेन प्रसादं कर्त्तुमित्ति.

[15] Read एतदेवाभ्यर्थ्नेन°.

[16] Read प्राक्क्रीयमाणक° or प्राग्विक्रयमर्या°.

[17] Better read चातुर्द्दीनारिक्य.

[18] Pargiter suggested विक्रीयन्त इति. Read विक्रीयमाणानीति । अस्मा°.

Second Side

15 खिल[सत्वात्मप्यर्ध ?]कुल्यवापस्य [प्रवर्त्त]वापाधिकस्य दीनार-
16 द्वंयमादाय[1] यथार्हञ्च [षष्ठगंण्डयवाप्त्रयुरस्सानि ?]
17 शात्पलानि[2] श्रीमा(म)न्महत्तर-थोड-सम्वद्ध[3]-क्षेत्र-खण्डलका तसनी (?)
18 पुस्तपाळ-जंमभूतेरवधारणयावधृत्त्य [पूर्त्तोद्धुनिवद][4] [प्रतीत ?]-
19 धर्म्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविञ्छ्य [व*]सुदे-
20 व-ब्राह्मणा(य*) विक्क्रीतमतेनापि[5] क्क्रीत(म्*)। सीमालिङ्गानि चात्र
21 पूर्व्वस्यां [सो]ग-ताम्रपट्ट[6]-सीमा। (दक्षिणस्यां*) वृद्ध-स्थपट्टुकि-पक्कंटी[7]-वृक्ष-सो
22 मा (।*) पश्चिमस्यां गोरथ्य-सक्तृत्परभास्ताटकस्थद्रुण्डेरस्यापि-
23 ण्डेतिर्श्च्य-नौदण्डक-सीमा[8]। उत्तरस्यां गर्ग्गस्वामि-ताम्रपट्ट-सीमा (॥*)
24 भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मा-शास्त्र-श्लोकानि[9] ॥
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि
25 स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद(:*) (।*)
आक्षेप्ता(।*) चानुमन्ता च त्यान्येव[10]
26 नरके वसेत् ।(।*) 1
स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा[11] यो हरेत वसु-
27 न्धरा(म्*) (।*)
श्व-[वि]ष्ठाया(*) कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि(:*) सह पच्य[ते] (॥*) 2

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[1] Read द्वय॰. खिलक्षेत्रस्य अर्द्धकुल्यवापस्य ? If the price of a *kulyavāpa* was 4 *dīnāras*, only 1 *kulyavāpa* could be purchased at 2 *dīnāras*. The additional area called *pravartavāpa* may therefore have been small. In that case, *pravarta* cannot be the same as *pravarti* (5 *khārīs* or 10 *kulyas*) or the Oriya *pauṭi* (10 maunds). Cf. *I.H.Q.*, XXXIII pp 255-56. The price of the additional area seems to be indicated in a corrupt passage in lines 16-19.

[2] षड्गण्डकाधिकत्रिरूपकाण्यपि गृहीतानि ?

[3] Read संबद्ध (belonging to). खण्डलकान्दीयतामिति, or ॰कान्ताम्रशासनीकृत्य ?

[4] पट्टेषु निबद्धं, or ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण ?

[5] Read ॰मनेनापि.

[6] ताम्रपट्ट is the same as शासन found in other records. The word here means 'land enjoyed or owned on the strength of a charter'.

[7] Read पर्कटि. Vṛddha-Sthapaṭṭuki may be a proper name.

[8] Read पश्चिमायां. गोरथ्य-सक्तप्रभ-तटाकस्य-दण्डोऽस्मिन्दण्डे तिर्यग्नौ॰ ? नौदण्ड=नौपथ (*I.H.Q.*, XXIII, pp. 236-37).

[9] Read भवतः चात्र धर्म-शास्त्र-श्लोकौ.

[10] Read तान्येव.

[11] Read ॰त्तां वा.

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No. 45—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 18[1]

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 204; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1724 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य (॥*)[3]

First Side

1 स्वस्त्यस्याम्पृथिव्यामप्रतिर[थे] [य]या[त्यम्बरी][ष-सम-धृतौ म*]हा-

2 राजाधिराज-श्रीगोपचन्द्रभट्टारक-राज्ये[4] [तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्प*]-

3 [द*]स्य नव्यावकाशिकायां महाप्रति[हार-व्या]पारण्ड्य-धृ?]तमूल-कु-[5]

4 [मारा?]मात्य-उपरिक-नाग[देवस्या*]ध्यासन-[का*]पे[6] वारुक[मण्ड*]लविषय-

5 व्यापाराय विनियुक्त-वत्सपाल[स्वामी][7] (।*) [यतो*](ऽ*)[स्य] [सं*]व्यवहर-

6 [तो] ज्येष्ठकायस्थ-नयसेन-प्र[मुखम*][धिक[र]ण-[सह?]-

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[1] Gopachandra apparently belonged to a local family which assumed independence on the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. See *infra*, No. 46 and notes. Gopachandra's dominions extended over a wide area including the Faridpur District in Central Bengal and the Burdwan District in South West Bengal. The king of the East called Gopa in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. R. Sankrityayana, v. 760) may be the same as Gopachandra. From a consideration of the developed from of य in this record, Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 207) rightly suggested that Gopachandra was later than Dharmāditya. He read the date as 19.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX.

[3] I.e., [This is the seal] of the administrative office of the district called Vārakamaṇḍala.

[4] Read °रके राज्यं पालयति.

[5] Pargiter suggested क्रियामात्य. Read °मात्योपरिक. व्यापारण्ड्य=the business of managing trade, according to Pargiter. But read व्यापारकारण्ड्य=व्यापारकारण्डीय (cf. p. 368, note 1).

[6] Read काले वारक°.

[7] Pargiter read स्वामि[ना]...ष्ट(स्य ?) and suggested स्वामिना तस्य.

7 त्तर-विष(न)यकुण्ड-प........................ह................घो-

8 षचन्द्रानाचार-रा[ज्य]..................ल................व[ह]...मह-

9 त्तरा(:*) प्रधान-व्याप[ारिणः ?]......[य]......र......मन-

10 सा यथाह[विज्ञाप्ता*:](।*)[इ*][च्छेयं] भवत[ां*] [प्रस*][ादाद]...[महाको?]-

11 ट्टिक-[ना*]म.........[प]......[त्त]...द्धो[1] क्षेत्र-कुल्य-

12 वापैकं यथा[र्वे*]णो[पक्री]य मा[तापि*][त्रो][रा][त्मनश्च*] पुण्याभिवृद्धये [गु]-

13 णवन्त-कण्व-[वज]सिनय-[लौहत्त्य-[भ]ट्ट-गो[मि]दत्तस्वामि प्र-

14 [ति]पा[दितु*[2]] (।*) त[द*]हथ [भा]रद्वाज-सगोत्त्रेभ्यो) [भ]वन्तो(ऽ*)स्मत्तो मूल्यमादा-

15 य...........धैनमस......ङ्कतमत[3] (।*) [यत एतद][भ्य*]र्थनमधि[क्कृ]-

Second Side

16 [त्य]ागम्यमाना प्राक्प्रवृ[त्ति*]-मर्य्यादा च(चा)तु[र्द्दीना*]रि[क्क्य*]-[कुल्य]वा[पे]न [क्षत्वा]-

17 णि विक्क्रीयमाना(णा)नीति पुस्तपाल-[न]य[भू*]तिस्व[4] स्थलावधारण-

18 यावद्यत्य विषयाधिकरणेनाधिकरणकज्ञन कुलवारान्प्रकल्प्य[5] प्र-

19 तीत-धर्म्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविञ्छ्य वत्सपाल-

20 स्वामि(ने*) क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापैकम्विक्क्रीतं[6] (।*) अनेनापि क्क्रीत्वा भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामि-

21 ने पुत्त्र-पौत्त्र क्रमेण विधिना प्रतिपादितं(तम्)(।*) सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्त्र

22 पूर्व्वस्यां ध्रुविलाट्याग्रहार-सीमा दक्षिणस्यां करङ्क(:*)

23 पश्चिमस्यां[7] प्रोलकुरङ्ग्राम-सीमा उत्तरस्यां करङ्क-सी-

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[1] Read भवद्भ्यः. Lines 7-9 contained the list of persons who were approached by Vatsapālasvāmin. The names Ghoshachandra and Anāchāra are the same as in *supra*, No. 43. The name of Śivachandra is also found in Nos. 44-45. There could not therefore have been a long interval between Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

[2] Read गुणवते काण्व-वाजसनेयि-लौहित्य-भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामिने प्रतिपादयितुम्.

[3] Pargiter suggested अंशमङ्कितुमिति. Possibly प्रसादङ्कर्तुमिति.

[4] Possibly नयभूतेस्तु स्थूलावधारणया or नयभूति-सुस्थलावधारणया.

[5] Pargiter : ज्वन or गुण. Read ॰करणिकजनान्कु॰ N. G. Majumdar read ॰करणिकज्ञान्कु॰ (those who are acquainted with administrative affairs) in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 156, note कुलवार possibly means an arbitrator.

[6] Read ॰कं विक्रीतम्.

[7] Read पश्चिमायां. Karaṅka seems to be the name of a village. For Dhruvilāṭī, see *supra*, p. 367, note 10.

24 मा (।*)

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा[1] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)

25 सम्वत्[2] १०(+*) ८[3] (॥*)

श्व-विष्ठाया(ं*) कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि(ः*) सह पच्यते (॥*) 1

No. 46—Mallasarul Copper-plate Inscription [of Vijayasena] of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 33[4]

MALLASĀRUL, Burdwan District, West Bengal.
N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 159ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 उपगीति; Vv. 3-10 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[5]

Seal

[महा*]राज-विजय[से]नस्य (॥*)[6]

First Side

1 [१ स्वस्ति ।*][7]

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[1] Read दत्तां वा.

[2] Read संवत्.

[3] Pargiter takes the figure to be ६. The date portion should be read after the second half of the stanza in अनुष्टुभ्.

[4] Majumdar reads 3 in line 25. See below, p. 377, note 6.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

[6] This Vijayasena has been identified with the person of the same name mentioned in *supra*, No. 37. This would place Gopachandra shortly after the time of Vainyagupta (507 A.D.). The seal bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed god with a *chakra* in the background. Some scholars regard the deity as the Buddhist Lokanātha and others as the Vaishnavite Chakrapurusha. But, in this age, the identification of the Buddha and Vishṇu was becoming gradually popular and the conception of Chakrapurusha seems to indicate a rapprochement between the Sudarśana-chakra of Vishṇu and the Buddhist Dharma-chakra. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 226.

[7] The restorations are conjectural but probable.

[जयति श्री-लो*]कनाथः[1] यः पुंसां सुकृत-कर्म्मफल-हेतुः (।*)
सत्य-तपो-मय-मूर्त्तिर्ल्लोक-द्वय-साधनो धर्म्मः (॥*) 1
तदनु जितदम्त[2]-लोभा जय-
2 [न्ति चिरा*]य[3] [पर]हितार्थाः (।*)
नि[र्म्म]त्सराः सुचरितैः पर-लोक-जिगीषवः सन्तः (॥*) 2
पृथिवीं पृथुरिव[4] प्रथित-प्रताप-नय-शौ[र्य्यै] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-गोप-
3 [चन्द्रे*][5] प्रशासति तदनुज्ञप्तायां पुण्ड्रोत्तर-जनपदाध्यासिताया[ं] सतत-धर्म्म-
क्रिया-वर्द्धमानायां वर्द्धमानभुक्तौ[6] पूज्यान्वर्त्तमानोपस्थितत[7]-कार्त्ताकृतिक-कु-
4 मारामात्य- [चौरो]द्धरणिकोपरिकौद्रङ्गिकाग्रहारिकौर्णस्थानिक-भोगपतिक-विषयपति-
तदा(।*)युक्तक-हिरण्यसामुदायिक-पत्तलकावसथिक-देवद्रोणीसम्व(म्ब)-[8]
5 द्धादीन्विधिवत्सम्पूज्य[9] वक्कत्तक-वीथी-सम्व(म्ब)द्धार्द्धकरकाग्रहारीण-महत्तरः हिमदत्तः

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[1] Read °नाथौ. Some suggest त्रिलोकनाथौ, i.e. the god Vishṇu. But, as to सन्तः in verse 2, cf. जयन्ति सन्तः कुशलं प्रजानां नमो मुनीन्द्राय सुराः स्मृताः स्थ, etc., at the beginning of the *Trikāṇḍaśesha* by the Buddhist Purushottama. The reference may therefore be to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

[2] Read दम्भ°.

[3] The restoration is conjectural but probable.

[4] Read पृथाविव.

[5] This probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

[6] Vardhamānabhukti was the province round modern Burdwan.

[7] Read वर्त्तमानोपस्थित (those who are serving at the present time and are expected to be present on the spot).

[8] With the single exception of the actual ब sign in ब्राह्मणस्य in line 16, in all other cases, ब has been indicated by the sign for व. This shows the gradual dying out of the old sign for ब. Read सम्बद्ध, बाह्‌च, etc.

[9] कार्त्ताकृतिक (from कृताकृत, business done and to be done), possibly reporter of the progress made by officers in special undertakings entrusted to them; cf. कृताकृतज्ञो भृत्यानां (*Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXV. 17). कुमारामात्य, executive officer of the same status as the *Kumāra*. चौरोद्धरणिक, recoverer of stolen goods or collector of fines for theft. उपरिक, a superior officer; sometimes, viceroy. औद्रङ्गिक (from उद्रङ्ग, possibly a tax on permanent tenants), collector of the tax called उद्रङ्ग or the principal or fixed tax. आग्रहारिक, owner of an *agrahāra* (gift-village belonging to a Brāhmaṇa [or a god]) or, officer superintending the *agrahāras*). और्णस्थानिक (from ऊर्ण, wool), owner of a wool market or a factory producing wool; or, officer superintending the *ūrṇasthānas*. भोगपतिक, possibly the same as भोगिक or भोगपाल, either a superintendent of rent-free holdings or a Jāgirdār. According to a commentary on the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (VI. 56). *bhogin* means *grāma-bhoktā adhikārī*. विषयपति, ruler of a district. तदायुक्तक, possibly an आयुक्त (a magistrate or administrative officer) appointed by particular officers like the *Vishayapati*. हिरण्यसामुदायिक, collector of taxes payable in cash probably in lieu of the king's grain share.

निर्वृतवाटकीय-महत्तर-सु[व*]र्ण्ण-यशा(:*) कपित्थवाटकाग्रह[ा]रीण-
6 महत्तर-धनस्वामि[1] वटवल्लकाग्रहारीण-महत्तर-षष्ठिदत्त-श्रीदत्तौ कोऽडवीराग्रहारीण-
भट्ट-वामनस्वामि[1] गोधग्रामाग्रहारीण-महिदत्त-राज्य-
7 दत्तौ शाल्मलिवाटकीय-जीवस्वामि[1] वक्कत्तकीय-खाड्गि-हरिः[2] मधुवाटकीय-
खाड्गि-गोइक(:*) खण्डजोटिकीय-खाड्गि-भद्रनन्दि[3] विन्ध्यपुरीय-वाहनायक-
8 हरि-प्रभुतयो[4] वीथ्यधिकरणञ्च[5] विज्ञापयन्ति (।*) पूज्यं-महाराज-विजयसेनेन[6]
वयमभ्यर्थिता इच्छे(ऽ*)हमेत(द्*)-वीथी-सम्बद्ध-वेत्रगर्त्ताग्रामे युष्मभ्यो य-
9 था-न्यायनोपक्रीयाष्टौ[7] कुल्यवापान् मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कल्पान्तर-
स्थायिन्या प्रवृत्त्या पुत्र-पौत्रान्वय-भोग्यत्वेन कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्राय
10 वा(बा)ह्ट-च-वत्सस्वामिनो[8] पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय प्रतिपावयितुमिति[9] (।*) यतो-
(ऽ*)स्माभिरस्याभ्यर्थ(न*)यावधृतमस्त्योषो(ऽ*)नुक्रमः[10] उभयलोक-विजिगीषुभि(:*)

पत्तलक, possibly ruler of a territorial division called पत्तला. आवसथिक, one who keeps the *āvasathya* or domestic fire burning with daily offerings, or possibly superintendent of the *avasathas* or Dharamśālās. देवद्रोणी-संबद्ध, officer superintending the processions of the idols of temples or, probably, of temple-property (cf. line 12 of the Veraval inscription where देवद्रोणी seems to mean temple-property; see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 144). These are all technical terms, the actual meanings of some of which are uncertain. The suggested interpretations are in some cases no better than conjectures. It is better to take them all as officers' designations.

[1] Read स्वामी.

[2] खाड्गि॰ is possibly the same as खड्गिन्, swordsman. वाहनायक = superintendent of the plough, probably related to the cultivation of the Khas Mahal lands. आग्रहारीण = अग्रहारिन्.

[3] Read ॰नन्दी. *Joṭikā* is apparently the same as *joṛ* (from *joṭa*) meaning 'a small stream' in the East Indian dialects.

[4] Read प्रभृतयो.

[5] *I.e.*, the administrative board of the territorial division known as *Vīthī*. विज्ञापयन्ति = declare. Note that the *mahattaras* and others as well as the *Vīthī* board were approached by Vijayasena. The charter was issued by the elders and the *Vīthī* board.

[6] Read पूज्य॰ and इच्छये (or इच्छामि).

[7] Read न्यायेन॰.

[8] Read ॰स्वामिने. प्रवृत्ति = continuance, or maintenance (*vṛitti*).

[9] Read ॰पादयितु॰. The word पञ्चमहायज्ञ actually refers to a Brāhmaṇa householder's sacred duties. They are अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् । होमो दैवो (or देवयज्ञो) बलिर्भौतो (or भूतयज्ञो) नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥ मनु । ३।७०-७१. They are sometimes enumerated as बलि, चरु, वैश्वदेव, अग्निहोत्र and अतिथि.

[10] Read ॰मस्त्ये॰.

11 [सा]धुभिः क्रियमाण-पुण्य-स्कन्धेषु श्री-परमा¹भट्टारक-प(ा*)दानां धर्म्म-षड्भागो-
(प*)चयो(ऽ*)स्माकमपि प्रतिपालयतां कीर्त्ति-श्रेयोभ्यां योगः (।*) उक्तञ्च (।*)
यः क्रियां धर्म्म-सं-

12 युक्तां मनसाप्यभिनन्दति (।*)
(व*)र्द्धते स यथेष्टे² च शुक्ल-पक्ष इवोडुराट् (॥*) 3
तत्सम्पद्यतामस्याभिप्राय इत्यस्मन्वारकृतैरनेन³ दत्तक-दीनारा(न्*) (संगृह्य*) वीथ्यां
सम्विभज्यास्मद्वेत्त-⁴

13 गर्त्ता-ग्रामे(ऽ*)ष्टाभ्यः कुल्यवापेभ्यो यथोचितं दानं त[द्वी]थी-समुदय एव प्रनाय्यं⁵
वोढव्यमित्यवचूर्ण्याष्टौ कुल्यवापा महाराज-विजयसेनस्य दत्तोः⁶ (।*)

14 [अनेना*]पि⁷ राज्ञास्मै कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्राय वा(बा)ह्वृच-वत्सस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञ-
प्रवर्त्तनाय ताम्र-प्रट्टेन⁸ प्रतिपादिता(ः*) (।*) अथ च चैषां चतुर्षु⁹ दिक्षु सीमा
भवन्ति (॥*) पू-

15 [र्व्वस्यां दि*]शि गोधग्राम-सीमा (।*) दक्षिण्यां¹⁰ गोधग्रामा¹¹ [ए]व (।*) उत्तरस्यां
वटवल्लकाग्रहार-सीमा (।*) पश्चिमस्यां¹² दिशि अर्द्धेन आम्रगर्त्तिका-सीमा (॥*)¹³
कीलकाश्चात्र कम[ला]-

---

[1] Read परम°.

[2] Read यथेष्टं.

[3] Read इत्यस्मद्वार°. वारकृत=persons appointed for the occasion (the same as वारनियुक्त in the Chammak plates, line 45), seems to refer to some official duty, and is possibly connected with the word कुलवार=arbitrator. वारकृतैः may not be related to संविभज्य. For *anena dattaka°*, better read *anena dattān*. The *Vīthī* was a territorial division (on the banks of a river according to Majumdar).

[4] Read संविभज्या°. Cf. विषये विभज्य of No. 43, lines 8-9, which is usually but wrongly taken to indicate a division of the land.

[5] Read प्राणाय्यं=honestly. वीथी-समुदये=in the revenue, i.e. revenue account, of the *Vīthī*. वोढव्य=to be borne. दान=देय=dues. अवचूर्ण्यं=अपविच्छ्य.

[6] Read दत्ताः. °सेनस्य=°सेनाय. The sixth case-ending has been used because Vijayasena was the purchaser of the land (cf. the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta in *I.H.Q.*, XXIII, pp. 221-41).

[7] This very probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

[8] Read °पट्टेन.

[9] Read अथ चैषां चतसृषु.

[10] Read दक्षिणस्यां.

[11] Read °ग्राम.

[12] Read पश्चिमायां.

[13] The identifications suggested are the following: Godhagrāma=Gohagrām on the Dāmodar to the south-east of Mallasārul. Āmragartikā=Āmbahulā to the south of

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Second Side

16 क्ष-मालाङ्किता(:*) चतुर्षु[1] दिक्षु न्यस्ता भवन्त्येवमेषां कृत-सीमाङ्कानामस्य ब्राह्मणस्य[2]
पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनेनोपभुञ्जानस्य न
17 केनचिदेतद्वन्शजेनान्यतमेन[3] वा स्वल्प(ा*)प्यावाधा[4] हस्तक्षेपो वा क[ा]र्य्यः (।*)
एवमवध्यते यो(ऽ*)थ करोति स वध्यः पञ्चभिर्म्म-
18 हापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादपि[5] च (।*)
नास्य देवा न पितरो हविः-पिण्डं समाप्नुयुः (।*)
[छि]न्न-मस्तक-वेत्तालः[6] अप्र-
19 तिष्ठः पतिष्यति (॥*) 4
भूमि-दानापहरण-प्रतिपालन-गुण-दोस[7]-व्यञ्जकाः आर्षाः श्लोका भवन्ति (।*)
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि
20 स्वर्ग्गे नन्दति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 5
आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः (।*)
भूमिदो-
21 (ऽ*)स्मन्कुले[8] जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति (॥*) 6
यत्किञ्चिन्कुरुते[9] पापं नरो लोभ-समान्वितः[10] (।*)
अपि गो-चर्म्म-मात्त्रेण भूमि-दानेन शुध्यति (॥*) 7
पू-
22 र्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
भूमिं भूमि(म*)तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे यो ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) 8
इयं राजशतैर्द्दत्ता दीयते च पुनः

Mallasārul. Khaṇḍajoṭikā = Khāṇḍjuli between Gohagrām and Mallasārul. Vakattaka = Baktā to the east of Gohagrām. Śālmali = Mallasārul, also called Sārul.

[1] Read चतसृषु. Better भवन्ति । एव०.

[2] Here is the only instance in the inscription of the use of the real sign for ब.

[3] Read ०द्वंश०.

[4] Usually ०बाधा.

[5] Better स्यात् । अपि.

[6] Better वेतालो ह्यप्रतिष्ठः. Majumdar : ०वत्तालः.

[7] Read ०दोष०.

[8] Read ०स्मत्कुले.

[9] Read ०ञ्चित्कुरुते.

[10] Read समन्वितः.

23 पुनः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)(॥*) 9
तडित्तरङ्ग-व(ब)हुळां श्रियं मत्वा च मर्त्यानां(नाम्)(।*)
न धर्म्म-स्थितय-

24 स्सद्भिः[1] युक्ता लोके विलोपितुम् [॥] 10[2]
कुल्य[3] ८ (।*) दूतकः शुभदत्तो लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिक-भोगचन्द्रेण[4] (।*)

25 तापितं[5] पुस्तपाल-जयदासेन (॥*) संव्व[6] ३० (+*)३ श्राव-दि २० (+*) ४[7] (॥*)

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[1] Read ०स्सद्भिर्युक्ता.

[2] According to the general rules of metre, the sixth and seventh syllables of the first foot of this stanza should have been long and the seventh syllable of the second foot short. The defects of the first foot are however often noticed in the standard *Kāvyas*. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 16, 23, 30, 34, 53, 60 and 61; cf. also I. 71 and 81.

[3] I.e., कुल्यवापाः

[4] Cf. सन्धिविग्रहकारी तु भवेद्यस्तस्य लेखकः। स्वयं राज्ञा समादिष्टः स लिखेद्राजशासनम्॥ quoted in the *Mitākshurā* on Yājñavalkya, *Āchārādhyāya*, v. 320.

[5] तापित = heated. This seems to be a technical expression indicating that this officer was responsible for the final examination of the charter, especially for soldering the seal, which required heating. The *pustapāla* may have supervised the actual engraving which however hardly required heating.

[6] I.e., संवत् (= संवत्सरे); Majumdar reads संव्वद् ३; for the reduplication in व्व, see *supra*, No. 41, line 22, note. श्राव-दि = श्रावण-दिवसे.

[7] Majumdar reads 4; but the symbol seems to be the same as the one noticed, e.g., in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 153, text line 46.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF NEPĀL, BIHAR, ASSAM AND UTTAR PRADESH

No. 48—Changu-Nārāyana Pillar Inscription of Mānadeva—[Śaka][1] Year 386 (=464 A.D.)

Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa[2] temple, near KĀṬHMĀṆḌU, Nepāl.

Bhagawānlāl INDRĀJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 1880, pp. 163 ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Intro., p. 95; S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, II, p. 126; III, pp. 10-14; R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, I, pp. 1ff. (No. I).

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[1] There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of the era to which the date of this record is to be referred. Bhagwānlāl Indrājī referred it to the Vikrama era starting in 58 B.C. and assigned it to 329 A.D., while Fleet referred it to the Gupta era starting in 319 A.D. and ascribed it to the 28th April, 705 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 210; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Intro., p. 95). Fleet depended on the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription of the year 316 or 318 (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 97; also IX, p. 168) which mentions *Mahāsāmanta* Aṃśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī dynasty as a contemporary of the Lichchhavi or Sūryavaṃśī king Śivadeva I. As Aṃśuvarman has been mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as a recently dead ruler and was therefore an early contemporary of Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.), the epoch of the era to which year 316 of the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription is to be referred was ascribed by Fleet to 319 A.D. Sylvain Lévi points out that the astronomical data in the Kisipidi inscription of the year 449, which had an intercalary Āshāḍha, agree only with Śaka 482 current. According to this scholar therefore the Lichchhavi era of Nepāl started in (482–449=) Śaka 33=110 A.D. That is also supposed to be supported by the details of the date of the present record. The year of the Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa record would then be (386+110=) 495-96 A.D. The date of the Golmāḍhitol inscription has been read by Lévi as 518. He reads 519 and 520 in two other records mentioning both Śivadeva I and Aṃśuvarman (*Le Népāl*, II, p. 126; III, pp. 61-64; 70-81). Indrājī's theory, though palaeographically tenable, is improbable, as the early use of the Vikrama era in Nepāl is unlikely. Fleet's theory seems to be wrong, as the alphabet of the present record is earlier than the 7th-8th century script (e.g., in the records of Aṃśuvarman); cf. इ (initial and medial), ख, च, ट, प, य, ल, ह, the numerical symbols, etc. We prefer Kanishka's, i.e. the Śaka, era (p. 163, note 1). From an examination of the many dated records in Gnoli's book, it appears that the records of Mānadeva and his successors are dated in the Śaka era, while the later records of Aṁśuvarman as also the epigraphs of his descendants bear dates in the Śaka era *minus* 500 (i.e. Śaka 501=year 1).

[2] चाङ्गु (literally, 'one with a beak' in the Nepālī language) means Garuḍa. The name therefore means Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa, or Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa. The temple contains an old image of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 4th-5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-17 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 संवत् ३०० (+*) ८० (+*) ६ ज्यैष्ठ-मासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १ (।*)
2 [रो*]हिणी-नक्षत्र-युक्ते[2] चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्त्ते प्रशस्ते (ऽ* भिजिति[3] (।*)
3 [श्री*]वत्साङ्कित-दीप्त-चारु-विपु[ल*]-प्रोद्वृत्त-व[क्षः]स्थलः
4 [श्री*]वक्षःस्तन-पद्म-बाहु ⌣ ⌣ — स्म[र्त्तृ*][4]-प्रवृद्धोत्सवः (।*)
5 [त्रै*]लोक्य-भ्रमयन्त्रवर्त्ति ⌣ ⌣ — व्यासङ्ग-नित्यो ऽ*)व्ययः(यो)
6 [दो*]लाद्रौ[5] निवसञ्जयत्यनि[मि*]षैरभ्यर्च्च्यमानो हरिः (॥*) [१*]
7 [मन्वो*]त्सा[ह-न*]य-प्रताप-विभ[वैर्व्व्या]याम-संक्षेपकृत् कृद्)
8 [राजाभू*]द्वृषदेव इत्य[नुपमः] [स]त्य-प्रतिज्ञोदयः (।*)
9 [संवृद्ध*]-सवितेव दीप्त-किर[णैः*] सम्यग्ध[तैः*] स्वैः सुतैः(तैर्)
10 [विद्व*]द्भिर्ब्बहु-गर्व्वितैरच[पलैः*] [ख्यातै*][र्वि][6]नीतात्मभिः (॥*) २
11 [त*]स्याभूत्तनयः समृद्ध-[विष*]यः सङ्$\underset{\text{ख}}{\text{ग्ये}}$ष्वजेयो(ऽ*)रिभिः(भी)
12 [राजा*] शङ्करदेव इत्यप[र-संभी*]तिप्रदः सत्यधीः (।*)
13 [विद्या*]-विक्रम-दान-मान-वि[भवै]र्ल्लब्ध्वा यशः पुष्कलम्(लं)
14 — — — ⌣ ररक्ष गामभि[मतैर्भृ]त्यै[र्म्मृगे*]न्द्रोपमः (॥*) ३
15 [तस्या*]प्युत्तम-धर्म-कर्म-य[शसः*] [पुत्रोऽर्थ*]विद्धार्म्मिकः(को)
16 [ध*]र्म्मा[त्मा*] विनयेप्सुरुत्त[मगुणः] [श्री-ध*]र्म्मदेवो नृपः (।*)
17 [ध*]र्म्मेणैव कुलक्रमागत ⌣ — — — ⌣ राज्यं महत्

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[1] From the facsimile in *Le Népāl*, III, and Gnoli, *op. cit.*, I.

[2] Cf. अपराह्णे तु संप्राप्ते अभिजिद्रौहिणोदये ।
यदत्र दीयते जन्तोस्तदक्षयमुदाहृतम् ॥

quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v.

[3] The eighth of the 15 *muhūrtas* of a day is called अभिजित्.

[4] According to Lévi, traces on the estampage do not suggest र्त्तृ.

[5] Dolādri or Dolaparvata is the hill on which the temple stands.

[6] Lévi is not satisfied with this reading as there is no reduplication of *v*. But cf. ०र्व्वेधात्र (line 70), etc.

18 [स्फी]तीकृत्य नयैर्न्नृपर्षि-चरि[तैर्व्वि*]भाव्य चेतो नृणाम् (॥*) ४
19 [रे]जे स ⏑ शुभिः सुरानु ⏑ ⏑ [भि*]ः सम्पन्नमन्त्रर्द्धिभिः
20 — मावा⏑ विशुद्ध-देह-हृदयश्चन्द्र-द्युतिः पार्त्थिवः (।*)
21 [प]त्नी तस्य विशुद्ध-वंश-विभवा श्री-राज्यवत्युत्तमा
22 [प्रा]णा[नाम*]भव[त्प्रि][या*] [कु]ल[गु][णै*]र्ल्लक्ष्मीरि[वा]ग्र्या हरेः (॥*) ५
23 — — — ⏑ रतेर्य्यशोंशुभिरिदं व्याभास्य कृत्स्नञ्जगत्(गद्)
24 याति स्म त्रिदिवालयन्नरपतावुद्यान-यात्रामिव (।*)
25 प्रम्लाना ज्वरविह्वला कुलज — — नेकमन्दा तदा
26 देवाहार-विधि-क्रियास्वभिरता तद्विप्रयोगात्पुरा (॥*) ६

Second Face

27 देवी राज्यवतो तु तस्य नृपतेर्भार्य्याभिधाना[1] सती
28 श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी (।*)
29 यस्माज्जात इहानवद्य-चरितः श्री-मानदेवो नृपः
30 कान्त्या शारद-चन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्सर्व्वदा (॥*) ७
31 प्रत्यागत्य स-गद्गदाक्षरमिदन्दीर्ग्घं विनिश्वस्य च
32 प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रु-वदना यातः पिता ते दिवम् (।*)
33 हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्वृथा किम्मम
34 राज्यम्पुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्त्तुर्ग्गतिम्[2] (॥*) [८*]
35 किम्मे भोग-विधान-विस्तर-कृतैराशामयैर्ब्बन्धनैः(नैर्)
36 माया-स्वप्न-निभे समागम-विधौ भर्त्रा विना जीवितुम् (।*)
37 यामीत्येवमवस्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सूनुना
38 पादौ भक्तिवशान्निपीड्य शिरसा विज्ञापिता यत्नतः (॥*) ९
39 किम्भोगैर्म्मम किं हि जीवित-सुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
40 प्राणान्पूर्व्वमहञ्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् (।*)
41 इत्येवम्मुखपङ्कजान्तर-गतैर्न्नेत्राम्बु-मिश्रैर्द्ढम् (ढं)
42 वाक्पाशैर्व्विहगीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी (॥*) १०
43 सत्पुत्रेण सहौर्द्ध्वदेहिक-विधिं भर्त्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मना
44 शील-त्याग-दमोपवास-नियमैरेकान्त-शुद्धाशया (।*)

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[1] Indrājī suggests ०धानात्.

[2] This is another early reference to the prevalence of the Suttee. See above, p. 346 and note 5. For कारय better read धारय.

45 [वि]प्रेभ्यो(ऽ*)पि च सर्व्वदा प्रददती तत्पुण्यवृद्ध्यै धनम्(नं)
46 तस्थौ तद्धृदया सती व्रतविधौ साक्षादिवारुन्धती (॥*) १० (+*) १
47 पुत्रो(ऽ*)प्युर्ज्जित-सत्त्व-विक्रम-धृतिः क्षान्तः प्रजावत्सलः
48 कर्त्ता नैव विकत्थनः स्मितकथः पूर्व्वाभिभाषी सदा (।*)
49 तेजस्वी न च गर्व्वितो न च परां लोकज्ञतान्नाश्रितः
50 दीनानाथ-सुहृत्प्रियातिथिजनः प्रत्यर्त्थिनाम्माननुत् (॥*) १० (+*) २

Third Face

51 अस्त्रापास्त्र-विधान-कौशल-गुणैः प्रज्ञात-सत्पौरुषः
52 श्रीमच्चारुभुजः प्रमृष्ट-कनक-श्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः (।*)
53 पीनांसो विकचासितोत्पल दल-प्रस्पर्द्धमानेक्षणः
54 साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवान्नरपतिः कान्ता-विलासोत्सवः (॥*) १०(+*)३
55 यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छ्रितैर्व्वसुमती पित्रा ममालङ्कृता
56 क्षात्त्रेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितो(ऽ*)हं स्थितः (।*)
57 यात्राम्प्रत्यरि-सङ्क्षयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्व्वान्दिशम्(शं)
58 ये चाज्ञा-वश-वर्त्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् (॥*) [१०(+*)४]
59 इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषां राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्
60 नाम्बानृण्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुम्पितुः (।*)
61 किन्त्वाप्तेन यथावदस्त्र-विधिना तत्पाद-संसेवया
62 यास्यामीति ततो(ऽ*)म्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुज्ञो नृपः (॥*) १०(+*)५
63 प्रायात्पूर्व्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्व्वदेशाश्रयाः
64 सामन्ताः प्रणिपात-बन्धुर-शिरः-प्रभ्रष्ट-मौलिस्रजः (।*)
65 तानाज्ञा-वशवर्त्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मात्पुनः(नर्)
66 निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कट-सटः पश्चाद्गवञ्जगिमवान् (॥*) १०(+*)६
67 सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्ट-चरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
68 बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनकैः स्पृष्ट्वाब्रवीद्गर्व्वितम् (।*)
69 आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेष्यत्यसौ मे वशं
70 किं वाक्यैर्ब्बहुभिर्वृथात्र गदितैः संक्षेपतः कत्थ्यते (॥*) [१०(+*)७*]
71 अद्यैव प्रियमातुलोरु-विषम-क्षोभार्ण्णव-स्पर्द्धिनीम्
72 भीमावर्त्त-तरङ्ग-चञ्चल-जलान्तङ्गण्डकीमुत्तर (।*)
73 सन्नद्धैर्व्वरवाजि-कुञ्जर-शतैरन्वेमि तीर्त्वा नदीम्(दीं)

74 त्वत्सेनामिति निश्चयान्नरपतिस्तीर्ण्णं-प्रतिज्ञस्तदा (॥*) १० (+*) ८
75 जित्वा मल्लपुरीन्ततस्तु शनकैरभ्याजगाम स्वकम् (कं)
76 देशम्प्रीतमनास्तदा खलु धनम्प्रादाद्द्विजेभ्यो (ऽ*)क्षयम् (।*)
77 राज्ञी राज्यवती च साधुमतिना प्रोक्ता दृढं सूनु[ना]
78 भक्तयाम्ब त्वमपि प्रसन्नहृदया दानम्प्रयच्छस्व त[त्] (॥*) १० (+*) ८

No. 48A—Nandapur Copper-plate Inscription of the [Gupta] Year 169 (=488 A.D.)

Nandapur, near Surajgarha, Monghyr District, Bihar.

N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 52ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 स्वस्त्य[म्बि]लग्रामाग्रहारात्मविश्वासमधिकरणाम्(णं) जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे ब्राह्मणीत्तरान्संव्यवहा-

2 यींदिकुटुम्वि(म्बि)नः कुशलमनुवर्ण्ण्य बोधयन्ति लिखन्ति[2] च (।*) विज्ञापयति नः विषयपति-छत्रमहः

3 इच्छाम्यहं स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये नन्दवैथेय[3]-खटापूरणाग्रहारिक-छान्दोग-काश्यप-सगोत्र-ब्राह्मणा-

4 * * स्वामिने पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय क्षिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयं क्रीत्वातिस्रष्टुम् (।*)

5 युष्मद्विषये च समुदयवा(बा)ह्याद्यस्तम्व(म्ब)[4]-खिल-क्षेत्राणां शश्वदाचन्द्रार्कतारक-भोज्या[ना*]-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

[2] Read बोधयति लिखति. Plural number was used through confusion apparently because the *adhikaraṇa* or board of administration consisted of several members; cf. विज्ञापयति नः below.

[3] Nandapur, the findspot of the plate, was probably the headquarters of the territorial unit called Nanda-vīthī.

[4] समुदयबाह्य=not yielding any crop or revenue; आद्यस्तम्ब=covered with original shrubs.

6 मक्षय-नीव्या द्विदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्हथ मत्तो(ऽ*)ष्टौ दीनारानुप-

7 संगृह्य जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे खिलक्षेत्त्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयमक्षय-नीव्यास्ताम्र-पट्टेन दातुमिति (।*)

8 यतः पुस्तपाल प्रद्योतसिं (सिंह)-व(ब)न्धुदासयोरव¹धारणयावधृतमस्तीह-विषये समुदय-

9 वा(बा)ह्याद्यस्तम्व(म्ब)-खिलक्षेत्त्राणामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां²द्विदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः (।*)

10 एवम्वि(वंवि)धोत्प्रतिकर³-खिल क्षेत्त्र-विक्रये च न कश्चिद्राजार्त्थ विरोधः दीयमाने तु परमभट्टारक-

11 पादानां धर्म्म-षड्डागावाप्तिस्तद्दीयतामित्येतस्माद्विषयपति-छत्त्रमहादष्टौ दीनारानुप-
भ

12 संगृह्य जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे गोरच्छित-ताम्रपट्ट-दक्षिणेन गोपालिभोगाया(ः*) पश्चिमेन खिल-

13 क्षेत्त्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयं दत्तम् (।*) कु ४ (।*) ते यूयमेवं विदित्वा कुटुम्बि(म्बि)नां कर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने

14 दर्व्वीकर्म्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविञ्छ्य चिरकाल-स्थायि-तुषाङ्गारादिचिह्नैश्चतुर्द्दि-

15 ङ्ग्रमित-त्रमानं कृत्वा दास्यथ (।*) दत्वा(त्त्वा) चाक्षय-नीवी-धर्म्मेण शश्वत्कालमनुपालयिष्यथ (।*)
न

Reverse

16 वर्त्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहारिभिरेतद्धर्म्मापेक्षयानुपालयितव्यमिति (।*) उक्तञ्च भग-

17 [वता] [व्या]से[न] (।*)

स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह

18 पच्यते (॥*) 1

[षष्टिं] वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव न-

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[1] व had been at first omitted and was later incised below the line.

[2] अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर=not yielding any revenue.

[3] उत्प्रतिकर=अप्रतिकर=अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर. Cf. उद्वलिक in Bk. I, No. 31.

19 रके वसेत् (॥*) 2

सं १०० (+*) ६०(+*) ८ वै-शुदि[1] ८ (॥*)[2]

No. 48B—Barganga Stone Inscription of Bhutivarman[3] (c. 518-42 A.D.)

Bargaṅgā, Nowgong District, Assam.

N. K. Bhattasali, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 18-23; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XXX, pp. 62ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 6th century A.D.[4]

TEXT[5]

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) श्रीपरमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महारा[जा]-

2 धिराजाश्वमेधयाजिन[6] श्रीभूतिवर्म्मस्य(णः) पादान[ां][7]

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[1] I.e., वैशाख-शुद्ध-दिवस.

[2] Majumdar compares the style of this record with that of the Baigram and other plates from North Bengal and suggests that the document was drafted and the land was situated in the said area, even though the Brāhmaṇa donee hailed from the Monghyr District.

[3] The name of this king, who was the great-great-grandfather of king Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.), is also found as Mahābhūtivarman or Mahābhūtavarman.

[4] Bhattasali read the date of the inscription as the Gupta year 234 (553 A.D.), though the reading is wrong, and really the epigraph is not dated. See below, p. 385, note 1.

[5] See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

[6] Read ०याजिनः. It is interesting to note that not Bhūtivarman but his father Nārāyaṇavarman and grandson Sthiravarman are credited in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals with the performance of the Aśvamedha, twice in both the cases. The second Aśvamedha of Nārāyaṇavarman may have been performed when he was too old and his son Bhūtivarman was the *de facto* king. The epithet परमदैवत was imitated from the Guptas (cf. Nos. 16, 18, 19, 34, 36). It means 'highly devoted to the gods (or one of the great gods)', although it is often wrongly taken to mean 'the supreme divinity' and also sometimes erroneously regarded as an imperial title. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 470; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 116; my paper contributed to XXVI Int. Cong. Or., New Delhi, 1964.

[7] Read पादानाम्.

3 आयुष्कामं[1] विषयामात्य[2]- अवगुणस्य[3]

4 इदं आश्रमं[4] (॥*)

No. 48C—Haṛaha Stone Inscription of Īśanavarman—[Vikrama] Year 611 (=553-54 A.D.)

Haṛāhā, Bara Banki District, U. P.

H. Śāstrī, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 115ff.; D. C. Sircar, *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, XI, 1945, p.67, note 4.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 3 गाथा ; V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडित : V. 5 उपजाति ; V. 6 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 7 मालिनी ; V. 8 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 9 स्रग्धरा ; Vv. 10-14 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 15 द्रुतविलम्बित ; Vv. 16-19 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 20 वसन्ततिलक ; Vv. 21-28 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[5]

1 १॑ लोकाविष्कृति-संक्षय-स्थितिकृतां यः कारणं वेधसाम्(सां)
ध्वस्त-ध्वान्त-चयाः परास्त-रजसा ध्यायन्ति यं योगिनः ।
यस्यार्द्ध-स्थित-योषितो(ऽ*)पि हृदये ना स्थायि चेतोभुवा
भूतात्मा त्रिपुरान्तकः स

2 जयति श्रेयः-प्रसूतिर्भवः ॥ 1
आशोणां फणिनः फणोपल-रुचा सैह्रीं(सैंहीं) वसानं त्वचं
शुभ्रां लोचन-जन्मना कपिशयद्भासा कपालावलीम् (।*)
तन्वीं ध्वान्त-नुदं मृगाकृतिभृतो वि(बि)भ्रत्कलां मौलिना
दिश्यादन्ध-

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[1] Bhattasali read here २००(+*)३०(+*)४ मा and regarded the year 284 of the Gupta era as the date of the record. See above, p. 384, note 4.

[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. विषयामात्य=administrator of a district; cf. विषयपति.

[3] The name literally means 'one having little good quality'. For the custom of giving names with derogatory sense to children, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 64, note 2.

[4] Read इदम् आश्रमम्. The *āśrama* was probably a hermit's dwelling.

[5] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

3 क-विद्विषः स्फुरदहि स्थेयः पदं वो वपुः ॥ 2
सुत-शतं लेभे नृपो(ऽ*)श्वपतिर्व्वैवस्वताद्गुणोदितम् ।
तत्प्रसूता दुरित-वृत्ति-रुधो मुखराः क्षितीशाः क्षतारयः ॥ 3[1]
तेष्वादौ हरिवर्म्मणो(ऽ*)वनिभुजो भूतिभुं-

4 वो भूतये ।[2]
रुद्धाशेषदिगन्तराल-यशसा रुग्णारि-सम्पत्त्विषा ।
सङ्ग्रामे हुतभुक्प्रभा-कपिशितं वक्त्रं समीक्ष्यारिभि-
र्यो भीतेः(तैः) प्रगतस्ततश्च भुवने ज्वालामुखाख्यां गतः ॥ 4
लोक-स्थितीनां स्थितये स्थि-

5 तस्य
मनोरिवाचार-विवेक-मार्ग्गौ ।
जगाहिरे यस्य जगन्ति रम्याः
सत्कीर्त्तयः कीर्त्तयितव्य-नाम्नः ॥ 5
तस्मात्पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मि-
रादित्यवर्म्मा नृपतिर्ब्बभूव ।
वर्ण्णाश्रमाचार-विधि-प्रणीते-
र्यं प्राप्य

6 साफल्यमियाय धाता ॥ 6
हुतभुजि मखमध्यासङ्गिनि ध्वान्त-नीलम्(लं)
वियति पवन-जन्म-भ्रान्ति-विक्षेप-भूयः ।
मुखरयति समन्तादुत्पतद्धूम-जालम्(लं)
शिखिकुल-मरुमेघाशङ्कि

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[1] This verse shows that the Mukhara or Maukhari family claimed descent from Sāvitrī's father, the Madra king Aśvapati who obtained a hundred sons through the grace of Vaivasvata (Yama, son of the Sun-god). The *Mahābhārata* represents these sons of Aśvapati and his queen Mālavī as the Mālavas; cf. पितुश्च ते पुत्रशतं भविता तव मातरि । मालव्यां मालवा नाम शाश्वताः पुत्रपौत्रिणः ॥ (III. 296. 59; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 298 ff.). The Maukharis were thus a branch of the Mālava people who were themselves a branch of the Madras according to the traditions.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

7 यस्य प्रसक्तम् ॥ 7
तेनापीश्वरवर्म्मणः क्षितिपतेः क्षत-प्रभावाप्तये ।[1]
जन्माकारि कृतात्मनः क्रतु-गणेष्वाहूत-वृत्रद्विषः ।
यस्योत्खात-कलि-स्वभाव-चरितस्याचार-मार्ग्गं नृपा
यत्नेनापि ययाति-
8 तुल्य-यशसो नान्ये(ऽ*)नुगन्तुं क्षमाः ॥ 8
नीत्या शौर्य्यं विशालं सुहृदमकुठिने[2]नो[त्त*]मेच्छाकुलेन ।[1]
त्यागं पात्रेण वित्तप्रभवमपि ह्या[3] यौवनं संयमेन (।*)
वाचं सत्येन चेष्टां श्रुति-पथ-विधिना प्रश्रये-
9 णोत्तमर्द्धिम् (र्द्धिं)
यो बध्नंनै(ध्नन्नै)व खदं व्रजति कलिमये ध्वान्त-मग्ने(ऽ*)पि लोके ॥ 9
यस्येज्यास्वनिशं यथाविधि हुतज्योतिर्ज्वलज्जन्मना ।[1]
धूमेनाञ्जनभङ्ग-मेचक-रुचा दिक्चक्रवाले तते ।
आयाता नव-
10 वारि-भार-विनमन्मेघावली प्रावृडि-
त्युन्मादोद्धत-चेतसः शिखिगणा वाचालतामाययुः ॥ 10
तस्मात्सूर्य्य इवोदयाद्रिशिरसो धातुर्म्मरुत्वानिव
क्षीरोदादिव तर्जितेन्दुकिरणः कान्तप्रभः कौस्तुभः ।
11 भूतानामुदपद्यत स्थितिकरः स्थेष्ठं महिम्नः पदम्(दं)
राजन्राजक-मण्डलाम्बर-शशी श्रीशानवर्म्मा नृपः ॥ 11
लोकानामुपकारिणारि-कुमुद-व्यालुप्त-कान्ति-श्रिया ।[1]
मित्रास्याम्बुरुहाग(क)र-द्युतिकृता भूरि-
12 प्रताप-त्विषा ।
येनाच्छादित-सत्पथं कलियुग-ध्वान्तावमग्नञ्जग-
त्सूर्य्येणेव समुद्यता कृतमिदं भूयः प्रवृत्त-क्रियम् ॥ 12
जित्वान्ध्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणित-त्रेधा-क्षरद्वारणम्(णं)
व्यवल्गन्नियुताति-

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[2] Read ०मकुटिले०. Śāstrī suggests ०मकुटिलेनोत्तमुर्व्वीं०.

[3] Read क्रिया and note that the syllable before प्र, ह्र, ब्र and क्र was optionally regarded as short.

13 संख्य-तुरगान्भङ्क्त्वा रणे शूलिकाम्(कान्) ।
कृत्वा चायति-मौ(मो)चित-स्थलभुवो गौडान्समुद्राश्रया-
नध्यासिष्ट नत-क्षितीश-चरणः सिंहासनं यो जिती ॥[1] 13
प्रस्थानेषु बलार्णवाभिगमन-क्षोभ-स्फुटद्भूतल-
14 प्रोद्भूत-स्थगितार्क-मण्डल-रुचा दिग्व्यापिना रेणुना ।
यस्यामूढदिनादिमध्य-विरतौ लोके(ऽ*)न्धकारीकृते ।[2]
व्यक्तिं नाडिकयैव[3] यान्ति जयिनो यामास्त्रियामास्विव ॥ 14
प्रविशती कलि-मारुत-घट्टिता
15 क्षितिरलक्ष्य-रसातल-वारिधौ ।
गुणशतैरवबध्य समन्ततः
स्फुटित-नौरिव येन बलाद्धि(द्धृ)ता ॥ 15
ज्याघात-व्रण-रूढि-कर्क्कश-भुजा-व्याकृष्ट-शार्ङ्ग-च्युता-
न्यस्यावाप्य पतत्रिणो रणमुखे[4] प्राणानमुञ्च-
16 न्द्विषः ।
यस्मिन्शासति च क्षितिं क्षितिपतौ जातेव भूयस्त्रयी ।[1]
तेन ध्वस्त-कलि-प्रवृत्ति-तिमिरः श्री-सूर्य्यवर्म्माजनि ॥ 16
यो बालेन्दु सकान्ति कृत्स्न-भुवन-प्रेयो दधद्यौवनम्(नं)
शान्तः शास्त्र-विचारणा-
17 हित-मनाः पारङ्गतानाङ्गतः ।
लक्ष्मी-कीर्त्ति-सरस्वती-प्रभृतयो यं स्पर्धयेवाश्रिता
लोके कामित-कान्ति-भाव-रसिकः कान्ता-जनो भूयसा ॥ 17
सद्वृत्तेन बलात्कलेरवनति(तं) तावत्प्रवृद्धात्मनो
बाणै-

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[1] Iśānavarman claims to have driven the Gauḍas out of land for all time to come and to have compelled them to take shelter in the waters of the sea. Here is an old convention according to which the national characteristics of a people were represented as the result of their defeat at the hands of a particular hero. The Gauḍas were a sea-faring mercantile people and this characteristic has been regarded as effected by Iśānavarman's victory. The Maukhari victory over the Andhra king is also referred to in a passage in the fragmentary Jaunpur inscription which seems to be a record of Iśānavarman and not of his father Iśvaravarman as supposed by Fleet (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 228ff.).

[2] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[3] नाडिका = घटिका = water-clock.

[4] Śāstrī has रणमखे.

18 स्तावद्वस्थितं स्मृतिभुवः कान्ता-शरीर-क्षतौ ।
लक्ष्म्या तावदकाण्ड-भङ्गज-भयं त्यक्तम्परापाश्रयम्(यं) ।[1]
यावन्नाविरकारि यस्य जनता-कान्तं वपुर्व्वेधसा ॥ 18
लक्ष्मः शम्भुभुवः कुच-ग्रह-भयावेश-भ्रम-
19 ल्लोचना ।[1]
येनाकृष्य भुजेन विस्फुरदसि-ज्योतिः-कलासङ्गिना ।
कान्ता मन्मथिनेव कामित-विदा गाढं निपीड्योरसा ।[1]
प्रायेणान्यमनुष्य-संश्रय-कृतं भावं परित्याजिता ॥ 19
तेनानतोन्नतिकृता
20 मृगया-गतेन
दृष्ट्वाद्यमन्धकभिदो भवनं विशीर्ण्णम् (।*)
स्वेच्छा-समुन्नतमकारि ललाम भूमेः
क्षेमेश्वर-प्रथित-नाम शशाङ्क-शुभ्रम् ।(।*) 20
एकादशातिरिक्तेषु षट्सु शातित-विद्विषि ।
शतेषु शरदां
21 पत्यौ भुवः श्रीशानवर्म्मणि ॥ 21[2]
यस्मिन्काले(ऽ*)म्बुवाहा नव-गवल-रुचः प्रान्त-लग्नेन्द्रचापा-
स्तन्वन्त्याशा-वितानं स्फुरदुरु-तडितः सान्द्र-धीरं क्वणन्तः ।
वाताश्च वान्ति नीपान्नव-कुसुम-चयानम्र-मूर्ध्नो
22 धुनाना-
स्तस्मिन्मुक्ताम्बुमेघ-द्युति भवनमदो निर्म्मितं शूलपाणेः ॥ 22
कुमारशान्तेः पुत्रेण गर्ग्गराकट-वासिना ।
नृपानुरागात्पूर्व्वेयमकारि रविशान्तिना ॥ 23[3]
उत्कीर्ण्णा मिहिरवर्म्मणा (॥*)

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[2] The date is given as the year 611 falling in the reign of Īśānavarman. The year has to be referred to the Vikrama era, the use of which the Maukharis appear to have carried from Rajasthan to U.P. (cf. Bk. II, Nos. 4-6).

[3] The word *nṛipa* here refers to Sūryavarman apparently because he was the ruler of the Haṛābā area under his father. He is also mentioned as a *nṛipa* of the family of the Varmans who were great owing to their lordship over Magadha (निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्म्मणां···श्रीसूर्यवर्म्मा नृपः) in the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 190ff.) of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs. पूर्व्वा = the above [eulogy = *praśasti*].

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS KINGS OF MADHYA PRADESH

(i) Northern Area

(a) Uchchakalpa Family

No. 49—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Śarvanātha—[Gupta] Year 193 (=512 A.D.)[1]

Khoh, former Nāgaudh State, now in the Satna District.

Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 126 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

First Plate[3]

1 १ँ[4] स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पात्महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य[5] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्या(ं*)

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[1] Some scholars refer the date to the Kalachuri era, the first year of which corresponds to 248-49 A.D. The Bhumara inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1661), the date of which is possibly 508 A.D., rather than 484 or 520 A.D., shows that Hastin of the Parivrājaka family with dates between 156 and 191 and Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa with dates between 191 and 214 were contemporaries. The dates should be referred to the Gupta era as the region in question formed a part of the Gupta empire (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 267-68). There is no evidence of the Kalachuri era being used in that area in early times. See also Mirashi in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 171ff.

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[3] Fleet says, "The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible, and only detatched words can be read here and there......And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words तमसा-नद्या उत्तरपारे, between महाराज-शर्वनाथः कुशली and ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बिनः, in line 7."

[4] सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read ०कल्पान्महा०. The place may be the same as mod. Uchchhahrā or Unchhahrā in the former Nāgaudh State. *Khoh* means 'a cave.'

2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-कुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-

3 द्ध्यातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जयस्वामी तस्य

4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-व्याघ्रस्तस्य[1]

5 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यामज्झितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जय-

6 नाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-

7 शर्व्वनाथः[2] कुशली तमसा-नद्या उत्तर-पारे आश्रमके ब्राह्मणा-

8 दीन्कुटुम्बिनस्सर्व्व-कारून्श्च[3] समाज्ञापयति (।*) विदितम्बास्तु[4] यथैष

9 ग्रामो मयाचन्द्रार्क्क-समकालिकस्सद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरः[5] अ-चाट-

10 भट-प्रावेश्यश्चोर-दण्ड-वर्ज्जितः चतुर्भिरन्शे[6] प्रतिपादितः (।*) अतो-

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[1] This Vyāghra is identified by Bhandarkar with Vyāghrarāja of *supra*, No. 2, and with the feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīsheṇa mentioned in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. But the dates 174 and 177 (=493 and 496, or even 421 and 424 A.D.) of his son Jayanātha (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1194-95) are too late for Vyāghra to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta. The form of the letter *tha* in the records of the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghra is not earlier than the sixth century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 248, note 4).

[2] Fleet: शर्व॰

[3] Read कारूंश्च. Tamasā = Tons, tributary of the Ganges. Muruṇḍadevī is also called Muruṇḍasvāminī. The queen possibly belonged to the Muruṇḍa clan, related to the Śakas. There is a tradition about Maruṇḍa influence in East India before the rise of the Guptas; cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 460.

[4] Read विदितं वोऽस्तु.

[5] Read ॰स्सोद्रङ्ग॰. उद्रङ्ग=उद्धार, उद्रङ्ग्य (Śāśvata) = fixed tax or tax on parmanent tenants; cf. Marāṭhī *udhār-jamābandī*, assessing the total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor who is entitled to distribute the proportions. उपरिकर (cf. Marāṭhī *uprī*) = tax paid by temporary tenants, or occasional taxes.

[6] Read ॰र्भिरंशैः. चाट=swindler (cf. चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः । पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्य । आचाराध्याय । ३३६); भट=soldier. Cf. चाट-भाट, चट्ट-भट्ट, चड-भड, etc., of latter records. Fleet translates अ-चाट-भट-प्रावेश्य as "not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops" while Indraji points out (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, pp. 81f.) that, according to the *Kumārapālacharita*, Siddharāja despatched Chāṭas and Bhāṭas to apprehend the fugitive Kumārapāla and refers to the Bhāṭ community of Western India. Passages like अभटप्रावेश्य, अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य (छात्र=छत्रग्राह), प्रतिनिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश, समस्तराजकीयानाम् अप्रवेश्य, राजसेवकादीनां वसतिदण्डप्रयाणदण्डौ न स्तः (*C.I.I.*, III, p.98 note), सर्व्वसपदराजपुरुषप्रवेशविवर्ज्जित, etc., suggest that by चाट-भट royal officers are intended. This appears to be supported by *infra*, No. 58, line 2. भट seems to be a Pāik or Barkāndāz, and चाट the leader of a group of *Bhaṭas*. The fines to be imposed on thieves were not granted in favour of the donee. Ghoshal takes चोरदण्ड in the sense of police tax (*Hindu Rev. Syst.*, p. 211). Mirashi (*Nagpur Un. Journ.*, Dec. 1937, p. 23) thinks that this refers to immunity from the entry of royal soldiers and policemen when they had to punish thieves, etc. Vogel regards *Chāṭa* as the modern *Chāṛ* (head of a Pargana) of Chamba.

11 (ऽ*)न्श-द्वयं[1] विष्णुनन्दिनः (।*) अपरो(ऽ*)प्यन्शः[2] स्वामिनाग-पुत्र-वणिज-
12 शक्तिनागस्य (।*) अपरो(ऽ*)प्यन्शः[2] कुमारनाग-स्कन्दनागयोः (॥*) एतत्पु-
13 त्र-(पौत्र*)-प्रपौत्र-तत्पुत्राद्यनुक्रमेण[3] ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्ट[म्] (।*) एभिरप(पि) मया(*)-
14 नुमोदितकं यथोपरिलिखितक-क्रमेणैव स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्धये स्व-प्रति-
15 ष्ठापितक-भगवत्पादानामादित्सा[4]-भट्टारकपादानाञ्च खण्ड-फुट्ट[5]-प्रतिसं-
16 स्कार-करणाय वलि[6] - चरु-सत्र - गन्ध - धूप - माल्य - दीप - [प्र]वर्त्तनाय च(।*)ति-सृ[ष्टम्][7] (।*)

Second Plate.

17 तै[8] यूयमेषां समुचित-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यादि-प्रत्यायोप-[9]
18 नय(*) करिष्यथाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयाश्च भविष्यथ (।*) ये चास्मद्वन्शोत्पद्य-[10]
19 मानक-राजानस्तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया यथोकालञ्च[11]
20 [प्रति]पालनीया समुचित-राजाभाव्य-कर-प्रत्यायाश्च न ग्राह्याः (।*) यः
21 इमान्दत्तिन्लोपयेत्स[12]≍पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च[13] संयुक्त(ः*)
22 स्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन (।*) स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता-

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[1] Read चतोऽंश०.

[2] Read ०प्यंशः. वणिज = trader.

[3] Fleet is inclined to supply a word like उपभोग्यः after it.

[4] Evidently ०दित्य. The subscript *y*, owing to the engraver's carelessness, has got the shape of a subscribed *s*. Supply नन्दिरयोः. The Bhagavat is possibly Vishṇu.

[5] This is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit स्फुटित. Cf. वराहदिन्न (for वराहदत्त) in line 80.

[6] Read बलि०

[7] ष्टम् is engraved below सृ for want of space at the end of the line.

[8] Read ते as in other records, or better तद्.

[9] भाग = royal share of the produce. भोग = periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers, etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the king. कर = tax to be paid besides the grain share. हिरण्य = money paid in lieu of the king's share of crops. प्रत्याय = revenue. आज्ञाश्रवणविधेय = obedient to commands.

[10] Read ०द्वंशो०. दत्ति = gift. Cf. दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यन्तु कारयेत्। आगामि-भद्र-नृपति-परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः॥ पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम्। अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंश्यानात्मानञ्च महीपतिः॥ प्रतिग्रहपरिमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम्। स्वहस्तकालसम्पन्नं शासनं कारयेत् स्थिरम्॥ *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, Achārādhyāya, vv. 318-20.

[11] Read यथा०. आभाव्य = भाव्य = accruing in future; sometimes = tax.

[12] Read इमान्दत्तिं लो०.

[13] Read ०त्स पञ्च०. Better स्यात्। उक्त०

23 त्त्वा[1] यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीम्महीमताञ्छ्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपाळनं(नम्) (॥*) 1
24 प्रायेन[2] हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्यते न शुभा[3] गतिः (।*)
पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्र-
25 यच्छन्तो वसुन्धरा(म्*) (॥*) 2
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)
यस्य
26 यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य[4] तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) (॥*) 3
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोद-
27 ति भूमिदः (।*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-[5] 4
त्सर्व्व-सस्य-समृ-
28 द्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
श्वविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जते (॥*) 5
29 लिखितं सम्बत्सर-शते[6] द्विनवत्युत्तरे[7] चैत्र-मास-दिवसे दशमे
30 भोगिक-फाल्गुदत्तामात्य-नप्त्रा[8] भोगिक-वराहदिन्न-पुत्रे[ण] महा-
31 सान्धिविग्रहिक-मनोरथेन (।*) दूतकर्म-(स*)हाबलाधिकृत-क्षत्त्रिय-[9]
32 शिव[गु]प्त[ः] (॥*)

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[1] Read दत्तां वा.

[2] Read प्रायेण.

[3] नाशुभा is usually found in inscriptions for न शुभा.

[4] Read भूमि°.

[5] Properly °वसेत् ॥ सर्व्व.

[6] Read संवत्सर°.

[7] Read त्रि°.

[8] Properly फल्गु° and वराहदत्त.

[9] भोगिक=*Jāgīrdār*; *bhoga*=*jāgīr*. दूतकर्म=दूतक or it may be a case of wrong *Sandhi* of दूतकः+महा°. For the other offices, see *supra*, p. 360, note. The specific mention of क्षत्रिय may indicate that the Kshatrī caste is meant.

(b)—PARIVRĀJAKA FAMILY

No. 50—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Saṃkshobha—Gupta Year 209 (=529 A.D.)

KHOH, former Nāgaudh State, now in the Satna District.
FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 114 f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्); V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा).

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 १ँ[2] नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति (॥*) नवोत्तरे(ऽ*)व्द[3]-शत-द्वये गुप्तनृप-र(ा*)ज्य-भुक्तौ

2 श्रीमति प्रवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्ये महाश्वयुज-स(ं*)वत्सरे[4] चैत्र-मास-शुक्ल-

3 पक्ष-त्रयोदश्य(ा*)मस्यां संबत्सर[5]-मास-दिवस-पूर्व्वाया[ं][6] (।*) चतुर्द्दशविद्यास्थान-विदि-

4 त-परमार्थस्य कपिलस्यव[7] महर्षेः सर्व्व-तत्वज्ञस्य[8] भरद्वाज-सगोत्रस्य नृप-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read ब्द. The record generally does not distinguish between ब and व. The true form of ब is however used in संबत्सर (line 3).

[4] Here is a reference to the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years being named after the lunar months in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. According to this system, there are 11 Jupiterian years in 12 solar years, one year being altogether omitted.

[5] Read संवत्सर.

[6] Read पूर्व्वायाम् = during the above [date].

[7] Read कपिलस्येव. For the 14 sections of the sciences, cf. षडङ्गमिश्रिता वेदा धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणकम् । मीमांसा तर्कमपि च एता विद्याश्चतुर्दश ॥

[8] Read तत्त्व.

5 पि[1]-परिव्राजक-सुशर्म्मणः कुलोत्पन्नेन महाराज-श्रीदेवाढ्य-प्रप्रनप्त्रा महारा-

6 ज-श्रीप्रभञ्जन-प्रनप्त्रा महाराज-श्रीदामोदर-नप्त्रा गोसहस्र-हस्त्यश्व-हिरण्यानेक-

7 भूमि-प्रदस्य गुरुपितृमातृ-पूजा-तत्परस्यात्यन्त-देव-ब्राह्मण[2]-भक्तस्यानेक-समर-

8 शत-विजयिनः साष्टादशाटवी-राज्याभ्यन्तरं डभाला[3]-राज्यमन्वयागतं समडि-

9 पालयिष्णोरनेक[4]-गुण-विख्यात-यशसो महाराज-श्री[5]-हस्तिनः सुतेन

10 वर्ण्णाश्रम-धर्म्म-स्थापना-निरतेन परमभागवतेनात्यन्त-पितृ-भक्तेन स्व-वं-

11 शामोदकरेण महाराज-श्रीसंक्षोभिन[6] माता-पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभि-

12 व्रिर्द्धये[7] छोड्गोमि-विज्ञाप्त्या तमेव च स्वग्ग[8]-सोपान-पंक्तिमारोपय-

Second Plate

13 ता भगवत्याः पिष्टपुर्याः[9] कारितक-देवकुले व(ब)लि-चरु-सत्रोपयो-

14 गार्थः[10] खण्ड-स्फुटित-संस्कारार्थञ्च मणिनाग-पेठे[11] ओपाणिग्राम-

15 स्यार्द्धं चोर-द्रोहक-वर्ज्जः[12] ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) (।*)
तदस्मत्कुलोत्थौः[13] म-

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[1] Read नृपति.

[2] Read ब्राह्मण.

[3] Fleet suggests that डह्नाला may also be the reading. In that case however we have to ignore the lower stroke of भ in the second *akshara*. The 18 forest kingdoms were apparently in Central India including Ḍāhala or the Jabalpur region. Cf. the *āṭavika* kingdoms mentioned in *supra*, No. 2, and तोसल्यां साष्टादशाटवीराज्यायां in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXVIII, p. 331).

[4] Read समधिपालयिष्णो°.

[5] Read श्री.

[6] Read °भिण.

[7] Read °वृद्धये ; विज्ञाप्ति = विज्ञप्ति.

[8] Read स्वर्ग. तम् possibly refers to Chhoḍugomin who may have been the priest of the temple.

[9] Pishṭapurī was the name of a local goddess (possibly an aspect of Annapūrṇā) established in a temple made by the king. *C. I. I.*, III, No. 29 calls her Pishṭapurikādevī,

[10] Read °योगार्थं.

[11] *Peṭha* is a territorial term ; cf. Marāṭhī *peṭā*.

[12] Read °वर्ज्जं. द्रोहक = evil-doer. चोर-द्रोहक-वर्ज्जं (cf. चारवर्ज्जं = चोरदण्ड-वर्ज्जं) = with the exception of the right to fines from thieves and mischief-doers.

[13] Read °त्थै:.

16 त्पादपिण्डोपजीविभिर्व्वा कालान्तरेष्वपि न व्याघातः कार्य्यः (।*) एवमाज्ञा-

17 प्त[1] यो(ऽ*)न्यथा कुर्य्यात्तमहं देहान्तर-गतो (ऽ*)पि महतावध्यानेन निर्द्दहेयं(यम्) (॥*)

18 उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनः[2] (।*)

पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो

19 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः[3] (।*)

महीम्महिमतां(*) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनः[4] (॥*) 1

वहुभिः[5]

20 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

21 फलं(लम्) (॥*) 2

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)

आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

22 व नरके वसेत् (॥*) 3

भूमि-प्रदानान्ना[6] परं प्रदानं

दानाद्विशिष्टं परिपालनञ्च[7] (।*)

23 सर्व्वे(ऽ*)तिसृष्टा(ं*) परिपाल्य भूमि(ं*)

नृपा नृगाद्यास्त्रिदिवं प्रपन्नाः ॥ 4

लिखितंञ्च[8]

24 जीवित-नप्त्रा भुजंगदास-पुलेश्वरोदासेनेति (।*) स्व-मुखाज्ञा[9] (।*) चैत्र-दि २० (+*) ८ (॥*)

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[1] Read ०ज्ञप्ते. अवध्यान=contempt.

[2] Read ०व्यासेन. The *visarga* like sign may also be regarded as a mark of punctuation.

[3] Read युधिष्ठिर. For the *visarga* sign, cf. above, note 2.

[4] Read पालनम्.

[5] Read बहुभिर्व्वसुधा.

[6] Read प्रदानान्न.

[7] Read पालनञ्च.

[8] Read लिखितञ्च.

[9] आज्ञा stands for आज्ञप्ति or दूतक in some records. Here the king appears to have given the order of execution personally. स्वमुखाज्ञा is apparently the same as अविथेन आणतं of the Prakrit records. Fleet: पुलेश्वरदा० and २० (+*) ९.

(ii) THE AULIKARAS OF DASAPURA (MANDASOR = MANDSAUR)

No. 51—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of Naravarman—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 461 (= A.D. 404)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.
H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 320 f.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-13 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् (।*)
सहस्र-शिरसे तस्मै पुरुषायामितात्मने (।*)
चतुस्समुद्र-पर्य्यङ्क-तोय-निद्रालवे नमः (॥*) 1
श्रीम्मालव-गणाम्नाते[2] प्रशस्ते कृत-संज्ञिते (।*)
2 एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समा-शत-चतु[ष्टय][2] (॥*) 2
प्रावृटाले[3] शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् (।*)
क
मघे(हे) प्रनृ(वृ)त्ते शक्रस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा (॥*) 3
3 निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवसा काश-पुष्पैरलंकृता (।*)
भाभिरभ्यधिकं भाति मेदिनी सस्य-मालिनी (॥*) 4
दिने आश्वोज-शुक्लस्य[4] पंचम्यामथ सत्कृते (।*)

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. The record begins with an adoration to the thousand-headed Purusha identified with Vishṇu. Naravarman was the father of Viśvavarman (No. 52) and grandfather of Bandhuvarman (No. 21).

[2] Read श्रीमालव० and चतुष्टये. आम्नात = handed down. Kṛita or Krīta was an early name of the Vikrama era. See Bk. II, Nos. 4-6.

[3] Shastri : प्रावृट्काले.

[4] आश्वोज in Prakrit for Sanskrit आश्वयुज or अश्वयुज = आश्विन. Better read आश्विन०' निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवस = with standing paddy crop and grass.

4 ईदृक्कालवरे रम्ये प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् (॥*) 5
प्राक्पुण्योपचयाभ्यासात्संवर्द्धित-मनोरथे (।*)
जयवर्म्म-नरेन्द्रस्य पौत्रे देवेन्द्र-विक्रमे (॥*) 6
5 क्षितीशे सिङ्हवर्म्मणस्सिङ्हविक्रान्त-गामिनि[1] (।*)
सत्पुत्रे श्रीर्म्महाराज[2]-नरवर्म्मणि पार्थिवे (॥*) 7
तत्पालन-गुणोद्देशाद्धर्म्म-प्राप्त्यर्त्थं-विस्तरः (।*)
6 पूर्व्व[ज][3]न्मान्तराभ्यासाद्बलादाक्षिप्त-मानसः[4] (॥*) 8
स्व-यशः-पुण्य-संभार-विवर्द्धित-कृतोद्यमः (।*)
मृगतृष्णाजल-स्वप्न-विदुद्दीपशिखा[5]-चलम् (॥*) 9
7 जीवलोकमिमं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यं शरणङ्गतः (।*)
त्रिदशोदार-फलदं स्वर्ग्गस्त्री-चारु-पल्लवम् (॥*) 10
विमानानेक-विटपं तोयदांबु-मधु-स्रवम्[6] (।*)
8 वासुदेवं जगद्वासमप्रमेयमजं विभुम् (॥*) 11
मित्र-भृत्यार्त्त-सत्कर्त्ता स्व-कुलस्य(ा*)थ चन्द्रमाः (।*)
यस्य वित्तं च प्राणाश्च देव-ब्राह्मण-सागता[:][7] (॥*) 12
9 महाकारुणिकः सत्यो धर्म्मार्ज्जित-महाधनः (।*)
सत्पुत्रो वर्ण्णवृद्धेस्तु सत्पौत्रो(ऽ*)थ जयस्य वै (॥*) 13
दुहितुर्ब्बलशूराया(:*) सत्पुत्रो जयमित्र(ा*)या[:] (।*)
10 … … … … …… …. … … … …

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[1] Read सिंह०. The identification of this king with the father of Chandravarman of the Susuniyā inscription (*supra*, No. 40) is impossible. According to some scholars सिंहविक्रान्त-गामिन् indicates that Naravarman was a feudatory of Simhavikrānta (i.e. Simhavikrama or Chandragupta II).

[2] Read श्रीमहा०.

[3] न was written with an unnecessary curve below; but that seems to have been cancelled. Shastri read ज्ज.

[4] संः seems to have been originally engraved.

[5] Read विद्यु०.

[6] Shastri : स्रावम्. र्धु was originally engraved; but the sign for the superscript *r* seems to have been afterwards cancelled. Note that Vāsudeva is here represented as a tree with the gods (not heaven, as suggested by Shastri) as its fruits, with the *apsarases* as its shoots, and similar branches, etc. फलद = वृक्ष ; त्रिदशोदार-फलदः = सुररूपफलानां महावृक्षः. The reference seems to be to the Viśvarūpa conception.

[7] Better read ०सात्कृताः or सङ्गताः

No. 51A—Bihar-kotra Stone Inscription of the time of Naravarman—[Mālava=Vikrama] Year 474 (417 A.D.)

Bihar-kotra, Rajgarh District.
S. N. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 130ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT[1]

1 [सि*]द्धम् (।*) श्रीर्म्म(म)हाराज-नरवर्म्मण: [औ]लिकरस्य
2 राज्य-संवत्सरे चतुर्षु वर्ष-शतेषु चतु[:*]-
3 [स*]प्ततेषु[2] श्रावण-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम् भट्टिमह-
4 र-सत्पुत्त्रेण वीरसेनेनायमुदपानः खानि-
5 तश्चातुर्द्दिशं भिक्षु-संघमुद्दिश्य (।*) सर्व्व-सत्वा(त्त्वा)नां
6 तृष्णा-क्षयायास्तु [॥]

No. 52—Gangdhār Stone Inscription of Viśvavarman—Mālava (=Vikrama) Year 480(=423 A.D.)

GANGDHĀR, Jhālāwāṛ District, Rajasthan.
FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 74 ff; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 4

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-18 वसन्ततिलका; Vv. 19-20 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 21 वसन्ततिलका; V. 22 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 23 मन्दाक्रान्ता; V. 24 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता.

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

[2] Read चतुःसप्तत्यधिकेषु.

TEXT[1]

1 — — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ मस्य
विष्णोर्भुजस्सुरपति-द्विप-हस्त-[स]र्प्प[:*] (।*)
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣

2 — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (॥*) 1
प्रख्यात-वीर्य्य-यशस[ां] [क्षिति]पाधिपानां
वंशोद्भवो [ज*]गति वि[श्रुत-कीर्त्ति-भाजाम्*] (।*)
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣

3 ⌣ — ⌣ कान्त-
श्श्रीमान्बभूव नरवर्म्म-नृपः प्रकाशः[2] ॥ 2
यज्ञैस्सुरान्मुनि-गणा[न्निय]मैरुदारै[:]
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)

4 [माने]न भृत्य-जनमप्रतिमेन लोके
यो(ऽ*)तोषयत्सुचरितैश्च जगत्समग्रं (ग्रम्) ॥ 3
हस्त्यश्व-साधन ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣

5 ⌣ खड मरीचमस्तु ॥[4]
ग
सङ्ग्राम-मूर्द्धसु मुखं समुदीक्ष्य यस्य
नाशम्प्रयान्त्यरि-गणा भय-न[ष्ट-चेष्टाः] (॥*) 4
[तस्यात्मजः*][4] ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣

6 ⌣ *ै महात्मा
बुद्ध्या बृहस्पति-समस्सकलेन्दु-वक्त्रः ॥[3]
औपम्य-भूत इव राम-भगीरथाभ्यां
रा — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣

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[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Viśvavarman was the son of Naravarman (No. 51-51A) and father of Bandhuvarman (No. 21).

[2] प्रकाश = famous.

[3] Read मरीचि°. Only one *daṇḍa* is required here for proper punctuation. See also verses 5, 7, etc., below.

[4] तस्यानुजः is also possible.

7 ⌣ — [भु*]वि विश्ववर्म्मा ॥ 5
धैर्य्येण मेरुमभिजाति-गुणेन वैण्य-
मिन्दुं प्रभा-समुदयेन बलेन विष्णुं(ष्णुम्) (।*)
[सं*]-
8 [व]र्त्तकानलमसह्यतमञ्च दीप्त्या
यो विक्क्रमेण च सुराधिपतिं विजिग्ये ॥ 6
व्याबृत्त-मार्ग्ग इव भा-
9 [नुरस*]ह्य-मूर्त्ति-
र्व्यभ्रोदयाधिकतरोज्वल[1]-घोर-दीप्तिः ॥[2]
यश्शक्यते न रिपुभिर्ब्भय-विह्वलाक्षै-
रुद्वी-
10 [क्षितुं क्ष*]णमपि प्प्रगृहीत-शस्त्रः ॥ 7
निर्भूषणैरविगतास्त्र-जलार्द्र-गण्डै-
र्व्विच्छिन्न-मण्डनतयोज्व(ज्ज्व)ल-नष्ट-
11 [शोभै*]ः ॥[2]
यस्यारि-कामिनि[3]-मुखाम्बुरुहैर्ब्बलस्य
पूर्व्वं प्रताप-चकितैः क्रियते प्रणामः ॥ 8
रत्नोद्गम-द्युति-
12 [विर*]ञ्जित-कूल-तालै-
रुत्सूत-नक्क्र-मकर-क्षत-[फे]न-मालैः ॥[2]
चण्डानिलोद्धत-तरङ्ग-समस्त-हस्तै-
13 र्य्यस्या[र्ण्णवै*]रपि बलानि नमः क्रियन्ते ॥ 9
भूरुद्धि(द्धृ)त-द्रुम-विकम्पित-शैल-कील-
वित्रस्त-विद्रुत-मृग-द्विज-शूण्य-गु-[3]

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[1] Read °ज्ज्वल व्यभ्र=free from clouds. व्यभ्रोदय=rise that is unshadowed by clouds.

[2] Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

[3] नी has been made नि for the metre's sake. This reminds one of the saying माषमपि मषं कुर्याच्छन्दोभङ्गं विवर्जयेत्. बल=prowess, army.

[4] Read शून्य. कील=lance; मृग-द्विज=beasts and birds.

14 [त्मा*] (।*)
यस्योन्नत-प्रविष[मी]क्रित[1]-राजमार्ग्गा
स्सैण्य-प्रयाण-समये[2] विनिमज्जतीव ॥ 10
प्रत्यस्त-मौलि-
15 [म*]णि-रश्मि-नख-प्रभान्धै-
रभ्युद्यताञ्जलितया शबलाग्र-गण्डैः ॥[3]
विद्याधरैः प्प्रियतमा-भुज-पाश-ब-
16 [द्धै*]-
[र्य्य*]स्स्यादराद्दिवि यश[ां]सि नम×क्रियन्ते ॥ 11
अग्रे(ऽ*)पि या[4] वयसि सम्परिवर्त्तमान-
श्शास्त्रानुसार-परि-
17 [वर्द्धित*]-शुद्ध-बुद्धिः ॥[3]
सद्धर्म्म-मार्ग्गमिव राजसु दर्शयिष्य-
न्रक्षा-विधिं भरतवज्जगत×करोति ॥ 12
तस्मिन्प्र-
18 [शास*]ति महीन्नृपति-प्रवीरे
स्वर्ग्गं यथा सुरपतावमित-प्रभावे ॥[3]
नाभूदधर्म्म-निरतो व्यसनान्वितो
19 [वा*]
[लोके*] कदा च न जनस्सुख-वर्ज्जितो वा ॥ 13
यातेषु चतु[र्षु] क्रितेपु शतेषु सौम्यै-[5]
ष्वाशीत-सोत्तरपदेष्विह वत्स-
20 [रेषु*] ॥[3]
शुक्ले त्रयोदश-दिने भुवि कार्त्तिकस्य
मासस्य सर्व्वजन-चित्त-सुखावहस्य ॥ 14
नीलोत्पल-प्र-

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[1] Read प्रविषमीक्रत (made uneven).

[2] Read सैन्य. प्रत्यस्त=directed towards. शबल=variegated.

[3] Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

[4] Read यो. अग्रे वयसि संप॰=when he was still in early youth.

[5] The reading चतुर्षु appears to be correct; but the first of the syllables ought to have been long. Read कृतेषु and सौम्येष्वाशी॰.

21 [सृत-रे*]ष्वरुणाम्बु-कीर्ण्णे
बन्धूक-बाण-कुसुमोज्वज्ज्वल-कानननान्ते ॥[1]
निद्रा-व्यपाय-समये मधुसूदनस्य
का-

22 [ले प्रबु*]द्धकुमुदागर-शुद्ध-तारे[2] ॥ 15
वापी-तडाग-सुरसद्म-सभोदुपान-[3]
नानाविधोपवन-सङ्क्रम-दीर्घिक[ा]-

23 [भिः*] ॥[1]
शिष्टामिवाभरण-जातिभिरङ्गनां[4] स्वां
यो गर्ग्गरा-तट-पुरं सकलञ्चकार[5] ॥ 16
राज्ञस्त्रितीयमिव[6] चक्षुरुदा-

24 [र-वृत्ति*]-
र्देव-द्विजाति-गुरु-ब[ा]न्धव-साधु-भक्तः ॥[1]
शास्त्रै स्तुते च विनय[7] व्यवहार-हीने
यो(ऽ*)पक्षपात-रहितो निद[धौ]

25 [स्व-चिन्त*]ाम् ॥ 17
सर्व्वस्य जीवितमनित्यमसारवच्च
दोळा-चलामनुविचिन्त्य तथा विभूतिम् ॥[1]
न्यायाग[ते*]-

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[1] Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

[2] काल = शरत्काल. Note that Vishṇu sleeps during the four months of the rainy season from Āshāḍha śukla 11 to Kārttika śukla 11. आगर = अमावास्या ; Fleet takes it in the sense of आगार. प्रबुद्धकुमुदागर-शुद्धतार = adorned with blossomed lilies and shining stars of the new moon.

[3] Read ०भोदपान. उदुपान is Prakrit from Sanskrit उदपान (= well or cistern). सुरसद्म = temple. सभा = shelter, hall. सङ्क्रम = bridge.

[4] Fleet सेष्टा०.

[5] Read समल०. Gargarā has been supposed to be the ancient name of the modern Kālisindh, a tributary of the Chambal. The city referred to (Gaṅgdhār?) seems to have been a provincial capital of Viśvavarman. The main capital was Daśapura = Mandasor (Mandsaur).

[6] Read ०स्तृतीय०

[7] Read विनये. For the omission of *visarga* in शास्त्रै, see p. 404, note 7. व्यवहार = litigation, dispute.

26 [न वि*]भवेन पराञ्च भक्तिं
विख्यापयन्नुपरि चक्क्र-गदा-धरस्य[1] ॥ 18
पीन-व्यायत-वृत्त-लम्बि-सुभुज × खङ्ग-व्र[णै]-
27 [रङ्कि*]तः ॥[2]
कर्ण्णान्त-प्रतिसर्प्पमान(ण)-नयन(:*) ग्यामावदातच्छविः[3] ॥[4]
दर्प्पाविष्क्रितसोर-शल-मथनो[5] दुष्टाश्व-[6]
28 [यन्ता*] बली ॥[2]
भक्त्या चासुहृदाञ्च बान्धव-समो धर्म्मार्त्थ-कामोदितः ॥ 19
प्रज्ञा-शौर्य्य-कुलोद्गतो दिशि
29 [दिशि*] प्रख्यात-वीर्य्यो वशी ।[2]
पुत्त्रे विष्णुभट तथा हरिभटे सम्बद्ध-वङ्श(वंश)-क्रियः ॥[4]
एत-
30 [त्वाप*]-पथावरोधि विपुलश्री-वल्लभेरात्मजैः[7] ॥[2]
विष्णो स्थानमकारयद्भगव-
31 [तश्श्री*]मान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 20
कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमस्य यस्य
दृष्ट्वाक्रितिं[8] प्र-
32 [मुदितै*]र्व्वदनारविन्दिः[9] ॥[4]
विद्याधराः प्प्रियतमा-सहिताः सु-शोभ-
मादर्शि-विम्ब-[10]

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[1] Vishṇu is the wielder of both the discus and the club. उपरि=on.

[2] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[3] Read श्यामा०.

[4] Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct puntuation.

[5] Read ०ष्कृत-सार०.

[6] Read दुष्टाश्व (=दुष्टजनरूपाश्व).

[7] Read वल्लभै०. Note that the omission of *visarga* after विष्णो: (as also after शास्त्रे: in line 24) is supported by the *vārttika* खर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्य: on Pāṇini's *sandhi* rule वा शरि (८।३।३६).

[8] Read ०कृतिं.

[9] Read ०विन्दैः

[10] Read ०दर्श.

33 [मिव*] यान्त्यवलोकयन्तः ॥ 21

यान्दृष्ट्वा सुर सुन्दरी-कर-तल-व्याघृष्ट-पृष्ठ-क्षणम् ॥[1]

प्रस्या-

34 [वर्त्त*]न-शङ्किनो रथ-हयानाक्रि(कृ)ष्य चञ्चत्सटान् ॥[2]

पुण्योदर्क-मति-प्रभाव-मुनिभिस्सं-

35 [स्तू*]यमानो(ऽ*)म्बरे ॥[1]

संरज्याञ्जलि-कूट्टलन्नत-शिरा[3] भीतः प्रयात्त्यङ्शु त्यंशु)मान् ॥ 22

मातृणाञ्च[4]

36 [प्रमु*]दित-घनात्यर्त्थं निह्लादिनीनाम् ॥[1]

तन्त्रोद्भूत-प्रबल-पवनोद्वर्त्तिताम्भोनिधीनाम् ॥[2]

37 — — — — ⏑ ⏑ गतमिदं डाकिनी-संप्रकीर्ण्णम् ॥[1]

वेश्मात्युग्रं नृपति-सचिवो(ऽ*)कारयत्पुण्य-हेतोः ॥ 23

पाताले ⏑ ⏑ —

38 ⏑ — ⏑ रतिभिर्ग्गुप्तं भुजङ्गो(प*)मैः ॥[1]

शीत-स्वादु-विशुद्ध-भूरि-सलिलं सोपानि-मालोज्वलम्[5] ॥[2]

द — — ⏑ ⏑

39 — ⏑ — ⏑ गहनं क्षीरोदधि-स्पर्द्धिनम् ॥[1]

कूपञ्चैनमकारयद्गुण-निधिः श्रीमान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 24

यावच्च — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

40 ⏑ ⏑ — सागरा रत्नवन्तो

नाना-गुल्म-द्रुम-वनवती यावदुर्व्वी स[शै]ला ॥[2]

यावच्चेन्दुग्रह-गण-चितं व्योम भा[सीक*]-

41 [रोति*]

[ता*]वत्कीर्त्तिर्ब्भवतु विपुला श्रीमयूराक्षकस्येदिति[6] (॥*) 25

सिद्धिरस्तु (॥*)

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[1] The punctuation mark is unnecessary. यां = आकृतिं. Possibly ॰पृष्ठेक्षणान्.

[2] Only one *daṇḍa* is necessary for proper punctuation. चञ्चत्सट = with tossing manes. उदर्क = result.

[3] Read संकुच्याञ्जलिकुट्मलन्न॰.

[4] Read मातॄ॰. तन्त्र = spell. वेश्मन् = abode. The temple for the Mothers indicates the influence of the Tantra cult. For another early temple of the Divine Mothers, see the Deogarh inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 126f.). Cf. also the Chhoti Sadri inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 120ff.

[5] Read सोपानमालोज्ज्वलम्.

[6] Read ॰कस्य ॥ इति ॥. चित = full of.

No. 52A—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of Prabhākara[1]—Mālava (=Vikrama) Year 524 (467 A.D.)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.
M. B. GARDE, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 12-18.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.
Metre: Verse 1 वसन्ततिलक; Vv. 2-16 उपजाति; V. 17 पृथ्वी; V. 18 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धम् (॥*)
ये[ने]दमुद्भव-निरोध-परंपरायां
मग्नं जगद्विविध-दुःख-निरन्तरायाम् (।*)
तित्रासुना त्रिपदिरो(को)[2] निरदेशि धर्म्म-
स्तस्मै नमो(ऽ*)स्तु सुगताय [ग]ताय शान्तिम् (॥*) 1
2 गुप्तान्वय-व्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः
श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-प्रथिताभिधानः (।*)
आसीन्नृपो लोक-विलोचनानां
नवोदितश्चन्द्र इवापहर्त्ता (॥*) 2
भुवः पती[नां] भुवि भूपतित्व-
माच्छिद्य
3 धी-विक्रम-साधनेन (।*)
नाद्यापि मोक्षं समुपैति येन
स्व-वंश्य-पाशैरवपाशिता भूः (॥*) 3
गोविन्दवत्ख्यात-गुण-प्रभावो
गोविन्दगुप्तोर्ज्जि(त*)-ना[मधे]यम् (।*)
वसुन्धरेश-

---

[1] There is little doubt that Prabhākara belonged to the Aulikara family of Daśapura and was a successor of Bandhuvarman (No. 21 above) who ruled in the Mālava year 493 (436 A. D.) and was the son and successor of Viśvavarman (No. 52 above, dated in the Mālava year 480=423 A. D.).

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

[3] *Dharma* has been called *tri-padika* because the Buddhist faith stands on the trinity, viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

4 स्तनयं प्रजज्ञे[1]
स दित्यदि[त्यो]स्तनयैस्सरूपम् (॥*) 4
यस्मिन्नृपैरस्तमित-प्रतापै-
शिरोभिरालिङ्गित-पादपद्मे ।
विचार-दो[ला]ं विबुधाधिपो(ऽ*)पि
शङ्कापरीतः

5 समुपा[रु]रोह (॥*)[2] 5
सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना
वायुादिना रच्चित-पश्चिमेन (।*)
यस्यारिसेनास्समुपेत्य सेनां
न कस्यचिल्लोचनमार्ग्गमीयुः (॥*) 6

6 शौचानु-
राग-व्यं(व्य)वसाय-मेधा-
दाक्ष्य-क्षमादिङ्गुणराशिमेकः (।*)
यशश्च यश्चन्द्र-मरीचि-गौरं
दधार धाराधर-धीर-घोषः (॥*) 7
उदीच्य-भूभृत्कुल-चन्द्रिकायां[3]
स रा[ज]पुत्त्रयां

---

[1] Correctly it should be जनयामास. For similar cases, cf. तेन जातः in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals and अजनि and जज्ञे in the causative sense in the Chāṭeśvara inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 122).

[2] The reference to Indra's fear for Govindagupta and to the latter's feudatories has been taken to suggest that Govindagupta was an imperial ruler. This is unwarranted. See No. 52, Vv. 6 and 13; *I. H. Q.*, XXIV, pp. 72-75. Govindagupta was apparently ruling as the viceroy over some areas (which included Malwa recently conquered from the Śakas) of the empire of his father Chandragupta II. His viceregal headquarters may have been at Ujjayinī.

[3] General Vāyurakshita's wife was the daughter of a ruler of Udīchya or Uttarāpatha, i.e. the land between the Eastern Punjab and the Oxus.

7 जं(ज)नयांबभूव[1] ।
नाम्नात्मजं दत्तभटं गुणानां
कीर्त्तेश्च यो(ऽ*)भून्निलयः पि[ते]व ।(।*) 8
दाने धनेशं धियि वाचि चेशं[2]
रतौ स्मरं संयति पाशपाणिम् (।*)
यमर्त्थि-

8 विद्वत्प्रमदारिवर्गा-
स्सम्भावयांचक्रुरनेकधैकम् (॥*) 9
गुप्तान्वयारि-द्रुम-धूमकेतुः[3]
प्रभाकरो भूमिपतिर्य्यमेनम् (।*)
स्वेषाम्बलानां बलदेववीर्य्यं
गुणा-

9 नुरागादधिपं चकार ॥
चिकीर्षुणा प्रत्युपकार-लेशं
तेनैष पित्रोः शुभयोग-सिद्ध्यै ।
स्तूप-प्रपारामवरैरुपेतः
कूपो(ऽ*)र्णवागाधजलो [न्य]खानि ।(।*) 11
यस्मि-

10 न्सुहृत्सङ्गम-शीतलश्च
मनो मुनीनामिव निर्म्मलं च ।
वचो गुरूणामिव चाम्बु पथ्यं
पेपीयमानः सुखमेति लोकः ।(।*) 12
शरन्निशानाथ-करामलायाः(या)

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[1] Cf. note on प्रजज्ञे in line 4.

[2] This has been taken to mean "the lord of speech (i.e. Bṛihaspati) in talent", although the meaning actually is "Īśa (Śiva) in talent and speech".

[3] This shows that Prabhākara was a feudatory of the Gupta emperors.

11 विख्यापके मालव-वङ्श(वंश)-कीर्त्तेः ।
शरद्गणे पञ्चशते व्यतीते
त्रि-घातिताष्टाभ्यधिके क्रमेण ।(।*) 13
भृङ्गाङ्ग-भारालस-बाल-पद्मे
काले प्रपन्ने रमणीय-साले ।

12 गतासु देशान्तरित-प्रियासु
प्रियासु काम-ज्वलनाहुतित्वम् (॥*) 14
नात्युष्ण-शीतानिल-कम्पितेषु
प्रवृत्त-मत्तान्यभृत-स्वते(ने)षु ।
प्रियाधरोष्ठारुण-पल्लवेषु

13 नवां व[ह]त्सूपवनेषु कान्तिम् ॥[1] 15
यो धातुमात्रे हत-धातु-दोषः
सर्व्व-क्रिया-सिद्धिमुवाच तस्य[2] ।
कुन्देन्दु-शुभ्रो(ऽ*)भ्र-विघृष्ट-यष्टि-
रयं कृतो धातुवरः[3] स-कूपः ।(।*) 16

14 अनेक-सरिदङ्गनाङ्ग-परिभोग-नित्योत्सवो
महार्ण्णव इवाम्बुतो(नो) निचय एष मा भू(त्*) क्षयी ।
सुरासुर-नरोरगेन्द्र-महितो(ऽ*)प्ययं धातुध-
क्परैतु सम-

•15 कालताममरभूधरार्क्केन्दुभिः ।(।*) 17
स्तूप-कूप-प्रपारामा ये चैते परिकीर्त्तिताः (।*)
लोकोन्त(त्त)र-विहारस्य[4] सीम्नि ते(ऽ*)भ्यन्तरीकृता(:*) ॥ 18
रविलस्य कृतिः[5] ।(।*)

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[1] The reference is apparently to the spring season. शरद्गण = years.

[2] The reference is to the Buddha.

[3] *Dhātu-vara* really means the relics of the Buddha; but here it means a *stūpa* built on the Buddha's relics. Such *stūpas* were usually called *dhātu-garbha*.

[4] The Buddhist monastery, within which the *stūpa*, *kūpa* (well), *prapā* (shed for supplying free drinking water) and *ārāma* (garden) were made, was known as the Lokottara-vihāra.

[5] The poem was the composition of a poet named Ravila.

No. 52B—Mandasor Fragmentary Inscription [of Gauri] of the time of Ādityavardhana (c. 490-500 A.D.)[1]

Mandasor, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.

D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 127ff.; XXXIII, pp. 205ff.; *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 73ff.; XXXVI, pp. 191ff.; V. V. Mirashi, *I.H.Q.*, XXXIII, pp. 314ff.; XXXV, pp. 254ff.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

1 [जितं भग*][वता तेन] गरुत्मर(द्र)थ-यायिना ।[3]
त्रैलोक्याम * * * *
2 [विष्णुना चक्र*]पाणिना ॥ 1
जित्वा रिपुबलं संखे(ख्ये) रम्यं पुर(रं) दशादि[कम् ।*]
3 [पाळयति*] [न]रव्याघ्रे नरेन्द्रादित्यवर्द्धने ॥ 2
आसीन्मान * * * *[4]
4 * * * * * वर्द्धणः(नः ।)
राष्ट्रवर्द्धण(न)-सत्पुत्रः(त्रो) यशोगुप्तो नरा[धिपः ॥*] 3
5 [तस्यानेन त*][नू]जेन श्री-महाराज-गौरिणा ॥ 4[5]
यस्य मातामहः श्री[मान्*]
6 * * * * [प्रताप]वान् (।*)
हरिशूरेति विख्याता जननी च पतिव्रता ॥ 5

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[1] Ādityavardhana's date is suggested by the Chhoti Sadri inscription (Vikrama year 547=491 A. D.) of his feudatory Gauri (*Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 120ff.). Another king of the Aulikara dynasty, who probably flourished earlier than Ādityavardhana, was the *Āvantika nṛipa* Dravyavardhana mentioned as the author of a work on the *śākuna-śāstra* in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (86. 2) of Varāhamihira who seems to have composed his *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in Śaka 427 (505 A. D.). Dravyavardhana was a *Mahārājādhirāja*, and Ādityavardhana had his capital at Daś-ādika-pura = Daśapura.

[2] See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

[3] The punctuation is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. See also such marks in the other lines.

[4] The name of Gauri's family is given as Mānavāyani in the Chhoti Sadri inscription.

[5] This is a half verse to be read along with verse 7.

7 * * * * समासाद्य तप्त्वा तममनुत्तमं(मम् ।)
दत्वा(त्त्वा) दानं द्विजेभ्य[श्च*]
8 [माता यस्य*] दिवङ्गता ॥ 6
येन कूपास्तटाकानि मण्डपाश्च मनो[हराः ।*]
9 [कारिताः पुण्य*]-वृद्ध्यर्थं ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ॥ 7
तेनेदं नगराभ्या[से]
10 [मातुः पुण्याभि*]वृद्धये ।
खानितं(त)स्स[र्व्व-सत्वा(त्त्वा)नां] सुख-[पेयो ज]ला[शयः ॥*] 8
11 ……प्रद·· तेव मातापित्रो………………[॥*] 9

No. 53—Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman alias Vishṇuvardhana[1]—

Mālava (=Vikrama) Year 589 (=532 A.D.)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State; now in the Mandsaur District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 152ff.; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 220; XX, pp. 118ff.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 9.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verse 1 पुष्पिताग्रा; V. 2 शिखरिणी; V. 3 मालिनी; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 5 मालिनी; Vv. 6-7 वसन्ततिलका; V. 8 स्रग्धरा; V. 9 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 10 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 मालिनी; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 13 मालिनी; Vv. 14-16 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्); Vv. 17-18 मालिनी; V. 19 स्रग्धरा; Vv. 20-22 मालिनी; V. 23 शिखरिणी; V. 24 आर्या; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता; V. 26 मालिनी; V. 27 स्रग्धरा; V. 28 शालिनी.

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[1] In interpreting verses 5 and 6 of the record, Fleet suggests that Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana were not identical and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. He thinks that Yaśodharman was a जनेन्द्र=tribal ruler, and Vishṇuvardhana a नराधिपति=king of men. But both the words mean 'a king' and the context shows that they were used for the sake of alliteration. It should further be noted that Yaśodharman is also called a *samrāṭ* (the same as *rājādhirāja-parameśvara* of this record) in *infra*, No. 54. The passage स एव, Vishṇuvardhana's title राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर, and the facts that Mandasor was apparently the capital of Yaśodharman and that the engraver was very probably an officer of Yaśodharman (cf. No. 54, line 9), go very strongly to suggest that Yaśodharman and Vishṇu-

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् (॥*)
स जयति जगतां पतिः पिनाकी
स्मित-रव-गीतिषु यस्य दन्त-कान्तिः ।
द्युतिरिव तडितां निशि स्फुरन्ती
तिरयति च स्फुटयत्यदश्च विश्वम् ॥ 1
स्वयम्भूर्भूतानां स्थिति-लय-[समु*]-
2 त्पत्ति-विधिषु
प्रयुक्तो येनाज्ञां वहति भुवनानां विधृतये ।
पितृत्वं चानीतो जगति गरिमाणं गमयता
स शम्भुर्भूयान्सि[2] प्रतिदिशतु भद्राणि भव[ताम्*] ॥ 2
फण-मणि-गुरुभार[ाक्रा]-
3 न्ति-दूरावनम्रं
स्थगयति रुचमिन्दोर्म्मण्डलं यस्य मूर्ध्नाम् (।*)
स शिरसि विनिबध्नन्रन्ध्रिणीमस्थिमालां
सृजतु भव-सृजो[3] वः क्लेश-भङ्गं भुजङ्गः ॥ 3
षष्ट्या सहस्रैः सगरात्मजानां
खात[ः*]
4 ख-तुल्यां रुचमादधानः ।
अस्योदपानाधिपतेश्चिराय
यशान्सि[4],पायात्पयसां विधाता ॥ 4

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vardhana were names of one and the same king. पुनश्च = "further more" does not introduce a new person but only new details about the king. आजौ जिती विजयते जगतीं पुनश्च = 'besides, having been victorious in battle (referred to in verse 5), he acquired the earth [by conquest]. See also p. 413, note 4. Yośodharman's relationship with the earlier Aulikaras is not known. He was a Śaiva while the earlier members of the family were Vaishṇavas.

[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[2] Read ०भूयांसि. तिरयति च स्फुटयति = envelops and brings into full view.

[3] Note that the Śaivas consider Śiva to be Creator, Preserver and Destroyer all in one. रुच् (fem.) = splendour. मण्डल = multitude.

[4] Read यशांसि. Note the epic story of the 60,000 sons of the Ikshvāku king Sagara, who dug out the earth and went to the nether world in search of the horse let loose in connection with their father's Aśvamedha. Thus they excavated the bed of the ocean, called *sāgara* after their father.

अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री-यशोधर्म्म-नामा
प्रमद-वनमिवान्तः[1] शत्रु-सैन्यं विगाह्य (।*)
व्रण-
5 किसलय-भङ्गैर्य्यो(ऽ*)ङ्गभूषां विधत्ते
तरुण-तरु-लतावद्वीर-कीर्त्तीर्व्विनाम्य[2] ॥ 5
आजौ जिती विजयते जगतीम्पुनश्च
श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन-नराधिपतिः स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकर-लाञ्छन आत्म-
6 वङ्शो[3]
येनोदितोदित-पदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ 6
प्राचो नृपान्सुबृहतश्च बहूनुदीचः
साम्ना युधा च वशगान्प्रविधाय येन (।*)
नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं
राजाधिराज-परमे-
7 श्वर इत्युदूढम् ॥ 7[4]
स्निग्ध-श्यामाम्बुदाभैः स्थगित-दिनकृतो यज्वनामाज्य-धूम्रै-
रम्भोमेध्यं मघोनावधिषु विदधता गाढ-सम्पन्न-सस्याः ।
संहर्षाद्वाणिनीनां कर-रभस-हृतो-

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[1] अन्तः=in the interior.

[2] विनाम्य for विनमय्य is not grammatically happy.

[3] Read वंशो. जिती=conqueror. The meaning of औलिकर is unknown. Fleet suggests the hot-rayed sun or the cool-rayed moon. लाञ्छन=mark or token, is taken by that scholar to mean "the crest" which is the principal emblem impressed by kings on the seals attached to their charters and is different from the emblem on their *dhvajā* or banners. The Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had सुवर्णगरुडध्वज and सिन्धुरलाञ्छन; the Kadambas of Banavasi and Goa had शाखाचरेन्द्रध्वज or वानरमहाध्वज and सिंहलाञ्छन. But Fleet's view may not be true in all cases; the Guptas, e g., appear to have had the Garuḍa both on their seals and their banners. Yaśodharman belonged to the same Aulikara family as Naravarman (cf. the Biharkotra inscription) and his successors.

[4] The verse indirectly refers to Yaśodharma-Vishṇuvardhana's victory over the Guptas of the east and the Hūṇas of the north, which afforded him the right to the title of a universal monarch. Cf. No. 54, verse 4. It is difficult to say whether No. 54 is earlier than No. 53. मघोना=by Indra; अम्भोमेध्यं=प्रचुरसजलमेघान्. वाणिनी=wanton woman.

8 द्यानचूताङ्कुराग्रा
राजन्वन्तो रमन्ते भुज-विजित-भुवा भूरयो येन देशाः ॥ 8
यस्योत्केतुभिरुन्मद-द्विप-कर-व्याविद्ध-लोध्र-द्रुमै-
रुद्धूतेन वनाध्वनि ध्वनि-नदद्विन्ध्याद्रि-रन्ध्रैर्ब्बलैः (।*)
बाले-
9 य-च्छवि-धूमरेण रजसा मन्दाङ्ग[1] संलक्ष्यते
शु
पर्य्यावृत्त-शिखण्डि-चन्द्रक[2] इव ध्यामं रवेर्म्मण्डलम् ॥ 9
तस्य प्रभोर्व्वङ्ककृतां[3] नृपाणां
श
पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुत-पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ।
भृत्यः स्व-नैभृत्य-जिता-
10 रि-षट्[4]
क
आसीद्वसीयान्किल षष्टिदत्तः ॥ 10
हिमवत इव गाङ्गस्तुङ्ग-नम्रः प्रवाहः
शशभृत इव रेवा-वारि-राशिः प्रथीयान् (।*)
परमभिगमनीयः शुद्धिमानन्ववायो
यत उदित-गरि-
11 म्णस्तायते नैगमानाम् ॥ 11
तस्यानुकूलः कुलजात्कलत्रा-
त्सुतः प्रसूतो यशसां प्रसूतिः ।
हरेरिवाङ्ग[5] वशिनं वराहं
श
वराहदासं यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ 12
सुकृति-विषयि-तुङ्गं[6] रूढमूलं

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[1] Read मन्दांशु. बालेयच्छविधूसर=smoke-coloured like an ass. धूसर may also be intended. ध्याम=black.

[2] *I.e.*, the eye on a peacock's tail reversed (=looked at from the wrong side).

[3] Read ०र्व्वंश. वंशकृत्=ancestor; नैभृत्य=resoluteness; वसीयान्=excellent; नैगम 'inhabitant of a *nigama*, a merchant'. See Lüders' List, p. 217.

[4] The six enemies hindering religious practices are कामक्रोधस्तथा लोभो मदमोहौ च मत्सरः.

[5] Read ०वांशं

[6] Read ०विषय० which is Kielhorn's reading. *I.e.* 'high like the abode of those who have performed good actions'' (mountain); ''eminent in containing men who perform good actions (family).'' अपगतभङ्ग=free from breaks.

12 धरायां
स्थितिमपगतभङ्गां स्थेयसीमादधानम् (।*)
गुरु-शिखरमिवाद्रेस्तत्कुलं स्वात्म-भूत्या
रविरिव रविकीर्त्तिः सुप्रकाशं व्यधत्त ॥ 13
बिभ्रता शुभ्रमभ्रङ्शि(भ्रंशि) स्मार्त्तं वर्त्मोचितं सताम् (।*)
न विसंव्वा-[1]
13 दिता येन कलावपि कुलीनता ॥ 14
धुत-धीदीधिति-ध्वान्तान्हविर्भुज इवाध्वरान् (।*)
भानुगुप्ता ततः साध्वी तनयांस्त्रीनजीजनत् ॥ 15
भगवद्दोष इत्यासीत्प्रथमः कार्य्यवर्त्मसु ।
आल-
14 म्बनं बान्धवानामन्धकानामिवोद्धवः ॥ 16
बहु-नय-विधि-वेधा गह्वरे(ऽ*)प्यर्थ-मार्ग्गे
विदुर इव विदूरं प्रेक्षया प्रेक्षमाणः ।
वचन-रचन-बन्धे संस्कृत-प्राकृते यः
कविभिरुदि-
15 त-रागं गीयते गीरभिज्ञः ॥ 17
प्रणिधि-दृगनुगन्त्रा यस्य बौद्धेन चाक्ष्णा
न निशि तनु दवीयो वास्त्यदृष्टं धरित्र्याम्[2] (।*)
पदमुदयि दधानो(ऽ*)नन्तरं तस्य चाभू-
त्स भयमभयदत्तो नाम
16 वि[घ्न]न्प्रजानाम्[3] ॥ 18
विन्ध्यस्यावन्ध्य-कर्म्मा शिखर-तट-पतत्पाण्डु-रेवाम्बुराशे-
र्गोलाङ्गूलैः सहेल[4]-प्लुति-नमित-तरोः पारियात्रस्य चाद्रेः ।
आ सिन्धोरन्तरालं निज-शुचि-सचिवाद्धया-

---

[1] Read विसंवादिता.

[2] धरित्र्यां is to be taken with अदृष्ट' and not with दधानः.

[3] "Abhayadatta 'maintaining a high position and preventing any fear on the part of his subjects."

[4] Fleet : सहेलं.

17 सितानेक-देशं
राजस्थानीय-वृत्या[1] सुरगुरुरिव यो वर्ण्णिनां भूतये(ऽ*)पात् ॥ 19
विहित-सकल-वर्ण्णासङ्करं शान्त-डिम्बं
कृत इव कृतमेतद्येन राज्यं निराधि ।
स धुरमयमिदानीं

18 दोषकुम्भस्य सूनु-
र्गुरु वहति तदूढां धर्म्मतो धर्म्मदोषः ॥ 20[2]
स्व-सुखमनभिवाच्छन्दुर्ग्गमे(ऽ*)ध्वन्यसङ्गां[3]
धुरमतिगुरुभारां यो(ऽ*)दधद्भर्त्तुरर्थे ।
वहति नृपति-वेषं केवलं लक्ष्म-मात्रं

19 वलिनमिव विलम्बं कम्बलं बाहुलेयः[4] ॥ 21
उपहित-हित-रक्षामण्डनो जाति-रत्नै-[5]
र्भुज इव पृथुलांसस्तस्य दक्षः कनीयान् (।*)
महदिदमुदपानं खानयामास बिभ्र-

20 च्छ्रुति-हृदय-नितान्तानन्दि निर्द्दोष-नामा ॥ 22
सुखाश्रेय-च्छायं परिणति-हित-स्वादु-फलदं
गजेन्द्रेणारुग्णं द्रुममिव कृतान्तेन बलिना ।
पितृव्यं प्रोद्दिश्य प्रियमभयदत्तं पृ-

---

[1] Read वृत्त्या. राजस्थानीय=a feudatory or viceroy; cf. तलवर=तुष्टभूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्ट-बन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 12); प्रजापालनार्थमुद्वहति रचयति च स राजस्थानीयः in the *Lokoprakāśa* (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 157, note). Abhayadatta is claimed to have been ruling the land lying between the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra (p. 204, note 1) and stretching as far as the Arabian Sea, as a viceroy of Yaśodharman surnamed Vishṇuvardhana. Doshakumbha, father of Dharmadosha, was a younger brother of Abhayadatta.

[2] डिंब=hostility. तदूढ=borne by him (Abhayadatta).

[3] Fleet : ०मनति०. Read ०वाञ्छन्दु०. असङ्ग=अप्रतिबन्ध. Fleet has यो दध०.

[4] बाहुलेय=bull, from बहुला, a cow. बलिन्=weighty.

[5] Read ज्ञाति which is Kielhorn's reading. The first line means "invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, by excellent relatives", and "with a beneficial protective ornament fastened by excellent relatives".

21 थु-धिया
प्रथीयस्तेनेदं कुशलमिह कर्म्मोपरचितं(तम्) ॥ 23
पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्ननवति-सहितेषु ।
मालव-गण-स्थिति-वशात्काल-ज्ञानाय लिखितेषु[1] ॥ 24
य-
22 स्मिन्काले कल-मृदु-गिरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा
भिन्दन्तीव स्मर-शर-निभाः प्रोषितानां मनांसि ।
भृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुवनं भार-मन्द्रश्च यस्मि-
न्नाधूत-ज्यं धनुरिव नदच्छ्रूयते पुष्प-
23 केतोः ॥ 25
प्रियतम-कुपितानां कम्पयन्बद्धरागं[2]
किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं मानिनीनां (।*)
उपनयति नभस्वान्मान-भङ्गाय यस्मि-
न्कुसुम-समय-मासे तत्र निर्म्मापितो(ऽ*)यम् ॥ 26
24 यावत्तुङ्गैरुदन्वान्किरण-समुदयं सङ्ग-कान्तं[3] तरङ्गै-
रालिङ्गन्निन्दु-बिम्बं गुरुभिरिव भुजैः संविधत्ते सुहृत्ताम् (।*)
बिभ्रत्सौधान्त-लेखा-वलय-परिगतिं मुण्डमालामिवायं
सत्कूपस्तावदा-
25 स्तामममृत-सम-रस-स्वच्छ-विष्यन्दिताम्बुः ॥ 27
धीमां[1] दक्षो दक्षिणः सत्यसन्धो
ह्रीमांच्छूर(शूरो) वृद्ध-सेवी कृतज्ञः ।
बद्धोत्साहः स्वामि-कार्य्येष्वखेदो
निर्द्दोषो(ऽ*)यं पातु धर्म्मं चिराय ॥ 28
उत्कीर्ण्णा[5] गोविन्देन ॥

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[1] स्थिति=settled rule, ordinance, established custom. वशात्=owing to Here स्थितिवशात् (owing to the custom) seems to mean "according to the custom [established by the republic of the Mālavas]" and to be the same as स्थित्या in *supra*, No. 21, line 19. एकान्न-नवति= एकोननवति.

[2] Fleet : रामयन्बद्ध°.

[3] *I.e.*, lovely owing to the contact with water. °दग्रासङ्गकान्तं may also be intended.

[4] Read धीमान्. Fleet takes the name to be Daksha and Kielhorn to be Nirdosha. The occurrence of both of these words in verses 22 and 28 suggests that Daksha had the second name Nirdosha.

[5] Better supply पूर्वा or प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीर्णा.

No. 54—Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (c. 525-35 A.D.)[1]

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State; now in the Mandsaur District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 146f.; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 219f.; XX, p. 188; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1870.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-8 स्रग्धरा; V. 9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

1 वेपन्ते यस्य भीम-स्तनित-भय-समुद्भ्रान्त-दैत्या दिगन्ताः
शृङ्गाघातैः सुमेरोर्व्विघटित-दृषदः कन्दरा यः करोति ।
उक्षाणं तं दधानः क्षितिधर-तनया-दत्त-[पञ्चाङ्गुला]ङ्कं
द्राघिष्ठः शूलपाणेः क्षपयतु भवतां शत्रु-तेजाङ्सि[3] केतुः ॥ 1

2 आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनय-पटुभिर्ल्लङ्घिताचार-[मा]र्ग्गै-
र्म्मोहादैदंयुगीनैरपशुभ-रतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ।
यस्य क्ष्मा शार्ङ्गपाणेरिव कठिन-धनुर्ज्या-किणा[ङ्क]-प्रकोष्ठ[ं]
बाहुं लोकोपकार-व्रत-सफल-परिस्पन्द[4]-धीरं प्रपन्ना ॥ 2

3 निन्द्याचारेषु यो(ऽ*)स्मिन्विनय-मुषि युगे कल्पना-मात्र-वृत्या(त्त्या)
राजस्वन्येषु पाङ्सुष्विव[5] कुसुम-बलिर्न्नाविभासे प्रयुक्तः ।
स श्रेयो धाम्नि सम्राडिति[6] मनु-भरतालर्क्क-[मान्धा]तृ-कल्पे
कल्याणे हेम्नि भास्वान्मणिरिव सुतरां भ्राजते यत्र शब्दः[7] ॥ 3

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[1] Yaśodharman's known date is the Vikrama year 589=532 A. D. (see *supra*, No. 53).

[2] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

[3] Read तेजांसि. The inscribed pillar is described as the banner of Siva.

[4] The original looks like परिस्पन्दि.

[5] Read पांसु.

[6] सम्राट् = a ruler of kings and performer of the Rājasūya. Cf. verse 7 of No. 53 above.

[7] "He, in whom possessed of a wealth of virtue and so falling but little short of Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of 'Universal Sovereign',—which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, being in their case like an offering of flowers placed in the dust,—shines even more than it ordinarily does, like a resplendent jewel set in good gold."

4 ये भुक्ता गुप्त-नाथैर्न्न सकल-वसुधाक्क्रान्ति-दृष्ट-प्रतापै-
र्न्नाज्ञा हूणाधिपाना[ं] क्षितिपति-मुकुटाद्ध्यासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
देशांस्तान्धन्व-शैल-द्रुम-श(ग)हन-सरिद्वीरबाहूपगूढा-
न्वीर्य्यावस्कन्न-राज्ञः स्व-गृह-परिसरावज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥ 4[1]

5 आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तळवन-गह[नो]पत्यकादा महेन्द्रा-
दा गङ्गाश्लिष्ट-सानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणᳶपश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।
सामन्तैर्यस्य[2] बाहु-द्रविण-हृत-म[दै]ः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडा-रत्नाङ्गु-राजि-व्यतिकर-शबला भूमि-भागाः क्रियन्ते ॥ 5[3]
शु

6 स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणति-कृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गं
यस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिर्दुर्ग्ग-शब्दाभिमान[म्] ।
नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणति-भुजबलावर्ज्जन-क्लिष्ट-मूर्द्ध्ना
[चू]डा-पुष्पोपहारैर्म्मिहिरकुल-नृपेणार्च्चित[ं]पाद-युग्मं(ग्मम्) ॥ 6[4]

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[1] Note that Yaśodharman claims to have conquered more territories than did the Gupta and Hūṇa kings. This shows that his sovereignty in the Malwa region followed that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas.

[2] सामन्त = originally, a neighbour; but here, a feudatory ruler. बाहुद्रविण = strength of arms. चूडा = the single tuft of hair left on the crown after the ceremony called Chūḍākaraṇa; here, top of head. रत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशबल = variegated owing to the intermingling of a multitude of the rays of jewels. तल = ताल = palmyra tree.

[3] Read रत्नांशु°. The verse refers to *digvijaya*, which the king claims to have performed, and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravarttikshetra*. It is a conventional eulogy and never entirely historical in all its details. There is no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conquered the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Mahendra and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the Arabian Sea (see above, p. 284, note 1). Lauhitya = the Brahmaputra; Tuhinaśikharin = the Himalayas; Mahendra = the Eastern Ghāṭs; here, Mahendrāchala in the Tirunelveli District; Paścimapayodhi = the Arabian Sea.

[4] "He (i.e., Yaśodharman) to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu, and embraced by whose arms the Himālaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was pained through being now for the first time bent low down by the strength of his (Yaśodharman's) arm in the act of compelling obeisance." The Hūṇa Mihirakula was thus an emperor; he was a devotee of स्थाणु = शिव; his capital was in the Himalayan region or not very far from it; he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhaṇa mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kashmir. According to Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Sākala or Siālkoṭ in the W. Panjāb. But his empire appears to have extended at least from Kashmir to Mālwā from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman. For his record, see *infra*, No. 57; also p. 330, note 4.

7 [गा*]मेवोन्मातुमूर्द्ध्वं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवाळं
निर्देष्टुं मार्ग्गमुच्चैर्द्दिव इव [सु]कृतोपार्ज्जितायाः स्व-कीर्त्तेः ।
तेनाकल्पान्त-कालावधिरवनिभुजा श्री-यशोधर्म्मणायं
स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिराम-स्थिर-भुज-परिघेणोच्छ्रितिं नायितो(ऽ*)त्र ॥ 7

8 [श्ला]घ्ये जन्मास्य वङ्शे(वंशे) चरितमघहरं दृश्यते कान्तमस्मि-
न्धर्म्मस्यायं निकेतश्चलति नियमितं नामुना लोकवृत्तम्[1] (।*)
इत्युत्कर्षं गुणानां लिखितुमिव यशोधर्म्मणश्चन्द्र-बिम्बे
रागादुत्क्षिप्त उच्चैर्भुज इव रुचिमान्यः पृथिव्या विभाति ॥ 8

9 इति तुष्टूषया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्म्मणः ।
वासुलेनोपरचिताः श्लोकाः कक्कस्य सूनुना ॥ 9
उत्कीर्ण्णा[2] गोविन्देन ॥

D—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HŪṆA KINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA AND THE PANJAB

No. 55—Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa (c. 500-15 A.D.)[3]—Regnal Year 1

Eraṇ, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 159f.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1269 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) [Fleet takes it to be a sentence in prose]; V. 3 आर्या.

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[1] अमुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति, "controlled by him, the conduct of mankind does not swerve [from the right course]". रुचिमान्=endowed with splendour.

[2] Supply प्रशस्तिः or पूर्वा after उत्कीर्ण्णा ; the word may refer to श्लोकाः also. No work of the poet Vāsula is known.

[3] Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa king, was the father of Mihirakula. Note that Mātṛivishṇu was a feudatory of Budhagupta; but, during the time of his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu,

TEXT[1]

1 ९̎[2] [॥*]

जयति धरण्युद्धरणे घन-घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महीध्रः (।*)
देवो वराहमूर्त्तिस्त्रैलोक्य-महागृह-स्तम्भः[3] (॥*) 1
वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवी[म्][4]

2 . पृथु-कीर्त्तौ पृथु-द्युतौ (।*)
महाराजाधिराज-श्रीतोरमाणे प्रशासति ।(।*) 2
63
फाल्गुन-दिवसे दशमे ।[5] इत्येवं राज्य-वर्ष-मास-दिनैः (।*)
एतस्यां

3 पूर्व्वायाम् ।[5] स्व-लक्षणैर्युक्त-पूर्व्वायाम् ।(।*) 3
स्वकर्म्माभिरतस्य क्रतुयाजिनो(ऽ*)धीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेर्म्मैत्रायणीयवृषभस्येन्द्रविष्णोः प्रपौत्रस्य ।[5]

4 पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुणविष्णोः पौत्रस्य पितरमनुजातस्य स्ववंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः पुत्रस्यात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तस्य विधातुरिच्छया ।[5]

5 स्वयंवरयेव राजलक्ष्म्याधिगतस्य चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथितयशसः अक्षीण-मान[ध]नस्यानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णोः महार(ा*)ज-मातृविष्णोः

6 स्वर्गतस्य भ्रात्रानुजेन ।[5] तदनुविधायिना तत्प्रसाद-परिगृहीतेन[6] धन्यविष्णुना तेनैव [स]हाविभक्त-पुण्यक्रियेण मातापित्रोः

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the country was under Toramāṇa. See *supra*, No. 54.

[1] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Cf. the text with that of *supra*, No. 35.

[2] सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

[3] The verse refers to the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu. घन-घोनाघात-घूर्णित-महीध्र = who caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of his hard snout.

[4] It is generally supposed that the fifth syllable should be short, though there is similar use of a long fifth in many standard works.

[5] The mark of punctuation is superfluous. Better read दशमे, and पूर्व्वायां. Here पूर्वा has been used practically as a synonym of तिथि.

[6] There is a sign following this word and resembling the dagger-mark of English typography which, as Fleet has suggested, indicates that the passage तेनैव सहाविभक्तपुण्यक्रियेण should be read here, i.e., just before धन्यविष्णुना. Note that Dhanyavishṇu has no royal title, though Airikiṇa is referred to as his own *vishaya*. This may suggest that his position as *vishayapati* was not yet sanctioned by Toramāṇa who had recently occupied the country. This fact may also suggest that the year refers to Toramāṇa's occupation of Malwa and not to his actual regnal reckoning which was possibly not known to Dhanyavishṇu.

7 पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतो वराहमूर्त्तेर्ज्जगत्परायणस्य नारायणस्य शिला-प्रा[सादः] स्व-विष[ये] (ऽ*)स्मिन्नैरिकिणे[1] कारितः ।(।*)

8 स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-पुरोगाभ्यः सर्व्व-प्रजा[भ्य इ]ति ॥

No. 56—Kurā Stone Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa Shāhi[2] (c. 500-15 A.D.)

KURĀ, Salt Range, the Pañjāb; now in West Pakistan.
BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 239f.

Language: Sanskrit strongly influenced by Prakrit.
Script: Nail-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT[3]

1 [ॐ*][4] [राजाधि*]राज-महाराज-तोरमाण-षा[हि]-जऊ[व्लस्याभिवर्ध*][मान-[5] राज्ये] * * [संवत्सरे*]

2 * * * * मे[6] मार्गशिर-मास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम्(यां) चान्द्र[मग्रहण?] * * * * * * गग[न*]-

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[1] ऐरिकिण-विषय = district round modern Eraṇ.

[2] He should probably be identified with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa, see note 5 below.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. Some *aksharas* here and there and a few lines at the end of the record appear to have been erased.

[4] The restorations are probable in consideration of the space and traces before °राज°.

[5] Cf. line 10 below. Since this prince has been called a जऊव्ल (which is supposed to have been a feudatory title or a tribal name), Bühler and Kielhorn were not inclined to identify him with the father of Mihirakula, though they agreed that the record belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.D. I do not think that there is any improbability in the identification. There is evidence to show that a feudatory (and sometimes even his successors) continued to use the feudatory title even when he became actually independent. Note the title महाक्षत्रप used by the Śaka kings of Malwa, and the title सेनापति applied to Pushyamitra Śuṅga (p. 95) even after his celebration of two Aśvamedha sacrifices. It has been pointed out that the name तोरमाण is the same as the Turkish word *töramān*, *türamān* or *töremen*, meaning a rebel or insurgent. जऊव्ल has been connected with Turkish *jvl*, 'a falcon.' For *shāhi*, see p. 142, note 2; p. 150, note 3.

[6] Possibly the gap between राज्ये and संवत्सरे contained 2 cancelled *aksharas*. It is difficult to say whether the last word is *prathame*.

3 [चरे च] वर * शुचि-शात-ध्यानाध्ययन-मोक्ष-चित्तानुकूले[1] प्र[दिष्ट] * * *
* * * * * [न*]-

4 क्षले भगवतो बुद्धस्य देवातिदेवस्य[2] सर्वपापपरिक्षीण-सर्वपुण्यसमुद्गत[स्य]

5 तीर्ण-स(ं*)सारार्णव(स्य*) सत्वा(त्त्वा)नां तारयिता[3] दशबळ-बळिन(ः*)[4] चतुवैशारद्य-[5]
चतस्रप्रतिसं[भिदा]-[6]

6 अष्टादशावेणीकाद्भुत-धर्म-समन्वागतस्य[7] सर्वसत्व(त्त्व)वत्सल-महाकारुणिकस्य बु-

7 द्धप्रमुख[8] चातुर्दिशे भिक्षु-संघे देयधर्मो(ऽ*)य(ं*) विहार(ः*) प्रतिष्ठापन नस्वीर-
पति-प्रशस्ता-

8 दारित-नामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिः रोट्ट-जयवृद्धि[9] अनेक-विहार-स्वामिनो सत्पुत्रेण (।*) यदत्र
पुण्यं तद्भवतु

9 [मा]तापित्रो(ः*) आपायक-पोपक(योः*) चित्रस्य जंबुद्वीपस्य दर्शयितारो[10] अग्रे-
भावप्रत्यंशतायास्तु तथा विहार-स्वामिनो

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[1] Possibly शान्त and चिन्ता are intended. We may read वर-शुचि as the *akshara* between र and शु seems to be a cancelled शु.

[2] There is a blank space between दे and वा.

[3] Read ०यितुः.

[4] Ten kinds of knowledge were peculiar to the Buddha. See above, p. 233, note 4.

[5] Read चतुर्वैशारद्य. A Buddha has four subjects of confidence or fearlessness, viz., the conciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from human passion, that he has rightly described the obstacles of religious life and that he has rightly taught the way to obtain salvation.

[6] Read चतुःप्रतिसंभिदाष्टा०. The four *Pratisaṃbhidās* are the analytical sciences being divisions of the supernatural knowledge of the Arhat regarding the meaning, the text and the origin of the words, as also the discriminatory knowledge of them.

[7] Read ०वेणिकाद्भुत०. *I.e.*, attained the 4 *vaiśāradyas*, etc. आवेनिकाद्भुतधर्म = the marvellous *Dharmas* called *āveṇika* (see below, No. 72, note). The 18 *āveṇika* or independent states are said to be the distinguishing mark of a Buddha who is detached from the imperfections which attach to the majority of mankind.

[8] Read बुद्धप्रमुखे = [belonging to the congregation] of which the Buddha is the head.

[9] Read प्रतिष्ठापितः नस्वीरपति-प्रशस्तादृतनामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिना रोट्टजयवृद्धेः, etc.

[10] Read आप्यायक and दर्शयित्रोः अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय (or, ०शतायै)। अस्तु तथा विहारस्वामिनः रोट्ट-सिद्धवृद्धेः सर्वेषां भ्रातृणां, etc. Note that my emendations and interpretations are different in some respects from those of Bühler. For अग्रप्रत्यंश and अग्रभागप्रत्यंश, see pp. 143, 159.

10 रोट-सिद्धवृद्धि सर्वेषां भ्रातराणां भगिनीनां पत्नीनां पुत्राणां दुहितृणां महाराज-
तोरमाण-षाह-जऊव्ल:[1] स-

11 र्वेषां देवीनां राजपुत्राणां राजदुहितानां[2] च सर्व-सत्वानां(त्त्वानाम्) अनुत्तर-ज्ञानावाप्तये[3]
(।*) अयं पुन(:*) विहारस्वो-

12 पकरण[4] चातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे परिग्रहे आचाय(र्णां*)[म]हीश[ासकानां(नाम्)] (।*)
[साद्धकपु] * * लेण* [आचार्य]-

13 ... ...

No. 57—Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula

(c. 515-45 A.D.)—Regnal Year 15

GWALIOR (Gvālher), former Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh. R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI, pp. 391ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 162f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 2109.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 मालिनी ; Vv. 3-12 आर्या ; V. 13 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[5]

1 [१ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥*][6]
[ज*][य]ति जलद-वल[7]-ध्वान्तमुत्सारयन्स्वैः
किरण-निवह-जालैर्व्योम विद्योतयद्भिः (।*)

---

[1] Read ०षाहिजऊव्लस्य.

[2] Read दुहितॄणां.

[3] Between अ and नु, two *aksharas* appear to be struck out.

[4] Read ०स्वोपकार: (benefaction in the shape of a monastery).

[5] Lines 1-6 from the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, and lines. 7-9 from the facsimile in *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI.

[6] The restorations are conjectural.

[7] Fleet reads वाल and translates it as "banks of clouds"; जलदवेला (=rainy day) seems to have been intended. The upper part of the *aksharas* are lost. The first two verses are in adoration of the Sun-god.

उ[दय*]-[गिरि]-तटाग्र[*] मण्डयन्[1] यस्तुरगैः[2]
चकित-गमन-खेद-श्रान्त-चंचत्सटान्तैः ।(।*) 1
उदय-[गिरि]-[3]

2 ⏑ — — ग्रस्त-चक्रो(ऽ*)र्त्ति-हर्त्ता
भुवन-भवन-दीपः शर्व्वरी-नाश-हेतुः (।*)
तपित-कनक-वर्ण्णैरंशुभि[ः] पङ्कजाना[ं]-
मभिनव-रमणीयं यो विधत्ते स वो(ऽ*)व्यात् । (।*) 2
श्री-तोर[माण इ*]ति यः प्रथितो

3 [भूचक्र*]पः प्रभूत-गुणः (।*)
सत्य-प्रदान-शौर्य्याद्येन मही न्यायत[ः] शास्ता[4] [॥*] 3
तस्योदित-कुल-कीर्त्तेः पुत्रो(ऽ*)तुल-विक्रमः पतिः पृथ्व्याः (।*)
मिहिरकुलेतिख्यातो(ऽ*)भङ्गो[5] यः पशुपतिम * * *[6] (॥*) 4

4 [तस्मिन्रा*]जनि शासति पृथ्वीं पृथु-विमल-लोचने(ऽ*)र्त्तिहरे (।*)
अभिवर्द्धमान-राज्ये पंचदशाब्दे नृप-वृषस्य (॥*) 5
शशिरश्मिहास-विकसित-कुमुदोत्पल-गन्ध-शीतलामोदे (।*)
कार्त्तिक-मासे प्राप्त[7] गगन-

5 [पतौ*] [नि*]र्म्मले भाति (॥*) 6
द्विज-गण-मुख्यैरभिसंस्तुते च पुण्याह-नाद-घोषेण (।*)
तिथि-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्त्ते संप्राप्ते सुप्रशस्त-[दिने] (॥*) 7
मातृतुलस्य तु पौत्रः पुत्रश्च तथैव मातृदासस्य (।*)
नाम्ना च मातृचेटः पर्व्व-

---

[1] न् had been omitted in its proper place, and was then engraved below the line.

[2] Read ०रङ्गैश्चकित०.

[3] Possibly उदयगिरिवनान्तग्रस्त०. तपित = तप्त.

[4] Fleet suggests the correction प्रधान for प्रदान. शास्ता for शासिता or शिष्टा is not grammatically happy.

[5] Better मिहिरकुल इति ख्या०.

[6] Possibly ०मर्च्चयति. Fleet and Kielhorn believed that Mihirakula broke the power of one Paśupati. Bhandarkar wants to read भेजे (which is however impossible in view of the clear traces on the facsimile) in the lacuna and suggests that the Hūṇa king was a worshipper of Paśupati = Śiva. अभङ्गः = पूजाव्यापारे विरामरहितः.

[7] Read प्राप्ते. *I.e.*, when the month of Kārttika arrived.

6 [त-द्रुग*][ानु]वास्तव्यः (॥*) 8
नानाधातु-विचित्रे गोपाह्वय-नाम्नि[1] भूधरे रम्ये (।*)
कारितवान्शैलमयं भानोः प्रासाद-वर-मुख्यम् (॥*) 9
पुण्याभिवृद्धिहेतोर्म्मातापित्रोस्तथात्मनश्चैव (।*)
वसता(*) च गिरिवरे(ऽ*)स्मि(न्*) राज्ञः
7 * * * [सा?]देन[2] (॥*) 10
ये कारयन्ति भानोश्चन्द्रांशु-सम-प्रभं गृह-प्रवर(रम्) (।*)
तेषां वासः स्वर्ग्गे यावत्कल्प-क्षयो भवति ॥ 11
भक्त्या रवेर्व्विरचितं सद्धर्म्म-ख्यापनं सुकीर्त्तिमयं(यम्) (।*)
नाम्ना च केशवेतिप्रथितेन च ।[3]
8 * * * [दि?]त्येन (॥*) 12
यावच्छर्व्व-जटा-कलाप-गहने विद्योतते चन्द्रमा
दिव्यस्त्री-चरणैर्व्विभूषित-तटो यावच्च मेरुर्नगः (।*)
यावच्चोरसि नील-नीरद-निभे विष्णुर्व्विभर्त्युज्वलां[1]
श्रींस्तावद्गिरि-मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठति
[शिला-प्रा*]साद-मुख्यो रवेः (॥*) 13

E—WESTERN INDIA: MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

No. 58—Bhamodra-Mohota Copper-plate Inscription of Dronasimha—Gupta-Valabhī Year 183 (=502 A.D.)

BHAMODRA-MOHOTĀ, Bhaunagar District, Gujarat State.
A. M. T. Jackson, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, No. liv, pp. 1ff.; L. D. BARNETT, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 18f.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmi of the Southern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

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[1] गोपाह्वय is the same as गोपगिरि and गोपाद्रि = Gwalior, the immediate source of which form is possibly Gopālikera found in some records.

[2] The word may be प्रसादेन.

[3] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Better केशव इति प्र०. No work of the poet Keśava is known for certain. He seems to have had a second name which was Āditya or ended in *āditya*.

[4] Read ०र्व्विभर्त्युज्ज्वलां श्रीं ताव०. श्रीं has been used for श्रियं for the sake of the matre. Cf. the saying माषमपि मषं कुर्यात्, etc. (note on No. 52, verse 8).

TEXT[1]

1 १̐[2] स्वस्ति (॥•) वलभीतः परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातो[3] महाराज-द्रोणसिंह-
×कुशली स्व-विषय[4] सर्व्वानिवास्मत्सन्तकायुक्तक-विनियुक्तक-मह-[5]

2 त्तर-द्राङ्गिक-ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणं[6] चाट-भटादी(•)श्च[7] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं
यथा मया[8] विजयायुद्ध(द्धं)र्म्मफल-यशोविषय-व्रिद्ध-[9]

3 ये नो वर्षसहस्राय सर्व्व-कल्याणाभिप्राय-संपत्तये च हस्तवप्राहरण्यां श्री-भगवत्या-
×पाण्डुराज्यायाः[10] मातापित्रो×पुण्याप्यायन-नि-

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the Valabhī era, see *supra*, p. 277, note 1. It was actually the Gupta era introduced during the age of the Gupta occupation of Kāṭhiāwāṛ, but was later continued by the Maitrakas who were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. There was a difference of six months between the commencement of the Valabhī era (Kārttika-sudi 1) and that of the Gupta era (Chaitra-sudi 1).

[2] सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

[3] Droṇasiṃha's father was Bhaṭārka whose name is not mentioned. Bhaṭārka was the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī (modern Wala near Bhaunagar). The overlord of Droṇasiṃha referred to here appears to have been a Gupta emperor; but the power of the Guptas was by this time already on the decline specially owing to the Hūṇa occupation of Malwa.

[4] Read विषये. Barnett suggests विषयकान्.

[5] The function of the *drāṅgika* is not known. द्रंग may be connected with the expression सोद्रङ्ग (=with उद्रङ्ग, cf. note on No. 49, line 9). The reading intended seems actually to be महत्तरौद्रङ्गिक०. *Draṅga* is used in the *Rajataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 2010, in the sense of a watch station or a station for the collection of duties.

[6] Barnett suggests ०करणिक-चाट० which is unnecessarry. ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण was a station for collecting *dhruva* (the king's fixed grain share). *Dhruvādhikaraṇika* found in later Maitraka records has been explained as "one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*" by Bühler who points out that *dhruva* is still used in Kāṭhiāwāṛ and Kachh to denote "a person who on the part of a *rājā*, superitends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue". सन्तक is a Pāli word meaning 'belonging to'. विनियुक्तक was possibly the same as तदायुक्तक.

[7] For चाट and भट, see note on No. 49, line 10.

[8] Barnett : मह्य॰.

[9] Read ०वृद्धये.

[10] Possibly ०राजायाः. This is apparently the name of the goddess of a temple in the Hastavapra *āharaṇī*, around Hāthab, 6 miles south of Goghā in the former Bhaunagar State. It is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Astakampra. The territorial division called *āharaṇī* is apparently related to *āhāra* (district) and both appear to have been derived from *ā+hṛi*, as they were originally *jāgīrs* for the maintenance of princes and high officers. Cf. *bhukti*, *bhoga*.

4 मित्तमात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये[1] आ-चन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णव-क्षितिस्थिति-सरित्पर्व्वत-समकालीनं बलि-चरु-वैश्यदेवाद्यानां[2] क्रियाणां समुत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं[।]

5 त्रिसंगमकग्रामो[3] गन्ध धूर्प-दीप-तैल्य-माल्योपयोज्यं[4] देवकुलस्य च पतित-विशीर्ण्ण-प्रतिसंस्कारणार्त्थं[5] सत्रोपयोज्यैस्सहिरण्या-

6 देयस्सहान्यैश्चादानै[र चाट-भट-प्रावेश्यं[6] ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्त्या उदकातिसर्ग्गेण निसृष्टः(।*) यतो(ऽ*)स्योपचित-न्यायत(:*)[7] भुजेंतः[8] कृशतः[9] प्रदिशत-

7 ×कर्षापयतो वा न केनचिस्स्वल्पा[10] बाधा विचारणा वा कार्य्या (।*) यश्चाछिद्यमान-मनुमोदोयुरसौ[11] महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च

8 संयुक्तास्मद्वंशागामि-राजभिरन्यैश्च[12] सामान्यं भूमिदायमवेत्य(।*)स्मद्दायो(ऽ* नुमन्त-व्यो(ऽ*)पि चात्र व्यास-कृताः श्लोका भवन्ति (।*)

9 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ।[13] तान्येव नरके वशेत्[14] (॥*) 1
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ता(ं*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)

---

[1] Barnett : व्रद्धये.

[2] वैश्यदेव=an offering to the Viśvadevas or 'all-gods'. For बलि, चरु and सत्र, see *supra*, p. 348, note 5; note on No. 46, line 10. समुत्सर्पण=going; here, continuation. उपयोज्य =provision.

[3] Identified with Tarsamiā, near Hāthab.

[4] Read धूप and तैल.

[5] Read ०स्कारणार्त्थं and ०योज्यस्स०. पतित=fallen; विशीर्ण=broken to pieces; cf. खण्ड-स्फुटित(= फुट्ट०) of other records.

र is engraved below the line. स-हिरण्यादेय=together with हिरण्य (=revenue in cash) to be paid to the State. हान्य and आदान appear to indicate "loss" and "gain". ब्रह्मदेयस्थिति= custom regarding rent-free property granted to Brāhmaṇas.

[7] Read ०स्योचित.

[8] Read भुंजतः.

[9] Read कर्षतः. प्रदिश्=assign, grant. Read कर्षयतः.

[10] Read केनचित्स्व०. विचारणा=doubt regarding the right.

[11] Read यश्चाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेतासौ. The *mahāpātakas* are ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः । महान्ति पातकान्याहुस्तत्संसर्गश्च पञ्चमम् ॥ (मनु ।११।५५). The *upapātakas* are 49 in number. For these, see *Śabdakulpadruma* s.v.

[12] Read संयुक्तः स्यात् । अस्म०. See note on No. 49, line 18. सामान्य=belonging to all kings as sharers of the merit.

[13] The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[14] Read वसेत्.

10 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तु(ः*) प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) (॥*) 2
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजिभि[1] शगरादिभि(ः*) (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[2] तस्य तस्य तदा(।*) फलं(लम्) (॥*)3

11 भिरुग्वक(ः*)[3] देवि-कर्म्मान्तिकः (।*) सं १००(+*)८०(+*)३
श्रावण-शुद्ध[4] १०(+*)५ (।*) स्वयमाज्ञा[5] (।*) लिखितं षष्ठिदत्त-पुत्रेण
कुम(ा*)रिल-क्षत्रिकेन[6] (॥*)

---

[1] Read राजभिः सग०.

[2] Read भूमिस्तस्य

[3] Read देवी०. The letter ग had been engraved between रु and व, but was afterwards cancelled. कर्म्मान्तिक = an agent connected with कर्म्मान्त (execution of business; a store of grain; cultivated ground). Bhiruvaka possibly received the grant on behalf of the goddess.

[4] सं = संवत्सरे ; शुद्ध = शुद्धपक्षे = शुक्लपक्षे. See above, p. 427, note 1.

[5] See note on No. 50, line 24.

[6] Read क्षत्रिकेण possibly the same as क्षत्रिणा.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN SOUTH INDIA

A—Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha[1]

No. 59—Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II—Regnal Year 37

BASIM, Akola District, Maharashtra.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, pp. 182ff. ; XVII, pp. 110ff.; Y. K. DESHPĀNDE and D. B. MAHAJAN, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 349ff.; V. V. Mirashi and D. B. Mahajan, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 137ff.

Language : Sanskrit and Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit[2].

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A. D.[3]

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[1] For the history of the Vākāṭakas, see now Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*H.C.I.P.*, Vol. II), pp. 217 ff. ; *The Classical Age* (ibid., Vol. III), pp. 177ff. The Nachne and Ganj inscriptions ascribed there to the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa I should be assigned to Pṛithivīseṇa II.

[2] This record exemplifies the gradual advance of Sanskrit in South India. Sanskrit as the court language or the language of epigraphs appears to have been at first introduced in the North in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was favoured by the foreign rulers. It gradually encroached upon the field of Prakrit in all parts of North India and ultimately conquered South India about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. The mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit language used in some inscriptions shows an intermediate stage in the popularity of Sanskrit and the decline of Prakrit. Note that the language is nearer Sanskrit than in earlier Prakrit inscriptions (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 106). In earlier Prakrit records, reduplication of a consonant is practically absent and conjuncts are rare.

[3] Some scholars believe that the record belongs to Vindyaśakti (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.), founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Their mistake is due to the fact that they failed to note the *sāpeksha-samāsas* in प्रवरसेनपौत्र० and सर्वसेनपुत्र० in lines 3-4 and the importance of the epithet ०महाराजस्य used thrice with reference to the three kings mentioned. For such *samāsas*, see Bk. II, Nos. 68-70, 72, etc.; Bk. III, No. 15, etc.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

[दृष्टम्] (॥*)[2]

सिद्धम् (॥*)[3]

1 [4]वत्सगुल्माद्धर्म्ममहाराजस्य[ा]ग्निष्टोम[ा]प्तोर्य्याम-वाजपेय-ज्यो[ति]-

2 [ष्टो]म-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क्र-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनस्सम्राज(:*) वृ-

3 ष्णिवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य[5] हारिती-पुत्रस्य[6] श्र[ी]-प्रवरसेन-पौत्रस्य[7]

4 धर्म्ममहार(ा*)जस्य[8] श्री-सर्व्वसेन-पुत्रस्य धर्म्ममह[ा]राजस्य

5 वाकाटकाना[म्](नां। श्रि श्री)-विन्ध्यशक्तेर्व्वचनात्[9] नान्दीकडस उत्तर-म[ग्गे][10]

Second Plate: First Side

[२][11]

6 भाकालक्खात्पाकाब्भासे आकाशपद्देसु[12] अ[म्ह]-सन्तका साब्वायोग[13]-नि-

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[1] From the photographic prints published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939. See now facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

[2] In the left margin in the level of line 1.

[3] In the left margin in the level of line 3.

[4] Vatsagulma in modern Basim which was the capital of this colateral branch of the Vākāṭaka family. For the sacrifices, see *infra*, note on No. 62, line 1.

[5] Other Vākāṭaka records read विष्णुवृद्ध.

[6] Or हारीती. हारीतीपुत्र is found to be used by the Kadambas of Banavasi and their predecessors. Note that there हारीतीपुत्र is a family-metronymic and not a personal one.

[7] Properly प्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य ; similarly सर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य in line 4. These are undoubtedly cases of the *sāpeksha-samāsa*. See p. 460, note 3.

[8] The title is found in the records of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas. It apparently refers to the kings' boast to have purified the Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism; cf. कलियुग-दोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरण-नित्यसंनद्ध (*infra*, No. 67, line 13).

[9] From here, the rest of the record is in Prakrit.

[10] उ has been engraved on the *akshara* दा which was originally engraved. Nāndīkaṭa is supposed to be the same as Nandeṛ in Maharashtra. The name suggests that the locality stood in the valley of the Nāndī river (modern Mānyad). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 111-12

[11] In the margin a little above the level of line 8.

[12] *Abhyāsa* may be a territorial term like *pārśva* of *supra*, No. 42. *Padra*, 'a village', is traced to modern *pādar*, "common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated."

[13] *Āyoga* is the same *niyoga*.

7 युत्ता आणत्ति-भडा सेसाय-साञ्चरन्त-रलपुत्ता[1] भाणितव्वा (।*) आम्हेहि

8 दाणि आपुणो विजय-वेजयिके आयु-बल-वद्धणिके [स्व]स्ति-

9 शान्ति-वाचने[2] इहामुत्तिके[3] धाम्मत्थाणे एत्थग्गामे आधिव्वणिक-चर-

10 णस्स आद्धक ।[4] भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि[5] [सि]तुज्जेसि कापिञ्जळ-

Second Plate: Second Side

11 सगोत्तेसि । रुद्दज्जेसि । श्राविष्टायण-सगोत्तेसि[3] । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि

12 कोसि[क]-सगोत्तेसि[6] । देसुजेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । वेण्हुज्जेसि ।

13 कोसीक-सगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादि-सगोत्तेसि पितु-

14 जेसि भालन्दायण-सगोतेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि जेट्ठजे-

15 सि । पडेहि दोहि (।*) भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

Third Plate: First Side

[३][7]

16 भाद्दिळज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

17 हरिण्णगजेसित्ति एताण बाम्हणाण भागा ति[ण्णि] ३(।*) कोसिक-सगोत्ते[सि]

18 रेवतिजेसि । भागो । चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्च-कालको अपुव्व-द-

19 त्तिय दत्तो । (।*) पुव्व-रायाणुमते यसे चातुव्वेज्ज-ग्गाम मज्जात[ा]-परिहारे वित-

20 राम (।*) तजथा अरट्ठ-संव्विणेयिक । अ-लवण-[क्के]ण्ण-खातक । अ-हिरण्ण-धा[ण्ण]-

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[1] Read कुलपुत्ता ; cf. आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्रा: of other Vākāṭaka records. त्ता looks like न्ता on the plate. कुलपुत्र = born of a noble family ; nobility. Prakrit सञ्चरन्तक = spy. सेसाय = Pāli सेसक = the remaining ones ; others. Pāli सन्तक (from अस् + शतृ + क) = belonging to.

[2] न्ति looks like त्ति on the plate.

[3] त्ति looks like न्ति on the plate. त्ते looks like न्ते in line 11.

[4] These half-stops are sometimes superfluous. They look more or less like crescents generally put just below the level of the line.

[5] Locative terminations appear to have been used in these cases for dative. *Si* is often found as a loc. sing. termination after words ending in *a* in Ardha-Māgadhī. But here it may also be a gen. plu. termination formed on the analogy of *tesi* = *teshām*. Sometimes locative is also used for accusative (see Sircar, *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 61) ; but cf. एतेसि बम्हणाणं in line 27 of No. 65 below.

[6] Traces of an erased *i* sign are noticed above स.

[7] In the left margin in the level of line 18.

Third Plate: Second Side

21 प्पणय-प्पदेय। अ-पुप्फ-क्खीर-ग्गहणि[1]। अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवद्दं

22 अ-वार-सिद्धिक। अ-चम्मङ्गालक्क। अ-भड-प्पावेस। अ-खट्टा-चोल्लक-वेणे-

23 सिक। अ-क्करद। अ-वह। स-निधि। सोपनिधि। स-कुतुप्पान्त।

24 स-मञ्च-महाकरण। साव्वजाति-परिहार-परिहितञ्च (।*) जतो उपरि-लि-

25 खित। शासण-वाद्प्पमाण करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेधय परिहरध

Fourth Plate

४[2]

26 परिहरापेधय (।*) जो बु[3] [आ]बाधं करेज्ज कतव्व [अ]नुव(म?)ण्ण[ति]

27 तिस्स [ए]तेहि। उपरिलिखितेहि। बाम्हणेहि। परिजपिते स-[द]ण्ड-

28 निग्रह करेज्जामेत्ति (।) साव्वच्छरं ३०(+*)७ हेमन्त-पक्खं पढम

29 [दि]व[स] ५ (।*) स-मुहाण्णत्थि[4] (।*) ळीखितमिमं शासनं सेणपतिणा

30 वप्हुण[5] इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ [A four-petalled Lotus Symbol]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (= परीक्षितम् अनुमतं च इदं शासनं राजपुरुषैः) ॥

सिद्धं (= सिद्धिरस्तु) ॥

वत्सगुल्मात् धर्ममहाराजस्य अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्योतिष्टोम-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क्र-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनः (= एतेषां यज्ञानाम् अनुष्ठातुः) सम्राजः (= राजाधिराजस्य) विष्णुवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य हारीतीपुत्रस्य (= हारीत-गोत्रायाः जनन्याः पुत्रस्य) श्री-प्रवरसेन[स्य]पौत्रस्य धर्म-महाराजस्य श्रीसर्वसेन[स्य] पुत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य वाकाटकानां (= तद्वंशीयस्य राज्ञः) श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेः वचनात् (= आज्ञया) नान्दीकटस्य उत्तरमार्गे भाकालक्षोप्रकाभ्यासे आकाशपद्रेषु[6] अस्मत्सत्काः

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[1] Possibly थं or थियं was intended. Note however that at pp. 250-51 above, *arogi* and *arogiya* for Sanskrit *ārogya* are both used in the same record (lines 2 and 5). Cf. also *karaṁṇi* for Sanskrit *karaṇīya* (p. 255, line 7).

[2] In the left margin a little below the level of line 28.

[3] Possibly वा or तु was intended.

[4] The reading **is** not beyond doubt; for Sanskrit स्वमुखाज्ञप्त, cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 100, note 3; *supra*, p. 396, note 9; *infra*, No. 67, line 32.

[5] Read वेप्हु० as in line 12.

[6] *I.e.*, in the village-group called Ākāśapadra in the neighbourhood of Bhākā, Lakshā and Uprakā situated in the northern part of the district called Nāndikaṭa. "Situated on the northern road running to Nādikaṭa" does not appear to be quite satisfactory. Cf. गोवधनाहारे दखिणमगे and गोवधनाहारे पुवमगे in *supra*, Bk. II, No. 87.

(=मत्संश्लिष्टाः=राज°) सर्व्वायोग-नियुक्ताः (=सर्वे अधिकरणिकाः) आज्ञप्ति-भटाः (=राजपुरुषाः) शेषक-सञ्चरत्क-कुलपुत्राः भणितव्या (=वक्तव्याः)।—‘अस्माभिः इदानीम् आत्मनः विजय-वैजयिकं (=विजयलाभाय आयुर्बल-वार्द्धनिकं (=०वृद्धये) स्वस्ति-शान्ति-वाचनं (=आशीर्मङ्गलार्थम्) ऐहामुत्रिकम् (=ऐहि-क-पारत्रिक-मङ्गलाय) धर्मस्थाने अत्र ग्रामे आथर्वणिक-चरणस्य आर्द्धकम् (=आथर्वण-ब्रह्माणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितः आकाशपद्रकग्रामस्य अर्द्धभागः)—भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय सीत्वार्याय कापिञ्जल-सगोत्राय रुद्रार्याय, श्राविष्टायन-सगोत्राय भर्त्तृदेवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय देश्वार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विष्ण्वार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विध्यार्याय, पप्पलादि-सगोत्राय पित्रार्याय, भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय चन्द्रार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय ज्येष्ठार्याय पट्टैः द्विभिः (=एकैकस्मै पट्टद्वयम् इति क्रमेण); भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय बुद्धार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय भद्रिलार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय शिवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय हिरण्यार्याय [च एकैकस्मै पट्टमात्रम् इति क्रमेण]; एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः भागाः त्रयः ३ (=ग्रामार्द्धस्य त्रिभागं दत्तम्)। कौशिक-सगोत्राय रेवत्यार्याय भागः चतुर्थः [ग्रामार्द्धस्य] इति आचन्द्रादित्यकालकम् अपूर्वदत्त्या (=अपूर्वदत्तस्य दानविधिना) दत्तम्। पूर्वराजानुमतम् अस्य चातुर्वेद्यग्राम-मर्यादा-परिहारं (=चतुर्वेदि-ब्राह्मणाधिष्ठित-ग्रामोचित-परिहारं) वितरामः। तद्यथा अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-खातकम्, अ-हिरण्य-ध्यान्य-प्रणय-प्रदेयम्, अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-ग्रहणम्, अ-परम्परा-गोबलीवर्द्दम्, अ-वार-सिद्धिकम्, अ-चर्माङ्गारकम्, अ-भटप्रवेशम् अ-खट्वा-चोल्लक-वैनाशिकम्, अ-करदम्, अवहम्, स-निधि, सोपनिधि, स-कृतप्रान्तं (?), स-मञ्च-महाकरणं सर्वजाति-परिहार-परिहृतं च।[1] यतः उपरिलिखित-शासन-वादं (=लेखं) प्रमाणं कृत्वा (=मत्त्वा) [एतद्दानं] रक्ष, रक्षय; परिहर, परिहारय। यः तु आबाधां कुर्यात्, [आबाधा-करणं] कर्त्तव्यं [वा] अनुमन्यते, तस्य एतैः उपरिलिखितैः ब्राह्मणैः परिज्ञापिते [सति] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं (=दण्डेन शासनं) [वयं] कुर्याम” इति। संवत्सरः सप्तत्रिंशः ३७,

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[1] "We grant for this land exemptions which are in accordance with customs followed in granting villages to Brāhmanas versed in the four Vedas, and which have been approved of by former kings. They are: not to be administered as other parts of the kingdom (p. 199, note 4; usually rendered as "no interference by the district police"); no boring of trees like the palmyra for salt and moist substances (liquor, sugar); no benevolence in the shape of money or corn to be paid to the royal treasury; no flower and milk to be taken on behalf of the king; no cow for milk and bullock for cart in succession are to be supplied to the royal officers on tour; no obligation to them regarding the completion of duty in turn; no obligation to them regarding the supply of hide-seat and charcoal; no entry for constables; no obligation regarding supply of cots, cooking pots and fuel(?) to touring officers; no tax to be paid to the king; no obligation regarding carrying loads free of charge; with the right of enjoying hidden treasures and deposits; with fences made for the demarcation of boundaries and with raised platforms for official use and official records; the grant is exempted by all kind of exemptions." For a discussion on the *parihāras*, see Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 186ff.; 192ff; *infra*, No. 60, notes; Mirashi, *Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, pp. 22ff.

हेमन्त-पक्षः प्रथमः, दि्वसः [पञ्चमः] ५ (=मार्गशीर्षकृष्णपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे)। स्वमुखाज्ञप्तिः। लिखितम् इदं शासनं सेनापतिना[1] विष्णुना ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 60—Poona Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā—Regnal Year 13[2]

Poona,[3] Poona District, Maharashtra.

K. B. Pathak and K. N. Dikshit, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 41ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Nail-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class (with some Northern peculiarities) of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[4]

Seal

a वाकाटक-ललामस्य
b [क्र]म-प्राप्त-नृपश्रिय(:*) (।*)
c जनन्या युवराजस्य
d शासनं रिपु-शास[न](नम्) (॥*)1

First Plate

दृष्टम् (॥*)[5]

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[1] Some of the Vākāṭaka *senāpatis* (generals) possibly acted as provincial governors.

[2] This year apparently refers to the regency (cf. legend on the seal) of Prabhāvatiguptā after the death of her husband although her eldest son *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena, who had at least 2 younger brothers, was not a minor (below 16 years of age) about this time. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 180. It is not known if the author called *Yuvarāja* Divākara, mentioned in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*, is the same as this prince.

[3] The plates were found with a copper-smith of Poona, who originally belonged to Ahmednagar. They appear to have been preserved in his family for several generations.

[4] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

[5] In the left margin on the level between lines 3-4. Cf. दि॰ in the grants of Pallava Sivaskandavarman (*infra*, Nos. 64-65).

1 सिद्धम् (॥*) जितं भगवता[1] (।*) स्वस्ति नान्दिवर्द्धनादासीद्गुप्तादि-रा[जो][2] [म]ह[ाराज]-

2 श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-

3 (ऽ*)नेकाश्वमेध-याजी[3] लिच्छवि-दोहित्रौ[4] महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो

4 महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तत्पत्पुत्रस्तत्पाद[5]-परिगृहीतः

5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्व-राजोछेत्ता[6] चतुरुदधि-सलिस्वादित-

6 यशा नेक[7]-गो-हिरण्य कोटी-सहस्र-प्रद‿परम-भागवतो महारा-

7 जाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता[8] धारण-सगोत्रा[9] नाग-कुल-सम्भू-

8 ताया(ं*)श्री-महादेव्या(ं*) कुबेरनागायामुत्पन्नोभय-कुलालङ्कारभूतात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्ता

9 वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-

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[1] This Vaishnavite expression is found at the beginning of many records of this age. Cf. also the verse : जितं भगवता तेन विष्णुना यस्य वक्षसि । श्रीस्स्वयं भाति देवश्च नाभिपद्मे पितामहः ॥ at the beginning of an early Kadamba grant. The Vākāṭakas were Saivas. Rudrasena II accepted Vaishnavism after his matrimonial alliance with the devout Vaishṇava Chandragupta II. The popularity of Vaishnavism in India about the 5th century A.D. seems to have been largely due to this Gupta king.

[2] This passage has been translated as "Ghaṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first king." The translation is wrong in view of the corresponding passage गुप्तानामादिराजः in the Rithpur plates of the same queen. Better नान्दीवर्द्धनात् ॥ आसी°. Nāndīvardhana has been identified with modern Nāgardhan or Nandardhan near Ramtek in the Nāgpur District, M. P. Nāgardhan however may be an old Nāgavardhana. Nāndīvardhana is also known from other inscriptions, e.g., the Kothuraka grant of the second year of Pravarasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 159 f.) and the Rithpur plates of Bhavadattavarman (*ibid.*, XIX, p. 100).

[3] It is hardly credible that Samudragupta performed many Aśvamedhas. Note that the usual epithets of Samudragupta have been wrongly applied to the name of his son. This shows that the Gupta genealogy in the Vākāṭaka records is carelessly drawn. *Cf. Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 88, note 1. Chandragupta I was a *Mahārājādhirāja*.

[4] Read दौहित्रो.

[5] Read °स्तत्सत्पुत्रो°.

[6] Read राजोच्छेत्ता.

[7] Read नैक or अनेक.

[8] This record proves beyond doubt that the queen's father Devagupta, mentioned in other grants, should be identified with Chandragupta II and not with Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty as suggested by earlier scholars.

[9] It is interesting that the queen refers to her paternal *gotra* instead of the *gotra* of her husband's family. Injunctions contained in late Bengal works like the महानिर्वाणतन्त्र (XII. 75 : विवाहानन्तरं नारी प्रतिगोत्रेण गोत्रिणी) therefore were not binding in the early period at least in all parts of India. Cf. also Raghunandana's *Udvāhatattva* quoting Laghuhārīta (?), स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे । पति-गोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥

Second Plate

10 श्री-दिवाकरसेन-जननी श्री-प्रभावतिगुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे[1]

11 विलवणकस्य पूर्व-पार्श्वे श्रोषँग्रामस्य दक्षिण-पार्श्वे कदापिञ्जनस्यापर-पार्श्वे

12 सिदिविवरकस्योत्तर-पार्श्वे उङ्गुणग्रामे[2] ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्राम-कुटुम्बिन × कुशल-

13 मुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति (।*) विदितमस्तु वो यथैष ग्रामो(ऽ*)स्माभि(:*) स्व-पुण्या-
प्यायना[र्त्थं*]

14 कार्त्तिक-शुक्ल-द्वादश्या(*ं) भगवत्पाद-मूले निवेद्य भगवद्भक्ताचार्य्य-चनालस्वामिने-
(ऽ*)पूर्व्व-

15 दत्त्या[3] उदक-पूर्व्वमतिसृष्टो[4] यतो भवाद्भिरुचितमर्य्यादया[5] सर्व्वाज्ञा × कर्त्तव्या(:*) (।*)
पूर्व्व-

16 राज्ञानुमता[ं]श्चात्र[6] चातुर्विद्याग्रहार-परीहारान्वितरामस्तद्यथाभट-छत्र[7]-प्रावेश्यः

Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddhaviveka* quoting Brihaspati(?) : पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा: पितृगोत्रापहारका: । भर्त्तुर्गोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिण्डोदकं तत: ॥ Also Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa and others quoting Manu (?) : विवाहे चैव निर्वृत्ते चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु । एकत्वं सा गता भर्त्तु: पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ चतुर्थीहोममन्त्रेण त्वङ्मांसहृदयेन्द्रियै: । भर्त्रा संयुज्यते पत्नी तद्गोत्रा तेन सा भवेत् ॥ But Kātyāyana : संस्थितायान्तु भार्य्यायां सपिण्डीकरणान्तकम् । पैतृकं भजते गोत्रमूर्द्ध्वन्तु पतिपैतृकम् ॥ The *Parāśaramādhava* refers to Gāndharva and other marriages and to the case of the Putrikā (cf. Laugākshi), wherein *gotrāntara* does not take place owing to *pradān-ābhāva*. See also *Garuḍa* P. (Uttara, 21. 22) : ब्राह्म्यादिषु विवाहेषु या वधूरिह संस्कृता । भर्त्तृगोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्या: पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ आसुरादिविवाहेषु या व्यूढा कन्यका भवेत् । तस्यास्तु पितृगोत्रेण कुर्यात् पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् ॥ According to the *Smṛitichandrikā*, the father's *Sapiṇḍas* are also the *Sapiṇḍas* of the mother, but not so in the case of the Putrikā. N. C. Sengupta refers to the Gṛihya rituals, in course of which the bride is called by the *gotra* name of her husband (*J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, IV, pp. 149ff.). But Prabhāvatī also uses the cognomen of her father's family. She was possibly an elder sister of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).

[1] The district (also known from the Kothuraka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 158f.) has been identified with the Hinganghat Tahsil of the Wardha District.

[2] Pathak and Dikshit : दङ्गुणग्रामे. *Uṅguṇa* is possibly traceable in the first part of the name *Hiṅganghāṭ*.

[3] दत्ति=gift; अपूर्व्वदत्त्या=according to the custom relating to things that were not previously granted.

[4] Better read सृष्ट: । यतो.

[5] Read भव°.

[6] Read राजा°.

[7] Read °भटच्छा°. भट is probably a policeman, and छात्र (literally, an umbrella-bearer) appears to be the leader of a group of *bhaṭas* and the same as चाट of other records.

17 अ-चारासन-चर्म्माङ्गार-क्लिण्व-क्रेणि-खानक[ः][1] अ-पा(र*)म्पर(ः*) अ-[पशु]मेध्यः[2] अ-पुष्प-क्षीरसन्दोहः

18 स-निधिस्सोपनिधिस्स-कृप्तोपकृप्तः[3](।*) न(त)देष भविष्यद्राजि(ज)भिस्संरक्षितव्य(ः*) परिवर्द्ध-

19 यितव्यश्च (।*) यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्स्वल्पामप्यलाबाधा(ं*) कुर्य्यात्कारयीत[4] वा

20 तस्य ब्राह्मणरावेदितस्य[5] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्य्याम (।*) व्यास-गितश्चात्र[6] श्लोको भवति (।*)

21 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता(ं*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
गवा(ं*) शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम् (॥*) 2

22 संवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे[7] लिशितमिद(ं*) शासनम् (।*) चक्रदासेनोत्कट्टितम् (॥*)

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[1] Better ०चर्माङ्गार: अ-लवणक्लिन्न०. क्लिन्न-क्रेणि=moist commodity. क्रेणि=purchase; here, a marketable object. This refers to the custom of boring certain trees for *audbhijja* salt and also sugar चारासन=pasturage (Fleet); but also चार=moving about, free movement (cf. पार of some records=free ferrying), and आसन=encamping. This refers to the king's touring officers. According to Mirashi, चार=grass for the horses of touring officers; आसनचर्मन् =hides for their seats; अङ्गार=charcoal for their cooking. Possibly we have to suggest अ-परंपराबलीवर्द्द-ग्रहण.

[2] पशुमेध्य is an instance of the *mayūravyaṁsakādi samāsa*. This refers to the custom of taking on the king's part animals like goats, from the villages, for sacrificial purposes.

[3] Read ०क्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः, क्लृप्त is possibly a fixed tax (one of the 7 sources of income according to the *Arthaśāstra*). उपक्लृप्त is occasional or unfixed taxes. According to Mirashi, this is the same as सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः, "with major and minor taxes." *Nidhi* means "wealth. the owner of which is not known" (*Vishṇusaṁhitā*, III. 36-39). As in the record निधि and उपनिधि are mentioned separately, the former would mean 'treasure-trove' and the latter 'surface finds'. For the other terms, see p. 434 and *infra*.

[4] Read ०रयेत.

[5] Read ब्राह्मणै०.

[6] Read गीत०.

[7] Read त्रयोदशे and शासनम्. उत्कट्टित=engraved.

No. 61—Rithpur Copper-plate Inscription [of Prabhāvatiguptā] of the time of Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 19[1]

RITHPUR (Riddhapura), Amraoti District, Maharashtra.

Y. R. GUPTE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., XX, pp. 58ff.

Language : Sanskrit.
Script : Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Cla
of the fifth century A. D.
Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 [१̎] जित(ं*) भगवता । रामगिरिस्वामिन≍पादमूलाद्गुप्तान(।*)मादि-[3]
2 राजो महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्र-
3 गुप्त[4] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीत[5]-लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो[6]
4 महादेव्या(ं*) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य[7] पुत्र-
5 स्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो न्यायागतानेकगो-हिरण्यकोटिसहस्र-प्रदस्सर्व्वराजो-

Second Plate : First Side

6 च्छत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथ≍परमभागवतो महादेव्या(ं*) दत्तदेव्यासु-
7 त्पनो[8] महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारण-सगोत्रा
8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(ं*) कुबेरानागदेव्यामुत्पन्ना[9] उभय-कुलाल-

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[1] Note that this record is later in date than *infra.* No. 62.

[2] From the facsimile in *J.P.A.S.B.*, N.S., XX.

[3] Rāmagirisvāmin may have been the god at modern Rāmtek near Nāgpur. The deity was a form of Vishṇu (cf. his name-ending *svāmin*).

[4] Read ॰गुप्तस्तस्य.

[5] Better ॰गृहीतो लि॰.

[6] Gupte : दौहित्रो.

[7] Note that Samudragupta is called a *Mahārāja* against the evidence of genuine Gupta records. See p. 436, note 3.

[8] Read ॰मुत्पन्नो.

[9] Read कुबेर॰. उभयकुल refers to the families of the father and the husband.

9 ङ्कारभुता[1] वाकाटकाना(ं*) महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी

10 वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-श्री-दामोदरसेन-प्रवरसेन-जननी[2] भगव-

11 त्पादानुद्ध्याता साग्र-वर्ष-शत(ा*) दी(जी)व-पुत्र-पौत्रा[3] श्र(ी*)-महादेवी प्रभ(ा*)वती-

Second Plate: Second Side

12 गुप्ता कौशिकमार्ग्गे[4] अश्वत्थनगरे सब्रहन-पुरेग-ग्रम-महत्तराश्च[5]

13 कुशलमुक्त्वा सम(ा*)ज्ञापय(ि*)त (।*) ऐहिकामुत्रिकमस्मिन्नगरे स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्त्थ[6]

14 पराशर-सगोत्राणा(ं*) त्तै त्तिरीय-ब्राह्मणानामप्य(त्र*)[7] पुत्रापुत्राणा[ं][8]

15 अभ्यन्तर-पुर-निवेशने(न*) सह कर्षक-निवेशनानि च चत्वार(रि)

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[1] Read भूता.

[2] It may be suggested that Dāmodarasena was another name of Pravarasena II; it is better to take them as different and as brothers, Dāmodarasena being succeeded by his younger brother Pravarasena. That Prabhāvatī was more than 100 years old (*s-āgra-varsha-śatā*) in the 19th year of Pravarasena's reign requires a fairly long reign of Dāmodarasena between her own regency and Pravarasena's rule. It is of course not altogether impossible that the brothers were ruling over different parts of the kingdom at the same time and that, as the land granted fell in the kingdom of Pravarasena, his regnal year was recorded. Reference to some territorial divisions of the Vākāṭaka kingdom as *rājya*, the fact that there was at least a colateral line ruling from Vatsagulma and the Puranic reference to the (simultaneous?) rule of the four sons of Pravīra (=Pravarasena I) possibly suggest that the Vākāṭaka kingdom was once partitioned. Note that, even when mentioned side by side, the Gupta kings are called महाराजाधिराज, but the Vākāṭaka kings merely महाराज. This shows that the alliance of the Vākāṭakas with the Guptas was a subordinate one. Expansion of Gupta influence in the south is evidenced by the existence of the line of Guttas (=Guptas) of Guttal in the Dharwar District, the story of the connection of a daughter of Chandragupta II with the Śrīśaila and the Satara hoard of more than one thousand coins of Kūmāragupta I.

[3] Gupte reads दिव० and पोत्रा. The special mention is to emphasise her great age. Note that, at the time of the record, Prabhāvatī's age was more than 100 years. Jagannath (*Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, pp. 58f.) explains साग्र-वर्ष-शत-जीव-पुत्र-पौत्रा as "she whose sons and grandsons will live for more than a hundred years." But cf. जीवसुता (above, p. 200) and जीवपुत्रा (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 139; XXXIV, p. 241).

[4] Gupte : कोशिक. Read मार्गे. Aśvatthanagara (identified with Asatpur in the Ellichpur District, Maharashtra) was situated in the region called Kauśika, possibly named after a river. मार्ग here possibly does not mean a road (p. 433, note 6).

[5] Read ब्राह्मण-पुरोग-ग्राम-महत्तरांश्च. ब् was originally engraved for ब्र.

[6] Read ०यनार्थं.

[7] Gupte : तैत्तिरिय०.

[8] Read स-पुत्र-पौत्राणाम्.

16 भुक्ताकाभोग-क्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व्वं(ं*)[1] शासनेनो सतिबद्धं[2] (।*) उचितांश्चास्य
17 पूर्व्वराजानुमतांश्चातुर्वैद्य-ग्राम-मर्य्यादा(परिहारा*)न्वितरामस्तद्यथा

Third Plate: First Side

18 अ-करदायी अ-भट-च्छ(ा*)त्र-प्रावेश्य(:*) अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सन्दोह(:*)[3] अ-चारा-
19 सन-चर्म्माङ्गार(:*) अ-लवण-क्लिन्व[4]-क्रे णि-ख(ा*)नक[:] सर्व्व-विस्वि-परिहारा-[5]
20 परिहृत(:*) स-निधानं सोपनिधानं[6] स-क्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तमाचन्द्रा-
21 दित्य-कालीय(:*) पुत्र-पैत्रानुगामी[7] (।*) भुञ्जता(ं*) न केनचिद्व्याघात-
22 ×कर्त्तव्य[:] सर्व्व-क्रियाभिस्संरक्षितव्य≍परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च (।*) यश्चस्मा-[8]
23 च्छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा(ं*) कुर्य्यात्कारयेत वा तस्य

Third Plate: Second Side

24 ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य स-दण्ड-निग्रहं करिष्यामः (।*) अस्मि(ं*)श्च धर्म्मादर-
25 करणे अनी(ती)तानेक-राज-दत्ता(त्त)-सञ्चि(ं*)तन-परिपालनं पुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तन-
26 परिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयाम[:] (।*) सङ्कल्पाधियोग-पराक्रमोपजि-
27 तान्वर्त्तमानामाज्ञापयामः[9] (।*) व्यास-गीतश्चात्र श्लोक≍प्रमाणं(णम्) (।*)
28 स्वदत्ता(ं*) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (।*)
गवां शत-सहस्रस्य
29 हन्तु≍पिबति दुष्कृतमिति[10] ॥ 1
वाकाटकाना(ं*) महाराज-श्रीप्रवर-

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[1] Read भुक्ताकाभोगक्षेत्र° (field that they already enjoy ; cf. भुक्त-भोग, No. 71, lines 19-20). अभ्यन्तरपुर = अन्त:पुर. °निवेशन = a house complete with an inner appartment.

[2] Read शासनेन प्रतिबद्धानि.

[3] Gupte : सन्दोह.

[4] Read क्लिन्न.

[5] Read विष्टि-परिहार.

[6] The same as सनिधि: सोपनिधि:. Read °पक्लृ°.

[7] Read °पौत्रा°.

[8] Read यश्चास्मच्छा°

[9] Read °तानवर्त्तमानाना° (No. 71, lines 19-20).

[10] Better दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति ॥

Fourth Plate

30 सेनस्य राज्य-प्रशासत[1] सम्वत्सरे एकुनविंशतिमे कार्त्तिक-मा-
31 स-शुक्लपक्ष-द्वादश्या(ं*) (।*) दुतक देवनन्दस्वामी[2] (।*) लीखिता
32 प्रभुसिङ्हेन[3] (॥*)

No. 62—Chammak[4] Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 18

CHAMMAK, Ellichpur (Ilichpur) District, Maharashtra.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 116ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 239ff.
FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 236ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[5]

Seal

a वाकाटक-ललामस्य
b कक्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-श्रियः (।*)
c राज्ञ≍प्रवरसेनस्य
d शासनं रिपु-शासनं(नम्) (॥*) 1

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[1] Read राज्यं प्रशासतः (or राज्य-प्रशासन॰) संवत्सरे (or सँव्वत्सरे) एकोन विंशतितमे. The form विंशतिम (as also similar forms found in the Prakrit records) can be supported if we suggest विंशतिः मा (=मानं) यस्य सः=विंशतिमः.

[2] Gupte : वेवन्दस्वामी. Read दूतको.

[3] Read लिखिता and ॰सिंहेन. Gupte : लिखितं.

[4] Bühler edited this record under the name of Ilichpur (Ellichpur) grant.

[5] From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

First Plate

1 दृष्टं(ष्टम्)[1] (॥*) स्वस्ति ॥(*) प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यातिरात्र-[2]

2 वाजपेय-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क्र-चतुरश्वमेधयाजिन-

3 वि[ष्णुवृ]द्ध-सगोत्रस्य सम्रा[ट्]-वाकाटकानां[3] महाराज-श्र[4]-प्रवरसेनस्य

4 सूनोः सूनोः[5] अत्यन्त-[स्वा]मिमहाभैरव-भक्तस्य अ(ं*)स-भार-सन्निवेशि-[6]

5 त-शिवलि[ङ्गो]द्वहन-शिव-सुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादि[त]-राजव(ं*)शा-

Second Plate : First Side

6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगत-भागीरथ्यामल-जल-मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशा-[7]

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[1] Fleet suggested that the word is a contraction of दृष्टं भगवता. The occurrence of the word in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II, etc., however, shows beyond doubt that it signifies, "seen" i.e. "examined and approved".

[2] The usual form of the name of this sacrifice is अतिरात्र. The *Agnishṭoma* (literally "praise of Agni") was a protracted sacrifice extending over 5 days in spring and forming a part of the Jyotishṭoma which was the principal sacrifice connected with the Soma plant and its juice. Other parts of the Jyotishṭoma were the *āptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *shoḍaśin*, *atirātra* and *vājapeya* ceremonies. *Atyagnishṭoma*, the seventh or last part of the Jyotishṭoma, is not mentioned in the text. The *Bṛihaspatisava* sacrifice in honour of the preceptor of the gods lasted for one day. *Sādyaskra* seems to be the same as *Sadyaskriyā*, a one-day Soma sacrifice, mentioned in the *Āś. śr. sūt.*, IX. 6.

[3] Read ०याजिनो विष्णु० and सम्राड्वाकाटकानां. Note that Pravarasena I was a *samrāṭ*. The passage seems to mean "belonging to the family of the Vākāṭakas who had been emperors."

[4] Read श्री.

[5] सूनोः सूनोः = पौत्रस्य. Bhandarkar suggests that Gautamīputra (and not Rudrasena I) was the grandson of Pravarasena I (as also of Bhavanāga). Note however that the Vākāṭaka genealogy is drawn on the pattern of the Gupta genealogy as found in the Gupta records. The position of Rudrasena I in this draft is exactly the same as that of Samudragupta in the Gupta draft, the only difference being that while the Gupta records observe the rules of *sandhi* and *samāsa*, these have usually ignored them. Bhandarkar's theory does not explain why the son of Pravarasena I is not mentioned. The mother of Gautamīputra again appears to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Gautama-gotra and not to that of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. Note that Gautamīputra is not called वाकाटकानां महाराज० apparently because he predeceased his father.

[6] Read सन्नि०. शिवसुपरितुष्ट = शिवसुपरितोष.

Read ०रथ्यमल and मूर्द्धा०.

7 श्वमेधावभृथ-स्नातानाम्भारशिवानां[1] महाराज-श्रीभवनाग-दौ-
8 हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसे-
9 नस्य सूनोरत्यन्त-माहेश्वरस्य[2] सत्यार्ज्जव-कारुण्य-शौर्य्य-विक्रम-न-
10 य-विनय-माहात्म्याधिमत्व[3]-पात्रागत[4]-भक्तीत्व[5]-धर्म्मविजयीत्व-[6]

Second Plate : Second Side

11 मनोनैर्म्मील्यादि[7]-[गुणै]स्समुपेतस्य वर्ष-शतमभिवर्द्धमान-कोश-
12 दण्ड-साधन-सन्नान[8]-पुत्र-पौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिर-वृत्नेर्व्वाकाटका-[9]
13 नां महाराज-श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य सूनोर्ब्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेᳶप्रसा-
14 दोपार्ज्जित-श्री-समुदयस्य[10] वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेन
15 सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभाव-

Third Plate : First Side

16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्तस्य[12] शम्भोᳶप्रसाद-धृति-कार्त्तयुगस्य

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[1] Fleet reads स्नाना°. The *avabhṛtha* bath was taken after the completion of the sacrifice. The Bhāraśivas were possibly Nāgas (cf. the name Bhavanāga). Their kingdom seems to have bordered on the Bhāgīrathī (=Ganges). Jayaswal's suggestion that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāsvamedha-ghāṭ at Vārāṇasī is problematical. All his other suggestions regarding the importance of the Vākāṭaka imperial power in North Indian politics (see his *History of India*, 150-350) are unconvincing. A large number of Nāga coins including some of Bhavanāga have been discovered. Bhavanāga probably had his capital at Padmāvatī (modern Padampawaya in the former Gwalior State). Read भवनागस्य.

[2] Read °रत्यन्त. Properly गौतमीपुत्र-पुत्रस्य which is actually found in the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 85).

[3] Read °धिकत्व.

[4] The engraver had originally made ह्नि which was then made पा by cancelling the i-sign and the right curve of ह्.

[5] Read भक्तित्व.

[6] Read विजयित्व.

[7] Read नैर्म्मल्या°.

[8] Read सन्तान. A century of Vākāṭaka rule from its commencement at the time of Vindhyaśakti I seems to have been completed during the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa I.

[9] Read वृत्ते°.

[10] The engraver had first formed ज्जि which was corrected to र्ज्जि.

[11] Properly रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो°. Note that the epithets immediately before this name belong to Rudrasena II and not to his son, as the *samāsa* would suggest.

[12] Read °पन्नस्य. धृति = धारण : कार्त्तयुग = सत्ययुगीयवत्. Note that Prabhāvatī's father called Devagupta here was the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II according to Nos. 61-62 above.

17 वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वर-महाराज-श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना (द्*)

18 भोजकट-राज्ये[1] मधुनदि[2]-तटे चर्म्माङ्क-नाम ग्र(ा*)मः[3] राजमानिक-भूमी-[4]

19 सहस्रैरष्टाभिः ८०००[5] शत्र(त्रु)घ्नराज-पुत्र-कोण्डराज-विज्ञाप्तया नाना-गो-

20 त्र-चरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्राय[6] दत्तः (॥*)

Third Plate: Second Side

21 यतो(ऽ*)स्मत्सन्तका(:* सर्व्वाध्यक्षाधियोग-नियुक्ता आज्ञा-सञ्च(ा*)रि-कुलपुत्राधिकृता

22 भटाच्छात्राश्च[7] विश्रुत-पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-

23 हास्माकम्मनो[8]-धर्म्मायुर्व्वल[9]-विजयैश्वर्य्य-विवृद्धये इहामुत्र-हिता-

24 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजैके[10] धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या[11] उदकपूर्व्व-

25 मतिसृष्टः (।*) अथास्योचितां पूर्व्व-राजानुमतां चातुर्व्वैद्य-ग्राम-म-

26 र्य्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा[12] अ-करदायी[13] अ-भट-च्छात्र-प्रावेश्य(:*)

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[1] Apparently the district round Chammak; roughly speaking the modern Ellichpur District. Note the word राज्य which suggests that some of the territorial divisions in the Vākāṭaka kingdom were called राज्य, either because they were still being ruled by local rulers under Vākāṭaka patronage, or because they retained their old name indicating a particular kingdom even after the Vākāṭaka occupation. If Bhojakaṭa-rājya was under the local ruler Śatrughnarāja or Koṇḍarāja, *Senāpati* Chitravarman was a High Commissioner or the Viceroy of the region including the area.

[2] Read नदी

[3] ङ्का had been originally engraved; but the *ā*-sign was afterwards cancelled.

[4] Usually भूमि. The word seems to indicate either a plot of land or the standard land measure (*nivarttana*?).

[5] Supply परिमित: or some such word.

[6] The number of the Brāhmaṇas was one thousand.

[7] Read भटाश्छा°. Properly, °स्मत्सन्तका:. Better °ज्ञापयितव्या: । विदित°.

[8] Fleet corrected the passage to यथेह आत्मनो. It is however possible to justify the use of मन: meaning "faculty of judgment".

[9] Read °युर्व्वल.

[10] Read वैजयिके.

[11] Read दत्त्या.

[12] Read मर्य्यादां वितराम°.

[13] Originally ये had been engraved; but it was afterwards corrected to यो.

Fourth Plate : First Side

27 अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवर्द्द(:*)[1] अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सत्दोह[2] अ-च(ा*)रा-

28 सन-चर्म्माङ्गार(:*)[3] अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-क्रेणि-खनक(:*) सर्व्व-वेष्टि[4]-परि-

29 हार-परीहृतः[5] स-निधिस्सोपनिधिः स क्लिप्तोपक्लिप्तः[6]

30 आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः पुत्र-पौत्र(ा*)नुगमकः (।*) भु[ं]जतां न के-

31 नचि(द्*) व्याघातं[7] कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्व-क्रियाभिस्स(ं*)रक्षितव्य ⌣ परवर्द्धयि-

32 तवश्च[8] (।*) यश्चायं[9] शासनमगणयमानो[10] स्वल्प(ा*)मपि (प*)रिबाधा[ं][11]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

33 [कु]र्य्यात्कारयिता[12] वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य स-व(द)ण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्य्या-

34 मः[13] (।*) अस्मिं(ं*)श्च धर्म्मावर-करणे[14] अतितानेक-राज-दत्न-सञ्चिलन-[15]

35 परिपालनं कृत-पुण्यानुकीर्त्तन-परीहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयामः (॥*)

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[1] Read बली°. See p. 438, note 1.

[2] See p. 434, note.

[3] Read सन्दोहः.

[4] Read विष्टि (=forced labour).

[5] Read परिहृतः.

[6] Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः. See p. 438, note 3.

[7] Read व्याघातः.

[8] Read परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च.

[9] Read यश्चेदं.

[10] Read °मानः.

[11] After this, कु (of the word कुर्य्या°) was first engraved and then cancelled.

[12] Read कुर्य्यात्कारयेत.

[13] Read कुर्य्याम.

[14] Some records read धर्मादरकरणे which is better. Fleet translates: "and in this document which has at least the merit of religion", taking करण in the sense of document (cf. करणिक, scribe). The Siwani grant has धर्म्माधिकरण=subject matter of religion (Fleet); gift. The king means to say that he would not refer to the merits of considering and protecting the grants of the past kings as that involves praising such grants and that he would not thus dilate upon his own merits indirectly.

[15] Read अतीता° and दत्त-संचिन्तन.

36 व्यास-गीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ[1] प्रमानिकर्त्तव्यौ[2] (।*)
स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां[3]

37 व्वा[4] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हत्तु-[5]

Fifth Plate : First Side

38 हरति दुष्कृतं(तम्) (॥*) 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि[6] स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भू-

39 मिदः (।*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च[7] तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[8] (॥*) 3

40 इशासन[9]-स्थितिश्चेयं ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया तद्यथा राज्ञां स-

41 प्ताङ्गे राज्ये[10] अद्रोह-प्रवृन्तानां[11] ब्रह्मघ्न-चौर[12]-पारदारिक-राजा-

42 पथ्यकारि-प्रभृतिनां[13] सङ्ग्[ा]म(ं*) कुर्व्वतां[14] अन्य-ग्रामेष्वन- ॥[15]

Fifth Plate : Second Side

43 पर(।*)द्धानां आचन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः (।*) अतो ऽ*)न्यथा कुर्व्वतामनुमोदतां वा[16]

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[1] श्लौकौ looks like भ्लौकौ on the plate.

[2] Read प्रमाणौ०. The engraver originally formed ≍प्र.

[3] Read दत्ताम्परदत्तां.

[4] Read वा. The reduplication of व is influenced by the rule वा पदान्तस्य.

[5] Read हन्तु०.

[6] Read सहस्राणि.

[7] Originally च्च or च्छ was engraved.

[8] Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

[9] Read शासन.

[10] Cf. स्वाम्यमात्य-सुहृत्कोश-राष्ट्र-दुर्ग-बलानि च which are the 7 *aṅgas* or constituents of a State according to Amara.

[11] Read प्रवृत्तानां.

[12] चौरा was at first engraved. Fleet is inclined to supply च before ब्रह्मघ्न and संग्राम-कु०.

[13] Read प्रभृतीनां(=प्रभृतिभि:).

[14] Read कुर्व्वतामन्य.

[15] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[16] The engraver at first formed व्वा.

44 राज्ञः भूमिच्छेदं कुर्व्वन्तः अ-स्तेयमिति (॥*)[1] प्रातिग्राहिणश्चात्र[2]
45 वार-नियुक्ताः[3] शाट्यायनः[4] गणार्य्यः वात्स्य-देवार्य्यः भारद्वाज-
46 कुमारशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) पाराशर्य्य-गुहशर्म्मा काश्यप-देव(ा*)र्य्यः महेश्वरार्य्य(:*)[5]
47 मात्रार्य्य(:*) कोण्डिण्य-रुद्रार्य्य(:*)[4] सोमार्य्य(:*) हरिशर्म्मार्य्य(:*)

Sixth Plate : First Side

48 भारद्वाज-कुमारशर्म्म[ा]र्य्य(:*) कोण्डिण्य-मातृशर्म्मा[6] वरशर्म्म(ा*)
49 गोण्डशर्म्मा नागशर्म्मा भारद्वा(ज*)-शान्तिशर्म्मा रुद्रशर्म्मा वात्स्यः
50 भोजक-[दे]वार्य्य(:*) मघशर्म्मा देवशर्म्मा भारद्वाज-मोक्षशर्म्म[ा]
51 [ना*]गशर्म्मा रेवतिशर्म्मा धर्म्मार्य्य(:*) भारद्वाज-शर्म्मार्य्य(:*)
52 नन्दनार्य्य(:*) मूलशर्म्मा। ईश्वरशर्म्मा। वरशर्म्मा

Sixth Plate : Second Side

53 चान्स्य[7]-स्कन्दार्य्य :*) भारद्वाज-बप्पार्य्य(:*) धर्म्मार्य्य आत्रेय-स्कन्दार्य्य(:*)
54 गौतम-सोमशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) भतृ(र्तृ)शर्म्मा रुद्रश(र्म्मा*)र्य्य(:*) मघार्य्य(:*) मातृ-
55 शर्म्मार्य्य(:*) ईश्वरशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) गौतमसगोत्र-मातृशर्म्मा-
56 र्य्य(:*) कौण्डिण्य-देवशर्म्मार्य्य(:*)[8] वरशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) रोहार्य्य(:*)

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[1] Read कुर्वंतः. "And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇas and by [future] lords; namely [that the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmaṇas] for so long as the moon and the sun endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of 7 constituent parts, of [successive] kings; that they are always on hostile terms with slayers of Brāhmaṇas, thieves, adulterers, traitors to the king (Fleet—poisoners of kings), etc.; and that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise or assent [to such acts], the king will commit no theft in taking the land away."

[2] Read प्रतिग्रा०. ग्वा was originally formed and was then corrected to ग्रा.

[3] Read नियुक्ताः; for *vāra* (an arbitrator), cf. p. 375, note 3. The donors appear to have been made responsible for the distribution of shares of the gift village among themselves.

[4] Although the *gotra* name and the following personal name have been given in a compound in some cases the separation of the former is better especially where more than one person are mentioned under one *gotra*.

[5] र्य्य stands below the line only a little above the next line. Note that Maheśvara and Mātṛi belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra like Deva.

[6] Read कौण्डिन्य.

[7] Read वात्स्य०.

[8] Read कौण्डिन्य.

Seventh Plate

57 गौतमगोत्र-स्वामिदे(वा*)र्य्य(:*) रेवतिशर्म्मार्य्य(:*)
58 ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) शाण्डिल्य-कुमारशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) स्वातिंशर्म्मा-[1]
59 र्य्य(:*) श(ा*)ट्यायग-काण्ड(ा*)र्य्य-प्रभृतयः (॥*) सेनापतौ
60 चित्रवर्म्मणि संव्वत्सरे(ऽ*)ष्टादश[2] १०(+*)८ ज्येष्ठ-मास-शुक्ल-
61 पक्ष-त्रयोदश्या[ं] शासनं लिखितमितिः[3] (॥*)

No. 63—Ajaṇṭa Cave Inscription of the time of Harisheṇa

AJAṆṬĀ (written *Ajaṇṭhā*, and pronounced *Ajiṇṭhā* by the local Marāṭhīs), Auraṅgābād District, Maharashtra.

BHAGAWANLAL INDRAJI, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of India*, p. 69; Burgess and Bühler, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 124ff; V. V, Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940, No. 6, pp. 41 ff. (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 142 ff.); also *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. XIV; A. C. BISWAS, *Ind. Cult.*, VII, pp. 372 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 3 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V.4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 5 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 6-9, a species of मात्रासमक according to Kielhorn, but the गीतिका variety of मिश्रगण metres according to Venkatasubbia;[4] V. 10 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 12 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 13 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 14-15 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 16 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 17 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक); V. 18 वंशस्थ; V. 19 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

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[1] Read स्वाति० and शाट्यायन.

[2] Read संवत्सरेऽष्टादशे or सँव्वत्सरे० (see p. 359, note 2). For the position of the *Senāpati* cf. *supra*, p. 445, note 1.

[3] Read ०मिति. The *visarga* sign may really be a mark of punctuation.

[4] For this metre, see *infra*, No. 69, note; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 26f. The restorations suggested are in many places doubtful.

(औपच्छन्दसिक) ; V.20 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 21 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक) ; V. 22 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 23 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक) ; V. 24 वंशस्थ ; V. 25 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 26 प्रहर्षिणी ; Vv. 27-28 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक) ; V. 29 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 30 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 31 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 32 मालिनी ।

TEXT[1]

1 उदीर्ण्ण-लोकत्रय-दोषवह्नि-
निर्व्वापणो[2] — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
– — ⏑ — [वुद्धम?] भिप्रगम्य
पूर्व्वां[3] प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्व्वी[म्] (॥*) 1

2 महाविमर्द्देष्वभिवृद्ध-शक्तिः
क्रुद्धस्सुरैरप्यनिवार्य्य-[शक्तिः ?] (।*)
[अनन्यसाधा?]रण-दान-शक्तिः[4]
द्विज=प्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यश[क्तिः] (॥*) 2

3 पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र-सम-प्रभावः
स्वबाहुवीर्य्या[र्ज्जि]त-[सर्व्वलोकः*] (।*)
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ [यशों]शुकानां
बभूव वाकाटक-वङ्श-के[तुः*][5] (॥*) 3

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. Many passages of the record cannot be read owing to the unsatisfactory state of its preservation. Bühler believed that it speaks of Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son (?) Rudrasena (?); his son Prithivīsheṇa; his son (?) Pravarasena II (cf. No. 62), his son (name lost), his son Devasena, his son Harisheṇa. After the discovery of *supra*, No. 59, it appears to be very probable that the record belongs to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family. We have here Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son Sarvasena, his son Pṛthivīshena (?), his son Pravarasena, his son * *, his son Devasena, his son Harisheṇa.

[2] णो looks like णि on the plate.

[3] The word *pūrvā* has been used here practically as a synonym of *praśasti*.

[4] Read ०शक्तिर्द्विज०.

[5] Read वंश.

4 रणे [स्व]हय्युत्थित-रेणु-जाल-
सञ्छादिताक्कं ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
[प्रनष्टसारानखिला?]नराती-
न्कृत्वाभिवाद-प्रवणा[ं]श्चकार (॥*) 4
5 [विनि][र्ज्जि]तारि[स्सुर]राजकार्य्यं-
श्चकार पुण्येषु परं प्रय[त्नम्*] (।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] 5
[अरि*]-नरेन्द्र-मौलि-विन्यस्त-मणि-किरणलीढ-[क्रमाम्बुजः*] (।*)
6 प्रवरवेनस्तस्य पुत्रो(ऽ*)भूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षणः (॥*) 6
रविमयूख-द … … … (।*)
[सर्व्वसेन:][1] प्रवरसेनस्य जित-सर्व्वसेनस्सुतो(ऽ*)भवत् (॥*) 7
7 [तस्य] पुत्रः पार्त्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रश[शा]स धर्म्मेण मोदिनी[म्*] (।*)
कुन्तलेन्द्र[ं][2] नि[र्जित्य-श्री?]-[पृ]थिवी[षेणो][3][नयवांस्तदा?] (॥*) 8
प्रवरसे[नस्त]स्य[4] पुत्रो(ऽ*) भू-
त्प्रवरोर्ज्जितोदार-शासन-[5]
≍प्रवर
8 … … …. … …
… … … … …. … (॥*) 9
[तस्यात्मज × कामत ?] — ⏑ — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ [म]वाप्य राज्य-
मष्टाब्दको य≍प्रशशास सम्य[क्*) (॥*)10[6]

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[1] Earlier scholars suggested रुद्रसेन: in place of सर्व्वसेन:.

[2] Kuntala was in the heart of the Kannaḍa country, practically the same as the district round Banavāsi. A Kadamba king of Mayūraśarman's line is apparently indicated.

[3] Earlier scholars like Bühler were inclined to read विजित्य…पृथिवीषेण०. Mirashi reads विन्ध्यसेन whom he identifies with Vindhyaśakti II of *supra*, No. 59. श्रीविन्ध्यसेन may not be impossible. Biswas suggests भुवि विन्ध्यशक्ति:. If the reading of Bühler be correct, we have to suggest that Vindhyaśakti II had a brother named Pṛithivīsheṇa.

[4] Indraji : ०सेनस्य. This Pravarasena (son or brother's son of Vindhyaśakti II) is different from Pravarasena II (son of Rudrasena II) of *supra*, No. 62.

[5] Read ०शासन: । प्रवर०.

[6] The father of Devasena whose name is lost became king where he was 8 years old.

9 [त*]स्या[त्मजो](ऽ*)भून्नरदेव-[कल्पो ?]
[गुणैरतुल्यो ?] भुवि देवसेनः[1] (।*)
यस्योपभोगैर्ल्ललितैर्व्वि[चित्तै ?]-[2]
[नृ ?]देवराजस्य ⏑ — ⏑ — भूः (॥*) 11
पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य [तस्य ?]

10 ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — [न्या?]य-गुणाधिवासो
[प्रवृद्ध?]-कोशो भुवि हस्तिभोजः (॥*) 12
प्र —⏑—⏑ ⏒ पृथुपीनवक्षा-
स्सरोरुहाक्ष⏓क्षपि-

11 [तारिपक्षः*] (।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ब[ाहु]-
दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव (॥*) 13
हितो विनीतः प्रणय-[प्रसिक्तो ?]
[म]नोनुकूलो(ऽ*)नुविधानव[र्त्ती] (।*)
[नि]रत्यय

12 — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ कश्च (॥*) 14
त[थै]व लोक[3] सुहिताशयत्वा-
त्सुखेन सम्य[क्प]रिपालनेन (।*)
[पितेव*] मातेव सखेव नित्यं
प्रियो(ऽ*)भिगम्यश्च बभूव

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[1] For a copper-plate inscription of this king issued from Vatsagulma (= Basim in the Akola District), see *New Ind. Ant.*, 1937. His minister was Hastibhoja.

[2] Indraji : र्व्विपावने०. The passage भुवि देवसेनः however suggests a metre of the Trishṭubh type (and not of the Jagatī type) which would go against that reading. Of course a combination of Indravajrā and Vaṃśastha is known from literature (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XV, p. 646).

[3] Read लोके.

13 [गोप्ता ?] (॥*) 15
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [तुल्यम् ?] (।*)
स्वस्थस्समावेश्य स तत्र राजा
[सस]ञ्ज भोगेषु यथेष्ट-चेष्टः (॥*) 16
अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-
14 [व भूपः ?]
⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ [नीतिः ?] (।*)
हरि-राम-हर-स्मरे[न्दु?]-कान्ति-[1]
र्हरिषेणो हरि-विक्क्रम-प्रतापः (॥*) 17
स कुन्तलावन्ति-कलिङ्ग-कोसल-
त्रिकूट-लाटान्ध्र-[2]
15 ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ नैर्ध्ता-
नपि स्वनिर्देश ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — (॥*) 18
प्रथितो भुवि हस्तिभोज-सूनु-
स्सचिवस्तस्य महीपतेर्ब्बभूव (।*)
सकल-क्षिति
16 — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — (॥*) 19
— — ⏑ जेष्ठ[3] स्थिर-धीर-चेता-
स्त्याग-क्षमौदार्य्य-गुणैरुपेत(ः*) (।*)
धर्म्मेण धर्म्मप्रवणश्शशास
देशं यश⏒पुण्यगुणांशु-

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[1] स्मरेन्द्र is the reading of some scholars.

[2] Avanti=district round Ujjayinī. Kaliṅga (in the narrow sense)=Purî-Ganjam region of Orissa. Kosala=South Kosala=Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region. Aparānta=the Northern Konkan. Lāṭa=Nausāri-Broach region. Andhra=districts near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī. It is a vague claim which may indicate some sort of hostile relations of the Vākāṭaka king with those countries. It is impossible to believe that the countries were completely subjugated by Harisheṇa. Harisheṇa is possibly mentioned in another Ajaṇṭā inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1713).

[3] प्रचेष्ट ? For the omission of *visarga*, see p. 404, note 7.

17 [दीप्तम् ?] (॥*) 20

⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
प्रति पुण्योपचयं परं चकार (।*)
यत ऊर्द्ध्वं मद[स्सहायधर्म्मा]
[परितो लोकगुरो] चकार कारा[न्?][1] (॥*) 21
आयुर्व्वयो-वित्त-सखाणि[2]

18 — —
⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ळानि (।*)
उ[द्दिश्य*] मातापितरावुदारं
न्यवीविशद्वेश्म यतीन्द्र-[सेव्यम्] (॥*) 22
सजलाम्बुद-[वृन्द-संस्थि?]ताग्रे
भुजगेन्द्राद्ध्युषिते महीधरेन्द्रे (।*)

19 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ ⏑ — श्रीपतिना शरा निकुञ्जे (॥*) 23
गवाक्ष-निर्य्यूह-सुवीथि-वेदिका-
[सु]रेन्द्र-कन्या-प्रतिमाद्यलङ्कृतम् (।*)
मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग-

20 [मेदुरं*]
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ र[3]-चैत्यमन्दिर[ं](रम्) (॥*) 24
म — — — तळ-सन्निविष्ट-
वि[तान?] — — ⏑ मनो[भि]रामं(रम्)(।*)
⏓ — ⏑ — श्वाम्बु-महानिधान[ं]
नागेन्द्र-वेश्मादिभिर

21 ⏑ — — (॥*) 25
[कल्पार्हं तु ?] सम(मी?)रणा ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
ग्रीष्मार्क्कस्य च किरणोपता[प*]-त[सं*]
सर्व्वर्त्तु-प्रथित-सुखोपभोगयोग[म्*] (॥*) 26

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[1] लोकगुरु = बुद्ध ; कार = पूजा.

[2] सुखानि ?

[3] शेखर० ? Some scholars suggest उद्दुर०.

22 ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ [सु]रेन्द्रमन्दिराणा[ं]
रुचिम[न्म]न्दर-कन्द — ⌣ — — (।*)
⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — —
⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ [मुखं ?] यथेप्सित[ञ्च ?] (॥*) 27
असम[व्यति ?]रोचने गिरेर्व्वि-
क-
23 ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ [काननानि ?] (।*)[1]
वह — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — —
⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ — — (॥*) 28
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ यस्य जनेन नाम
प्रीति-प्रसाद-विकच-प्रणयेन चक्रे (।*)
[एतच्च ?]
24 — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — लयनं सुरेन्द्र-
मौलि[प्रभोपचित ?] — ⌣ ⌣ — [वि?]हाय (॥*) 29
निवेद्य सङ्घाय ⌣ — ⌣ [भोग्यं ?]
सबन्धुवर्ग्गस्स वराहदेवः[2] (।*)
नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय
25 — —
[शरण्य?]-शास्ता सुगत(:*) प्रशस्तः (॥*) 30
सान्द्राम्भोद-भुजङ्गभोग ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —
— — — न्न-मनश्शिलाल-कपिलैर्य्यावत्करैर्भास्व(स्क?)रः (।*)
तावच्छे
26 ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — स्सेव्यता-
मन्तर्म्मण्डप-रत्न[मे]तदमलं रत्न[योन्द्रा]वित[म्*] (॥*) 31
विविध-लयन-सानुस्सेव्यमानो महद्भि-
गिरेरय-
27 ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — द्रुमः (।*)
जगदपि च समस्तव्यस्त-दोष-प्रहाणा-
[द्वि*]शतु पदमशोकं निर्ज्वरं शान्तमार्य[ं] यम्) (॥*) 32

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[1] There is possibly यतिभङ्गदोष in this half of the verse.

[2] Varāhadeva, minister of Harisheṇa, was probably a son of Hastibhoja.

No. 63A—Gañj Inscription [of Vyāghra] of the time of Pṛithivīshena [II]

GAÑJ, Panna District, Madhya Pradesh.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind*, XVII, pp. 12ff.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, p. 362.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 वाकाटकाना[ं] महाराज-श्र(श्री)-

2 पृथिविषेणपादां(दा)नुद्ध्यातो व्याघ्रदे-

3 वो मातापित्रो(ः*) पुन्या(ण्या)र्त्थे कृतमिति[3] (॥*)

THE PALLAVAS

No. 63A—Mañchikallu Pillar Inscription of Siṁhavarman.[4]

MAÑCHIKALLU near Rentachintala, Palnad Tāluk, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 87ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A.D.

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[1] For the 6th century य with the loop inside the lower bend as used in this inscription, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 259, note 3; XXXIV, p. 248, note 4. I was wrong in assigning the inscription as also the Nachnekitalai inscriptions with identical text (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 234) to the reign of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīsheṇa I (4th century A.D.). See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 179, note 1. The Vākāṭakas appear to have custed Gupta rule from Bundelkhand about the close of the 5th century A.D.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep.Ind.*, XVII.

[3] The objects made are not mentioned in any of the three records of Vyāghra, feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīsheṇa II.

[4] This king seems to have been the father of Śivaskandavarman mentioned in Nos. 64-65 below.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् ॥ भारदाय-सगो[त्ते न]···[ध]रेण पलवाणं सी[ह]-
2 वंमण अप्पणो वेजयिके···[ल-व]धँ(धं)न्तिके संन्ति(ति)-सथि-
3 यायणं का[तु]ण भग[वतो]...[जीवशि]वसामिस तेथि[का]-
4 न कुर्त्तका(को)पहारकादि कातं (।*) कि[हन्थि ?]-देवकुलस भट्ट[ा]····[2]
5 ... ..[स] पाद[मूले]...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ भारद्वाज-सगोत्रेण ··धरेण पल्लवानां (=पल्लवेन) सिंहवर्मणा आत्मनः वैजयिकं [धर्मब]लवार्धनिकं (=०वर्धनाय) शान्तिस्वस्त्ययनं कृत्वा भगवतः [श्री]जीवशिवस्वामिनः तैर्थिकेभ्यः (=पूजकेभ्यः) +कुर्तकोपहारकादि (=कम्बलोपायनादिकं) कृतम् । किहन्थि-देवकुलस्य भट्टा[रक]···स्य पादमूले····

No. 64—Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 10[3]

Mayidavolu, Narasarāvupeṭa Tāluka, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

E. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 86ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Cursive Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A.D.[4]

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[1] See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII.

[2] The word *bhaṭṭāraka* was probably prefixed to the name of the deity in the *devakula* or temple in question. कुर्तक = Pali कुत्तक.

[3] The year apparently refers to the rule of the father of Śivaskandavarman as he was only a *Yuvamahārāja*. The word युवमहाराज is coined from युवराज on the analogy of राजन् and महाराज. Kāñchīpura is modern Conjeeveram about 55 miles to the west of Madras. Some scholars think that the name is Skandavarman (identical with the king of No. 66) and *śiva* is an honorific like *vijaya* of No. 66, line 1; cf. No. 67, note. The name Śivaskanda is however often found in other sources. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 166f.; cf. old and modern South Indian personal names like Bhavaskanda and Śivashaṇmukha.

[4] This record (cf. also the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315) is very interesting from the palaeographic point of view. See notes below. The peculiar forms of the letters are merely cursive ones.

TEXT[1]

First Plate : First Side

दिठं [॥*]

First Plate : Second Side

1 [सिद्धं ॥*][2] [कां*]चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो[3]
2 भारदाय-सगोत्तो[4] पलवानं[5]

Second Plate : First Side

२[6]

3 सिवख[ं]दवम्मो धंञकडे
4 वापतं आनपयति (।*)

Second Plate : Second Side

5 अम्हेहि दानि अम्ह·वेजयिके[7]
6 [धं]मायु-बळ-वधनिके य[8]

Third Plate : First Side

३[9]

7 बम्हनानं अगिवेस-सगोत्तस
8 पुवकोडुजस अगीवेस-सगोत्तस

---

[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VI. The seal bears the figure of a couchant bull in relief and below it the legend शिवस्क[न्दवर्म्मणः].

[2] Traces of the letters still remain.

[3] म has a peculiar form in this inscription. It consists of an upper curve and of a loop that starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line.

[4] स also has a peculiar form consisting of two equal curves, one below the other, but not interconnected.

[5] न in this inscription does not differ from ड sr द.

[6] In the left margin a little above the level of line 4.

[7] ज has generally a peculiar form in this inscription consisting of an angle and a circle.

[8] This stands for च.

[9] In the left margin on the level between lines 7 and 8.

Third Plate : Second Side

9 गोनंदिजस अंधापतीय[1]-गामो

10 [विरिप]रं अम्हेहि[2] उदकादिं

Fourth Plate : First Side

४[3]

11 संपदतो (।*) एतस गामस

12 विरिपरस सव-बम्हदेय-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

13 प[रिहा]रो वितराम (।*) अ-लोन-[ख]ादकं

14 अ-रठ-सं[वि]नायिकं अ-परंपरा-बलीव[दं*][4]

Fifth Plate : First Side

५[5]

15 अ-भड-पपेसं अ-कूर-चोळक-

16 विनासि-खट(।*)-संवासं (।*) एतेहि

Fifth Plate : Second Side

17 अनेहि च सव-बम्ह-

18 देय-मजादाय

---

[1] Read अंधापथीय. Andhrāpatha is a geographical term like Dakshiṇāpatha. Originally it may have indicated "way to the Andhra country", but later the Andhra country itself. Its capital Dhānyakaṭa is very probably to be identified with Amarāvatī. An inscription (No. 529 of 1937-38) of Virapurushadatta refers to the installation of two *dharmachakras* at the great monastery at Dhānyakaṭa.

[2] Omit अम्हेहि. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद् ददानीति तथा वदेत् । तोयं दद्यात् ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ quoted above, p. 306, note 12 With विरिपरम्, cf. modern पिठापुरम्, etc.

[3] In the left margin a little above the level of line 12.

[4] Hultzsch : बलिवदं. Some of these exemptions refer to the obligations of the villagers to the touring officers of the king, while some refer to their obligation to the king on occasions (e.g., a marriage in the king's family). For a detailed discussion on them, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 186f. ; also *supra*, p. 434, note 1. लोन possibly includes the *audbhijja* salt prepared from plantain and coconut trees in some parts of Bengal even to-day. See Bk. II, No. 83, note.

[5] In the left margin a little above the level of line 16.

Sixth Plate : First Side

६[1]

19 सव-परिहारेहि परिहारितो (।*)

20 परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च (।*)

Sixth Plate : Second Side

21 जो अम्ह-सासनं अतिछि-

22 तून पीला बाधा करेज्जा[2] [वा][3]

Seventh Plate : First Side

७[4]

23 [त][5] कारापेज्जा वा तस अम्हो

24 सारीर[ं] सासनं करेजामो (।*)

Seventh Plate : Second Side

25 स[ं]वछरं दसमं १० गिम्हा-

26 पखो छठो ६ दिवसं पंचमि ५ (।*)

Eighth Plate

८[6]

27 आनती सयत्ति दत्ता

28 पट्टिका (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (= राजपुरुषैः परीक्षितम्) ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरतः युवमहाराजः (= युवराजः) भारद्वाज-सगोत्रः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्द-वर्मा धान्यकटे व्यापृतं (= धान्यकटनगरस्थं कर्मसचिवम्) आज्ञापयति ।—'अस्माभिः इदानीम्

---

[1] In the left margin a little above the level of line 20.

[2] ज्जा is read by Hultzsch and Bühler; but it looks exactly like the ordinary form of जो. See p. 464, note 5.

[3] The scribe had at first left out कारापेज्जा and engraved वा त (of वा तस), but eventually the two *aksharas* were struck out.

[4] In the left margin on the level of lines 23 and 24.

[5] See above, note 2.

[6] In the left margin on the level of lines 27 and 28.

अस्मद्-वैजयिकम् (=अस्माकं विजयाय) धर्मायुर्बलवार्द्धनिकं(=०वर्द्धनाय) च ब्राह्मणाभ्याम् अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय पूर्वकोट्टार्याय अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय गोनन्द्यार्याय [च] अन्ध्रापथीयः ग्रामः विरिपरः उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तः। एतस्य ग्रामस्य विरिपरस्य सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-परिहारं वितरामः— अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-परम्पराबलीवर्दम् (=०बलीवर्दग्रहणम्), अ-भट-प्रवेशम्, अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वा-संवासं (=भक्तस्थालीन्धनखट्वावासादीनां परिहारम्)। एतैः अन्यैः च सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-मर्यादया (=०नियमानुसारेण) सर्वपरिहारैः परिहारितः। परिहरेत परिहारयेत च [त्वम्]। यः अस्मच्छासनम् अतिच्छिद्य पीडां बाधां [च] कुर्य्युः कारयेयुः वा तस्य वयं शारीरं शासनं (=दण्ड) कुर्याम।' संवत्सरः दशमः १० ग्रीष्म-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (=ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्ष-पञ्चम-दिवसे)[1]। आज्ञप्तिः स्वयम् इति दत्ता पट्टिका ॥

No. 65—Hirahaḍagalli Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 8

HĪRAHAḌAGALLI, Bellary District, Mysore.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 5ff., 9 ff., 479; II, pp. 485f.; LEUMANN, *ibid.*, II, pp. 483-85; LÜDERS' List, No. 1209 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit and Sanskrit.[2]

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the middle of the 4th century A.D.

TEXT[3]

Seal

शिवस्कन्द[वर्मणः]

First Plate: First Side

दिठं (॥*)

---

[1] It must however be remembered that the Andhra-Drāviḍa-Karṇāṭa region now reckon the *amānta* month (starting from the Śukla *pratipad* and ending with the *amāvāsyā*).

[2] Note that this record shows more cases of the reduplication of consonants and of conjuncts than No. 64. See *supra*, p. 430, note 2.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. This record, found almost within the borders of ancient Kuntala, suggests that the Early Kadambas were feudatories of the Early Pallavas. For other grounds, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 181.

First Plate: Second Side

सिद्धम् ॥[1]

1 कांचिपुरा[2] अग्गिट्ठोम[3]-वाजपेयस्समेधयाजी धम्ममहा-

2 राजाधिराजो भारद्दायो पल्लवाण सिवखंदवम्मो[4]

3 अम्हं विसये सवत्थ राजकुमार-सेनापति-

Second Plate: First side

4 रट्ठक[5]-माडवि[क][6]-देसाधिकतादीके गामागामभोजके

5 वल्लवे गोवल्लवे अमच्चे आरखाधिकते[7] गुमिके तूथिके

6 नेयिके अन्ने वि च अम्ह-पेस[ण]-प्पयुत्ते संचरंतक-

7 भडमनुसा ण[कढसो][8] परिहारं वितराम[9] (।*) एत्थ दाणि

Second Plate: Second Side

8 [आ]पिट्टि-वत्थवाण चिल्लरेककोडुंक-भोजक-बम्हणाणं अप्प-

9 ण कुल-गोत्तस धमायु-बल-यसो-वधनिके विजय-वेजयीके

10 च कातूणं अप्पतिहत-सासनस्स अनेक-हिरोगोकोडी-[10]

11 गोहलसतसहस्स-प्पदायिनो महाराज- बप्पसामीहि[11]

---

[1] This word is in the left margin, on the level of line 2.

[2] Bühler : कांची. कीं was originally engraved.

[3] Bühler : अग्गित्थोम ; but the superscript is certainly ट.

[4] धम्ममहाराजाधिराज has been coined on the analogy of धर्म्ममहाराज which again is derived from धर्म्मराज. The title indicates that the king was engaged in some pious activity (*dharma*) no doubt referring to the issue of the grant.

[5] Read रट्ठिक which is the reading of Bühler.

[6] The letter looks like नु which is Bühler's reading.

[7] Bühler reads आरख०.

[8] This reading seems to be suggested by the plate. The reading intended however is possibly भड-मनुसे आणवेति.

[9] These two words are out of place here and should have been omitted.

[10] हिरोगो is possibly a mistake for हिरण्ण. For हल, see, p. 208, note 4.

[11] Read स्वामिनो. Some scholars take Bappa (literally 'father') as the name of the father of Śivaskandavarman, which is unlikely. See *Suc. Sät.*, pp. 183f Cf. परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीबप्पपादानुध्यात, परमदैवतबप्पभट्टारकमहाराजश्रीपादानुध्यात, etc., in Fleet's *C.I.I.*, III. p. 186, note. बप्प from Sanskrit वप्ता = बीजवप्ता ? See above, p. 456, note 4.

Third Plate : First Side

३[1]

12 वाडक चिल्लरेककोडुंके पुव्वदत्तं (।*) गोलसमजस पतीभागो[2] १

13 आत्तेय-सगोतस अगिसमजस्स पतीभागा ४

14 माढरस पतीभागा बे २ जामातुकस अगिह्लस पती-

15 भागो १ हारित-सगोतस कालसमस पत्तीभागा ३

Third Plate : Second Side

16 भारदाय-सगोत्तस कुमारसमस पतिभागा ३[3] कोसिक-

17 सगोतस कुमारनंदि-कुमारसम-कोट्टसम-सत्तिस्स च

18 चतुण्हं भातुकाण चत्तारि पत्तिभागा ४ कस्सव-सगोत्त-

19 स भटिस पतीभागो १ भारदायस खंदकोंडिस

Fourth Plate : First Side

४[4]

20 पतीभागा बे २ खंदढस पतीभागो १ बप्पस

21 [प]त्तीभागो[5] १ दत्तजस पतीभागा बे २ नंदिजस

22 पतीभागा ३ वस्स-सगोतस रुदसमस पती-

23 भागो १ दामजस पतीभागो १ सालसमजस पति-

24 भागो १[6]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

25 परिमितस पतीभागो १ नागनंदिस पतीभागो १ गोलिस

26 पतिभागो १ खंदसमस पतिभागो १ सामिजस पतिभागो १ (।*)

27 एतेसि बम्हणाणं अगिसमज-पमुखाणं सातवाहनि-रट्ठे[7]

28 गामे चिल्लरेककोडुंके दखिण-सीमं पुव्वदत्तं (।*)

---

[1] In the left margin, a little above the level of line 14.

[2] Bühler reads पति°.

[3] Bühler reads २. कोसिका was originally engraved.

[4] In the left margin, a little below the level of line 22.

[5] Bühler reads पती°.

[6] These *aksharas* are engraved below सालसम of the previous line.

[7] *I. e.*, the modern Bellary District. See *supra*, No. 90 (p. 212).

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Fifth Plate: First Side

५[1]

29 अम्हेहि वि आ-चन्द-तार-काळीक[2] कातूणं उदकादि संप-
30 दत्तो एतं बम्हणाणं चिल्लरेककोडुंक-वाडकं (।*)
31 अ-कूर-योल्लक[3]-विनेसि-खट्टा-वासं अ-दूध-दधि-गहणं
32 अ-रट्ठसंविनयिकं अ-लोण-[गु]ल-च्छोभं अ-कर-वेट्ठी-

Fifth Plate: Second Side

33 को[ं]जल्लं अ-पारंपर-बलिवद्द-गहणं अ-तण-कट्ठ-गह-
34 णं अ-हरितक-साक-पुफ-गहणं एवमादीकेहि अट्ठा-
35 रस-जाति-परिहारेहि विसयवासीहि अपि-
36 ट्ठी-वासीहिं चिल्लरेककोडुंक-वासीहि च परिहरितवं

Sixth Plate: First Side

६[4]

37 हरिहापेतव्व च त्ति (।*) अपि च आपिट्टीयं अगिसमज-
38 पमुखाण बम्हणाणं खळस निवतणं घरस्स निवत-
39 णं अद्धिका चात्तारि ४ कोळिका बे त्ति २ (।*) एव नातूणं
40 अथ कोचि वल्लभ-सदेन पिला बाधा करेय्य कारवेज्जा[5]

Sixth Plate: Second Side

41 वा तस खु अम्हे निगहं वारण[6] करेय्याम ति (।*) भूयो च
42 वरिस-सत-सहस्सातिरेक-समकाले अम्हं पल्लव-
43 कुल-महंत्ते भविस्स-भडे अन्ने च नो

---

[1] In the left margin, on the level of line 31.

[2] Bühler reads कालिक.

[3] Hultzsch suggests अ-कूर-चोल्लक which is possibly the reading of the original. For a detailed discussion on these exemptions, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 192f.; *supra* p. 434, note 1; p. 459, note 4.

[4] In the left margin, above the level of line 39.

[5] ज्जा looks like जो. See p. 460, note 2.

[6] Better read निगहवारणं.

Seventh Plate : First Side

७[1]

44 वसुधाधिपतये[2] अभत्थेमि (।*) जो सक-काले उपरि-
45 लिखित-मेजाताये अणुवट्टावेति तस
46 वो सम्मो ति [।*] यो चसि विग्घे वट्टेज

Seventh Plate : Second Side

47 स च खु पञ्च-महापातक-संजुत्तो नराधमो
48 होज ति (।*) दता पट्टिका वास-सतसहस्साय
49 सव ८ वास ६ दिव ५ (।*) सयमाणतं (।*)

Eighth Plate

८[3]

50 कोलिवाल-भोजकस रहसाधिकत-भट्टिस-
51 म्मस सहत्थ-लिखितेण पट्टिका कड[4] त्ति (।*)
52 स्वस्ति गो-ब्र[ा]ह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्य इति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टम् ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरात् अग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजी धर्ममहाराजाधिराजः भारद्वाजः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्दवर्मा अस्माकं विषये (=आत्मनः राष्ट्रे) सर्वत्र राजकुमार-सेनापति-राष्ट्रिक-माण्डपिक-देशाधिकृतादिकं ग्रामाग्राम(=नानाग्राम)-भोजकं वल्लवं (=वल्लभान्=अश्वरक्षान्) गोवल्लवं (=गोरक्षिणः) अमात्यम् आरक्षाधिकृतं (=रक्षापुरुषान्) गौल्मिकं तैर्थिकं नैयोगिकम्[5] अन्यम् अपि च अस्मत्(=राज०)-प्रेषण-प्रयुक्तं सञ्चरन्त्क-भटमनुष्यम् [आज्ञापयति] ।—'अत्र इदानीम् आपिट्टि-वास्तव्येभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंक-भोजक-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः आत्मनः कुलगोत्रस्य धर्मायुर्बलयशोवार्द्धनिकं विजयवैजयिकं च कृत्वा अप्रतिहत-शासनेन अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोहलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिना महाराज-बप्पस्वामिना (=महाराजेन

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[1] In the left margin, above the level of line 46.

[2] Bühler reads वसुधाधिपे भये ; but his भ is certainly त.

[3] On the margin, a little below the level of line 54.

[4] Bühler reads कद.

[5] See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 191.

[6] For this परिहार, see Manu, VII. 201.

पितृदेवेन) वाटकं (=आरामं) चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके पूर्वदत्तम्।—गोलशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागः[1] १, आत्रेयसगोत्राय अग्निशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागाः ४, माठराय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, [तस्य च माठरस्य] जामातृकाय अग्निलाय प्रतिभागः १, हारीतसगोत्राय कालशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, भारद्वाजसगोत्राय कुमारशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, कौशिकसगोत्रेभ्यः कुमारनन्दि-कुमारशर्म-कोट्टशर्म-शक्तिभ्यः च चतुर्भ्यः भ्रातृभ्यः चत्वारः प्रतिभागाः ४, काश्यपसगोत्राय भर्त्रे प्रतिभागः १, भारद्वाजाय स्कन्दकोटये प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, स्कन्दाढ्याय प्रतिभागः १, बप्पाय प्रतिभागः १, दत्तार्याय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, नन्द्यार्याय प्रतिभागाः ३, वत्स-सगोत्राय रुद्रशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, दामार्याय प्रतिभागः १, शालशर्मार्यायि प्रतिभागः १, परिमिताय प्रतिभागः १, नागनन्दिने प्रतिभागः १, गोलिने प्रतिभागः १, स्कन्दशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, स्वाम्यार्याय प्रतिभागः १। एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अग्निशर्मार्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः सातवाहनीय-राष्ट्रे ग्रामे चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके दक्षिण-सीमा (=०सीमालग्न-भूमिः) पूर्वदत्ता। अस्माभिः अपि आचन्द्रतारकालिकं कृत्वा उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तम् एतत् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंक-वाटकम्। अ-कूर-चल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वावासम् (=अ-भक्त-स्थालीन्धन०), अ-दुग्धदधि-ग्रहणम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-लवणगुड-क्षोभम्, अ-करविष्टि-कौञ्जल्यम्[2], अ-परम्पराबलीवर्द-ग्रहणम्, अ-तृणकाष्ठ-ग्रहणम्; अ-हरितकशाकपुष्प-ग्रहणम्—एवमादिकैः अष्टादशजातिपरिहारैः (=सर्वजाति०) विषयवासिभिः आपिट्टिवासिभिः चिल्लरेक-कोडुंक-वासिभिः च परिहर्तव्यं परिहारयितव्यं च इति। अपि च आपिट्टयाम् अग्निशर्मार्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः खलाय निवर्तनं, गृहाय निवर्तनम्, आर्धिकाः (=शस्यार्धभागिनः क्षेत्रकर्षकाः) चत्वारः ४, कौलिकौ (=क्षेत्रजकार्पासेन वसनादिवयनार्थम् आवश्यकौ तन्तुवायौ) द्वौ इति २। एवं ज्ञात्वा अथ कश्चित् वल्लभ-मदेन (=राजवल्लभः अहम् इति दर्पेण) पीडां बाधां [वा] कुर्यात् कारयेत् वा तस्य खलु वयं निग्रहवारणं (=दण्डेन वारणं) कुर्याम इति। भूयः च—वर्षशतसहस्रातिरेक-समकाले अस्माकं पल्लवकुलमहतः भविष्य-भटम् अन्यान् च नः (=अस्माकं) वसुधाधिपतीन् अभ्यर्थये, यः स्वक-काले उपरिलिखितमर्यादया अनुवर्तयति, तस्य एव शर्म (=मङ्गलम्) इति; यः च अस्मिन् विघ्ने वर्तेत, स च खलु पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तः नराधमः भवेत् इति। दत्ता पट्टिका वर्ष-शतसहस्राय संव[त्सरे अष्टमे]—८—वर्षा-[पक्षे षष्ठे]—६—दिव[से पञ्चमे]—५। स्वयम् आज्ञप्तम्। कोलिवाल-भोजकस्य (=कोलिवालाख्य-स्थानभोक्तुः) रहस्याधिकृत(=मन्त्रि)-भर्तृशर्मणः स्वहस्तलिखितेन (=स्वाक्षरेण) पट्टिका कृता इति॥ स्वस्ति गो-ब्राह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः' इति॥

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[1] प्रतिभागः=निवर्तनात्मकः अंशः.

[2] The meaning of कौंजल्य is unknown. If कुञ्जल (=काञ्जिका) is taken in the sense of the popular beverage of South India, कौञ्जल्य may refer to the villagers' obligation to supply free gruel to the king's labourers working in the area. विनाशिन् may also be वैनाशिक in the sense of 'an attendant'.

No. 66—Gunapadeya Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Skandavarman

GUṆAPADEYA, Kondukūr Tāluka, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh; now in the BRITISH MUSEUM, London.

FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 100ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2, note 2; HULTZSCH, *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 143ff.

Language: Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the latter half of the 4th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक)

TEXT[1]

First Plate

सिद्ध ॥[2]

1 सिरि-विजय-खन्दव[म्म]-महाराजस्स संवच्छरा *[3] (।*)

2 युवमहाराजस्स भारद्दायस्स प[ल्लवा]-

3 णं सिरि-विजय-बुद्धवम्मस्स देवी * *-[4]

4 कुर-जनवी [चारु]देवी का (?) * वीय *[5]

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII and *Ind. Ant.*, IX. The record is usually referred to as the British Museum plates. For the suggested identification of Skandavarman with Śivaskandavarman, see p. 457, note 3. Note that the language of this record is later. It shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts. See p. 430, note 2. This Skandavarman may be identified with Skandavarman I of the Oṃgoḍu grant, No. 1.

[2] In the left margin of the plate.

[3] The figures of the date are totally lost.

[4] Hultzsch is inclined to read [बु]द्धि[यं]कुर-जनवी in lines 3-4; he further corrects जनवी to जननी. It is however impossible to decipher the two (?) *aksharas* after देवी in line 3. On the strength of Hultzsch's conjectural reading, Buddhavarman and Budhyaṅkura are usually represented as Pallava kings. There is no evidence to show that they ascended the throne or that Buddhavarman was the son of Skandavarman.

[5] The reading intended is possibly आणवीयति(= आज्ञापयति). Hultzsch is inclined to restore क[डके] वीय[पतं ।*]. But traces of an *anusvāra* above the letter which looks like का and of an *ā*-sign are possibly visible. May कांचिये वियापतं be suggested ?

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Second Plate : First Side

२[1]

5 राजतळाक-हे[ट्ठे] पाणिय-[कू*]-

6 पाडुत्तरे पासे [आ]तुकस्स कसित[व्वं*]

7 छेत्तं दालूरे कूलिमहातरक-देवकुलस्स[2]

Second Plate : Second Side

२[3]

8 भगवन्नारायणस्स अम्हं आयु-बल-वड्ढनी-

9 यं कातून भूमी-निवत्तणा चत्तारि ४ अम्हेहिं

10 सम्पदत्ता (।*) तं नातूण गामेयिका आयुत्ता

11 सव्व-[प]रिहारेहि परिहरथ परिहरापेथ (।*)

Third Plate

12 बहुभिर्व्व[सु]धा दत्ता बहुभिश्च[ानुपा]लिता (।*)

13 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[4] तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलम् (॥*) 1

14 स्व-दत्ता(ं*) परदत्त[ा]ं वा ये हरत्ति वसून्धराम्[5] (।*)

15 गवां शत-सहस्त्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् (॥*) 2

16 आणत्ति रोहण[ि]गुत्ता[6]त्ति

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ श्रीविजय-स्कन्दवर्म-महाराजस्य संवत्सरः ···। युवमहाराजस्य भारद्वाजस्य पह्लवानां श्रीविजय-बुद्धवर्मणः देवी ···कुर-जननी चारुदेवी [आज्ञापयति]।—'राजतडागाधस्तात् पानीयकूपात् उत्तरपार्श्वे आतुकस्य क्रष्टव्यं क्षेत्रं दाळूरे कूलि-महत्तरक-देवकुलस्य (=कूलिनामकेन महत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितस्य मन्दिरस्य) भगवन्नारायणाय अस्माकम् आयुर्बल-

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[1] In the left margin of the plate.

[2] स्सा was possibly in the mind of the scribe.

[3] In the left margin of the plate. Both sides of Plate II are numbered. Usually only one of the sides bears the number of the plate.

[4] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[5] Read यो हरति (or हरेत) वसु०.

[6] The ī-sign of णी could not be properly executed owing to the interference of स in the preceding line. The reading गुत्ता is doubtful.

वर्धनीय॑ (यद्वा— ०वार्धनिकं) कृत्वा भूमिनिवर्तनानि चत्वारि ४ अस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तानि । एतत् ज्ञात्वा ग्रामेयकाः आयुक्ताः (–ग्राम-स्थिताः आयुक्ताख्याः राजभृत्याः ; यद्वा—ग्रामवासिनः च आयुक्तकाः च) [यूयं] सर्वपरिहारैः परिहरत परिहारयत [च] ।’

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
यस्य यस्त यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुन्धराम् ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् ॥

आज्ञप्तिः (–दान-सम्पादन-नियुक्तः दूतकः) रोहिणीगुप्तः इति ॥

No. 67—Narasaraopeṭ[1] Copper-plate Inscription of Siṃhavarman—Regnal Year 4

NARASARĀOPEṬ TĀLUKA, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 254f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A. D.[2]

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 जि[त]['*][4] भगवता(॥*) स्वस्ति(॥*) श्रीविजय-स्कन्ध(ा*)वारा[त्प]रामाब्रह्मण्य-[5]

2 स्य स्व-बाहु-बल[ा]ज्जितो[र्ज्जि]त-[क्षा]त्र[6]-त[पो]निधेर्व्विधिवि-

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[1] The grant is usually referred to as the Oṃgoḍu grant after the name of the village donated. It was discovered in a village in the Narasarāopeṭ Tāluka.

[2] According to Krishna Sastri the record "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the 7th century."

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. For Siṃhavarman of this record, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 170ff. ; 208ff. ; 402.

[4] त is written below the line. See p. 436, note 1.

[5] Read ०मब्रह्म०. Note that the name of the *skandhāvāra* (camp) is omitted owing to the inadvertence of the scribe. Another record discovered at the same place was issued from *vijaya*-Tāmbrāpa-*sthāna*.

[6] Sastri : ०षाद.

3 हित-सर्व्व-मर्य्यादस्य स्थिति-स्थितस्य[ा]मितात्मनो महा-[1]
4 राजस्य प्रिथिवित[लै]क[2]-वीरस्य श्रीवीरवर्म्मणः प्रपौत्रो(ऽ*)प्य

Second Plate: First Side

5 [ज्जि]त[3]-शक्ति-सिद्धि-सम्पन्नस्य प्रतो(ता)पोपन[त]-[रा]ज-मण्डलस्य [भ]गव-
6 त्भ(द्भ)क्ति-सम्भाव-सम्भावित-सर्व्व-कल्याणस्य(ा*)नेक-गो-
7 हिरण्य-भूम्य[ा]दि-प्रदानैः प्रवृ[ध्द][4]-धर्म्म-सञ्च-
8 यस्य प्रजापालन-दक्षस्य लोकपालाना[ं] पञ्च(म*)स्य लो-

Second Plate: Second Side

9 कपालस्य[5] महात्मनो महाराज-श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्मणः पौ-
10 त्रो देव-द्विज-गुरु-वृद्धोपसेविनो विवृद्ध-विनयस्य(ा*)-
11 नेक-संग्राम-स(ा*)हसावमद्दोपलब्ध[6]-विजय-यश(ः*)-प्रा-[7]
12 काशस्य सत्यात्मनो युवमहाराज-श्रीविष्णुगोपस्या[8] पुत्रः

Third Plate: First Side

13 कलियुग-दोषावस[न्न]-धर्म्मदूरण[9]-नित्य-श[न्न]द्धो[10] राज-गु-
14 ण-शर्व्व[11]-सन्दोह-विजिगिपु[12] धर्म्म-विजिगिपु[13] भगवत्पादानुध्यातो[14]

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[1] Sastri : माह°.

[2] Read पृथिवी°.

[3] Read प्रपौत्रोऽभ्युच्छ्रित°, as in other grants.

[4] Read प्रवृद्ध°.

[5] Note that the passage indicates only four divine Lokapālas (cf. above, p. 193). Their number was later raised to eight or ten.

[6] Read °मर्द्दोप°.

[7] Read प्रका°.

[8] Read °गोपस्य.

[9] Read धर्म्मोद्धरण.

[10] Read सन्नद्धो.

[11] Read सर्व्व.

[12] Read विजिगीषुर्धर्म्म°.

[13] Read °गीषुर्भग°.

[14] Read °नुध्यातो.

15 बप्प-भट्टारक-पाद-भक्त(:*) परमभागवतो भाराद्वाज-स-

16 गोत्र[1] विक्रामाक्रान्तन्यनृपतिश्र-निलयानां[2] यथावदाहृतानेकक्रतुनां[3]

Third Plate : Second Side

17 शतक्रतुनां कल्पनां[4] वल्लभानां[5] पल्लवानां धर्म्म-महाराज-श्री-सिं-

18 ह्विवर्म्म[ा] कर्म्म-ఱा ष्ट्ఱे[6] ओगोंडुग्रामः कोडिकिंग्रामो[7] पूर्व्वंतः नఱाचडु-

19 ग्रा[मो] दक्षिणतः कडाकुटुरु-ग्रामो[8] प[श्चि]मतः[9] पेणुकपఱ्ఱू-

20 ग्रामे[10] उत्तरतः एवं चतुरव[धि]-मध्ये पूर्व्व-भोग-विवर्ज्जितः

Fourth Plate : First Side

21 कुण्डूर्व्व(ा*)स्तव्याया काश्यप-गोत्राय छन्दोविदिते[11] सर्व्व-शास्त्र-कुश-

22 लाय देवशर्म्मने[12] ग्रहाण-निमित्त[13] अस्मदायुर्ब्बल-वि-

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[1] Read भारद्वाज-सगोत्रो. गोत्र is engraved above the line.

[2] Read विक्रमाक्रान्तान्य-नृप-श्री०.

[3] Read क्रतूनां. Some records, e.g., the Pīkira grant of Siṃhavarman, read यथावदाहृतानेकाश्वमेधानां. The Aśvamedha referred to is no doubt that performed by Kumāravishṇu, father of Vīravarman. Cf. पल्लवानामश्वमेधयाजिनः महाराजस्य श्रीकुमारविष्णोः in the Oṃgoḍu grant of Skandavarman (II), *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 251. It is interesting that only the descendants of this Kumāravishṇu refer to the Aśvamedha.

[4] Read शतक्रतुकल्पानां

[5] The fuller form of this title appears to be श्री-पृथिवी-वल्लभ found in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It refers to the kings' claim to have been incarnations of Vishṇu. For this interpretation, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 208, note ; *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 131 f.

[6] Read सिंहवर्मनामानः वयं and राष्ट्रे. The letter here printed ఱ (=r) is the *baṇḍira* or *śakaṭarepha* of the Telugu alphabet. Theoretically it is a cerebral *r*.

[7] Read ओंगोडु-ग्रामं कोडिकि'-ग्रामः.

[8] Read ग्रामः.

[9] Sastri : ०मातः.

[10] Read ग्राम, and ०विवर्ज्जितं (with the exception of lands previously granted).

[11] Read वास्तव्याय and छन्दोविदे.

[12] Read ०र्म्मणे.

[13] Read ग्रहणनिमित्तम् (on the occasion of an eclipse).

23 जयाभिवृद्धये सम्प्र[ा]दाम [।] तदिमं[1] सर्व्व-परिहा[रै](ः*)[2] प-

24 रिहत्तव्य[म्][3] परिहारयितेव्यश्च[4] (।*) यश्चेदं अस्मच्छा-[5]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

25 शनमतिक्रामे(त्*) स पापः शारीरदण्डमर्हति (।*) आशीछला-

26 षा[6] श्लोका भवन्ति (॥*)

भूमिदान-समन्दानां नं भूतो[7] न भवि-[8]

27 विष्यति (।*)

तस्यैव हरणात्पाप(ं*) न भूतो[9] न भविष्यति (॥*) 1

28 स्व-दत्त(ां*) परदत्तां ना[10] यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (।*)

गवां शत-

Fifth Plate

29 सहस्रस्य हन्तु⁀पिबति किल्विषम् (॥*) 2

बहुभिर्व्वसुदा[11] [द]त्ता बहु-

30 भिश्चानुपालितम्[12] (।*)

यस्य यस्य यथा भूम तस्य[13] त-

31 स्य तदा फलम् (॥*) 3

स[14]-विजय-राज्य-स(ं*)वत्सरे चतुर्त्थे वैशाख-शु[क्ल]-[15]

32 पक्ष-पञ्चम्यां दत्त(त्तम्) (।*) भट्ट[ा]रका[णां] स्व-मुखाज्ञया लिखित[मि]दं-(दम्) ।(।*)

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[1] Read तदिदं.

[2] रै is engraved on an erasure.

[3] Read ०हर्त्तव्यं.

[4] Read ०तव्यश्च.

[5] Read ०दम् अस्मच्छासन०.

[6] Read अपि चात्रार्षाः.

[7] Read ०न्दानं न भूतं.

[8] Read भविष्यति.

[9] Read भूतं

[10] Read वा.

[11] Read ०सुधा. द of दत्ता is engraved below the line.

[12] Read ०पालिता.

[13] Read यदा भूमिस्तस्य.

[14] Better read स्व.

[15] च was originally engraved for क्ल.

C—THE KADAMBAS

No. 68—Chandravalli Stone Inscription of Mayūraśarman (c. 330-60 A.D.)

CHANDRAVALLI, Chitaldrug District, Mysore State.

M. H. KRISHNA, *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50; K. P. JAYASWAL, *History of India, 150-350*, pp. 220f.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 कदंबाणं मयूरशम्मण विनिम्मिअं[2]

2 तटाकं [कुट][3]-तेकूड[4]-अभिर[5]-पल्लव-पुरि-

3 योतिक[6]-सकस्थ[न[7]]-सयिन्थक[8]-पुणड[9]-मोकरि[ण][10](॥*)

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[1] From the eye-copy and indistinct facsimile in *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929. The reading is in many places doubtful. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation are in some parts impossible. He reads (lines 2-3) तटी काञ्ची-त्रेकूटाभीर-पल्लव-पुरी-यातिकेन सातह्नीस्थ-सेन्द्रकपुरी-दमन-कारिणा, "who marched against Kāñchī and Trikūṭa—the Ābhīra and Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at Sātāhanī, built the embankment." K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is wrong in thinking that the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman is a modern forgery. See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, ed. Majumdar and Altekar, p. 238.

[2] In the space between lines 1 and 2, there are two symbols possibly representing the sun (a circle with a centre mark) and the moon (a crescent).

[3] The reading is not beyond doubt. Krishna : दुभ.

[4] Krishna : त्रेकूट ; but, in his eye-copy, there is no trace of a subscript *r*. As regards ड, compare the form of this letter with टा (of तटाकं) in the eye-copy.

[5] Krishna : अभीर.

[6] Krishna reads पारियाविक ; but his eye-copy has distinctly पुरियोतिक. If we however think that the subscribed *u* in पु and the *e*-sign (part of the *o*-sign) of यो are not actually the engraver's work, the word may be read प(ा*)रियातिक.

[7] न is engraved above the line.

[8] Krishna : सयिन्दक ; but the subscript of the third *akshara* looks like थ in the eye-copy.

[9] Krishna : पुनाट. See note 4 above.

[10] For the existence of a people or locality called Mukari on the Poṇṇi or Kāverī, cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 41, note.

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TEXT SANSKRITIZED

कदंबाणां (=कदम्ब-वंशीयेन) मयूरशर्मणा विनिर्मितं तटाकं (=पुष्करिणी) कुट्ट(=कुट्टित =निर्जित)-त्रैकूटाभीर-पल्लव-पारियात्रिक-शकस्थान-सेन्द्रक-पुण्याट-मौखरिणा ॥[1]

No. 69—Tālagunda Stone-pillar Inscription of the time of Śāntivarman (c. 455-70 A.D.)

Tāḷagunda, Shimoga District, Mysore State.

Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, pp. 27f.; Rice, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, pp. 200ff.; Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 31ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-24 मात्रासमक-विशेष or मिश्रगण-गीतिका[2]; Vv. 25-26 पुष्पिताग्रा; V. 27 वसन्ततिल ; V. 28 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता; Vv. 30-31 वसन्ततिलका; V. 32 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 33 दण्डक-प्रचित-चण्डवेग (or ॰अर्णव)[3]; V. 3 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT[4]

सिद्धम् [॥][5]

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[1] The Traikūṭas or Traikūṭakas belonged to Aparānta or the Northern Koṅkan. The Ābhīras of this period also belonged to the same region. A place called Ahīrwāṛā lies between Bhilsa and Jhansi. Mayūraśarman's struggles with the Pallavas are referred to in No. 69 below. Pāriyātrikas lived about the Pāriyātra mountain (Western Vindhyas and the Aravalli range). Śakasthāna possibly indicates the kingdom of the Śakas of Western India. The Sendraka territory lay in old Mysore. The Maukharis lived in Rajasthan although the reference may be to the Mukaris of the Tamil country, who of course may have been a branch of the Maukhari clan. Puṇaḍa = Punnāḍu was in the Southern part of old Mysore. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 241-46.

[2] "A species of *mātrāsamaka*, the name of which as yet is unknown" (Kielhorn). Venkatasubbiah takes it to be the Gītikā variety of the *miśragaṇa* metres (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 115). Mātrā : 15+15+15+15.

[3] "A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specially Chaṇḍavega or Arṇava" (Kielhorn). The verse has 30 syllables in a *pāda*.

[4] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

[5] This word stands in the left margin on the level between lines 1 and 2.

1 नमश्शिवाय ॥
जयति विश्वदे[व]-स[ं]घात-निचितैकमूर्त्तिस्सनातनः (।*)
स्थानुरिन्दु[1]-रश्मि-विच्छुरित-द्युतिमज्जटाभार-मण्डनः ॥ 1
तमनु भूसुरा द्विज-प्रवरास्सामर्ग्यजुर्व्वेद-वादिनः (।*)
यत्प्रसादस्त्रायते नित्यं भुवन-त्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ 2
अनुपदं सुरेन्द्रतुल्य[व]पु× काकुस्थवर्म्मा[2] विशाल-धीः (।*)
भूपति× कदम्ब-सेनानी-बृहदन्वय-[व्यो]म-चन्द्रमाः
2 ॥ 3
अथ बभूव द्विज-कुलं प्रांशु त्रिचरद्गुणेन्द्वंशु-मण्डलम् (।*)
त्र्यार्षवर्त्म-हारितीपुत्रमृषिमुख्य-मानव्य-गोत्रजम् ॥ 4
विविध-यज्ञावभृथ-पुण्याम्बु-नियताभिषेकार्द्र-मूर्द्धजम् (।*)
प्रवचनावगाह-निष्णातं विधिवत्समिद्धाग्नि-सोमपम् ॥ 5
प्रणवपूर्व्व-षड्विधाध्येय-नानर्थ्यमानान्तरालयम् ॥[3]
अकृश-चातुर्म्मास्य-होमेष्टि-पशु-पार्व्वण-श्राद्ध-पौष्टिकम् (॥*) 6
3 अतिथि-नित्यसंश्रितावसथं सवनत्रयावन्ध्य-नैत्यकम् (।*)
गृह-समीपदेश-संरूढ-विकसत्कदम्बैकपादपम् ॥ 7
तदुपचारवत्तदास्य तरोस्सानाम्य-साधर्म्म्यमस्य तत् (।*)
प्रववृते सतीर्त्थ्य-विप्राणां प्राचुर्य्यतस्तद्विशेषणम् ॥ 8[4]
एवमागते कदम्ब-कुले श्रीमान्बभूव द्विजोत्तमः (।*)
नामतो मयूरशर्म्मेति श्रुत-शील-शौचाद्यलंकृतः [॥] 9
4 यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्म्मणा (।*)
अधिजिगांसु≍प्रवचनं त्रिखिलं[5] घटिकां विवेशाशु तर्क्कुकः ॥ 10

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[1] Read स्थाणु०.

[2] The correct form is काकुत्स्थ ; but काकुस्थ is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. "The great lineage of the Kadamba leader of armies" seems to refer to the Kadambas as sprung from Mayūraśarman who is called *Senāpati* in verse 22 below and apparently served once as a general of the Pallavas. See p. 476, note 7; p. 479, note 4.

[3] Only one *daṇḍa* may be retained.

[4] "Then as the family tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of these Brāhmaṇa fellow-students, currently accepted as distinguishing them.":

[5] Read निखिलं. घटिका (an establishment for holy and learned men devoted to religious and learned discourses; something like a college) is the same as ब्रह्मपुरी of many inscriptions. तर्क्कुक = याचक ; here विद्यार्थी ; पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरी = काञ्ची.

तत्र पल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन[1] कलहेन तीव्रेण रोषितः (।*)
कळियुगे(ऽ*)स्मिन्नहो बत[2] क्षत्रात्परिपेळवा विप्रता यतः (॥*) 11
गुरुकुलानि सम्यगाराध्य शाखामधीत्यापि यत्नतः (।*)
ब्रह्म-सिद्धिर्य्यदि नृपाधीना किमत≍परं दु×खमित्यतः [॥] 12

5 कुश-समिद्दृषत्स्नु गाज्य-चरु-ग्रहणादि-दक्षेन पाणिना (।*)
उद्वहं दीप्तिमच्छस्त्वं विजिगीषमाणो वसुन्धराम् ॥ 13
यो(ऽ*)न्तपाळान्पल्लवेन्द्राणां[3] सहसा विनिर्ज्जित्य संयुगे (।*)
अध्युवास दुर्ग्गमामटवीं श्रीपर्व्वत-द्वार संश्रिताम् ॥ 14
आददे करान्बृहद्बाण-प्रमुखाद्बहून्राजमण्डलात् (।*)
एवमेभि≍पल्लवेन्द्राणां भृकुटी-समुत्पत्ति-कारणैः ॥ 15

6 स्वप्रतिज्ञा-पारणोत्थान-लघुभि× कृतार्थैश्च चेष्टितैः (।*)
भूषणैरिवाबभौ बळवद्यात्रा-समुत्थापनेन च ॥ 16
अभियुयुक्षयागतेषु भृशं काञ्ची-नरेन्द्रेष्वरातिषु (।*)
विषम-[दे]श-प्रयाण[4]-संवेश[5]-रजनीष्ववस्कन्द-भूमिषु ॥ 17
प्राप्य सेना-सागरं तेषां प्राहन्बली श्येनवत्तदा (।*)
आपदन्तान्धारयामास[6] भुज-खड्गमात्र-[व्य]पाश्रयः ॥ 18

7 पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्य शक्तिमिमां ळब्ध्वा प्रतापान्वयावपि (।*)
नास्य हानिश्श्रेयसीत्युक्ता यम्मित्रमेवाशु वव्रिरे ॥[7] 19

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[1] May पल्लवाश्वसंस्था refer to the Aśvamedha performed by Śivaskandavarman? In that case, Mayūraśarman was Śivaskandavarman's contemporary. For the possible contemporaneity of Mayūraśarman and Śivaskandavarman, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 184, 247.

[2] The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *mātrās*.

[3] अन्तपाल = frontier guard. श्रीपर्वत = the Nallamalpur range. For the Bāṇas, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 247. Their kingdom comprised parts of the Chittoor, North Arcot and Anantapur Districts.

[4] श in देश-प्र० may be considered to be a short syllable. Kāñchī (Conjeeveram near Madras) was the Pallava capital.

[5] श्वे was originally engraved; but the subscript व has been struck out.

[6] न्तां seems to have been originally engraved.

[7] Verses 19-20 suggest that Mayūraśarman became a general of the Pallava king. His feudatory position was probably analogous to that of the military governor of a province within the Pallava empire which extended up to the Śrīparvata.

संश्रितस्तदा महीपाळानाराध्य युद्धेषु विक्क्रमैः (।*)
प्राप पट्ट-बन्ध-संपूजां कर-पल्लवैः पल्लवैर्धृताम् ॥ 20
भङ्गुरोर्म्मि-वल्गितैर्नृत्यदपरार्णवाम्भ × कृतावधिम् (।*)
प्रेहरान्तामनन्य-संचरण-समय-स्थितां[1] भूमिमेव च ॥ 21[2]

8 विबुध-संघ-मौलि-संमृष्ट-चरणारविन्दष्षडाननः (।*)
यमभिषिक्तवाननुध्याय[3] सेनापतिं मातृभिस्सह ॥ 22
तस्य पुत्र × काङ्गवर्म्मोग्र-समरो[द्धु]र-प्रा[ं]शु-चेष्टितः (।*)
प्रणत-सर्व्व-मण्डलोत्क्रिष्ट[4]-सित-चामरो[द्धू]त-शेखरः ॥ 23
त[त्सु]त × कदम्ब-भूमिवधू-रुचितैकनाथो भगीरथः (।*)
सगर-मुख्य[स्त्व]यं कदम्बकुल-प्र[च्छन्न]-ज[न्मा] जनाधिपः (॥*) 24[5]

9 अथ नृप-महितस्य तस्य पुत्रः
प्रथित-यशा रघु-पार्थिवः पृथु-श्रीः (।*)
पृथुरिव पृथिवीम्प्रसह्य यो(ऽ*)रीन्
अकृत पराक्रमतस्स्वव[ं]श-भोज्याम् ॥ 25

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[1] Preharā and Muralā have been mentioned in the *Avantisundarīkathā* as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported (Raghavan, *An. Or. Res.*, Madras University, V, pt. 2). The Muralā may be associated with the Murala people known from the Bheraghat inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 11) and Rājaśekhara's *Bālabhārata* or *Prachaṇḍa-pāṇḍava* (N. S. P. ed., I, 7) as having come into conflict with Kalachuri Karṇa and Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I respectively. Mallinātha (on *Raghu*, IV, 55) takes Muralā as a river in Kerala. The *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (end of the 17th century) speaks of the waters of मलप्रहरा-भीमरथी-घटप्रहराणां (Gode, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXII, p. 263). This seems to suggest that Preharā was another name of the Malaprahara (Malaprabhā) or the Ghaṭaprahara (Ghaṭaprabhā), both tributaries of the Krishṇā. The metre possibly requires the reading प्रहरा० (see note 2 below).

[2] The third *pāda* has 16 *mātrās*. See note 1 above.

[3] Kielhorn seems to have understood from this passage that Ṣaḍānana installed Mayūraśarman after meditating on the Senāpati with the Mothers. This may be wrong; here अनुध्याय means "having favoured", and not "after meditating on". Ṣaḍānana is here said to have favoured and installed the general (सेनापति) Mayūraśarman on the throne.

[4] Read मण्डलोत्कृष्ट.

[5] The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *Mātrās*. ल in कुल-प्र° may however be considered as a short syllable. We may suggest मुख० for मुख्य०. Kielhorn : कुले.

प्रतिभय-समरेष्वराति-शस्त्रो-
ल्लिखित-मुखो(ऽ*)भिमुख-द्विषां प्रहर्त्ता (।*)
श्रुतिपथ-निपुणः कविः प्रदाता
विविध-कला-कुशलः प्रजा-प्रियश्च ॥ 26

10 भ्रातास्य चारु-वपुरब्द-गभीर-नादो
मोक्ष-त्रिवर्ग्ग-पटुरन्वयवत्सळश्च (।*)
भागीरथिर्न्नरपतिर्म्मृगराज-लीलः
काकुस्थ[1] इत्यवनि-मण्डळ-घुष्ट-कीर्त्तिः ॥ 27
ज्यायोभिस्सह विग्रहो(ऽ*)र्थिषु दया सम्यक्प्रजा-पालनम्[2]
दीनाभ्युद्धरणं प्रधान-वसुभिर्म्मुख्यद्विजाभ्यर्हणम् (।*)

11 यस्यैतत्कुल-भूषणस्य नृपतेः प्रज्ञोत्तरं भूषणम्[3]
तम्भूपाः खलु मेनिरे सुर-सखं काकुस्थमन्वागतम् ॥ 28
घर्म्माक्क्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षर(ा*)जिं प्रविश्य
च्छाया-सेवा-मृडित-मनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति (।*)
तद्वज्ज्यायो-विहत-गतयो बान्धवास्सानुबन्धाः
प्रापुश्शर्म्माऽव्यथित-मनसो यस्य भू[मिं] प्रविश्य ॥ 29

12 नानाविध-द्रविण-सार-समुच्चयेषु
मत्त-द्विपेन्द्र-मद-वासित-गोपुरेषु (।*)
संगीत-वल्गु-निनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य
ळक्ष्म्यङ्गना धृतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥ 30
गुप्तादि-पार्त्थिव-कुलाम्बुरुह-स्थलानि
स्नेहादर-प्रणय-सम्भ्रम-केसराणि (।*)
श्रीमन्त्यनेक-नृपषट्द-सेवितानि
प
यो(ऽ*)बोधयद्दुहितृ-दीधितिभिर्न्नृपार्क्कैः ॥ 31[4]

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[1] See p. 475, note 2.

[2] Read पालनं. ज्यायस् = stronger.

[3] Read भूषणं.

[4] Kākusthavarman apparently gave his daughters in marriage to princes belonging to the Gupta and other royal families. His Halsi copper-plate grant is dated in the year 80 which is possibly to be referred to the era of his Gupta relatives. See *Suc. Sāt.* pp. 255-56.

13 यन्दैवसम्पन्नमदीनचेष्टं
शक्तित्त्रयोपेतमथासनस्थम् (।*)
शेषैर्गुणैः पञ्चभिरप्यसाद्ध्या-
स्सामन्त-चूडामणयः प्रणेमुः ॥ 32
सयिह भगवतो भवस्यादिदेवस्य सिद्धालये सिद्ध-गान्धर्व्व-रक्षो-गणैस्सेविते[1]
विविध-नियम-होम-दीक्षा-परैर्ब्रा[ह्म]णै(:*) स्नातकै[2] स्तूयमाने सदा मन्त्र-वादैश्शुभैः(।*)

14 सुकृतिभिरवनीश्वरैरात्म-निश्श्रेयसं प्रेप्सुभिस्सातकर्ण्यादिभिश्श्रद्धयाभ्यर्च्चिते[3]
इदमुरुसलिलोपयोगाश्रयं भूपति × कारयामास काकुस्थवर्म्मा तडाकम्म[हत्] [॥]33
तस्यौरसस्य तनय[स्य] विशाल-कीर्त्तेः
[प]ट्ट-त्रयार्प्पण-विरा[जित]-चारुमूर्त्तेः[4] (।*)
श्रीशान्तिवर्म्म-नृपतेर्व्वर-शासनस्थः
कुब्जस्स्वकाव्यमिदमश्म-तले लिलेख[5] ॥ 34

15 नमो भगवते स्थानकुन्दूर-वासिने महादेवाय (।*) नन्दतु सर्व्व-समन्तागतो(ऽ*)
यमधिवासः[6] (।*) स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य इति [॥]

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[1] Read गन्धर्व्व. सयिह = सः इह.

[2] See p. 404, note 7.

[3] Read °र्च्चित°. This Sātakarṇi is probably a king of the family represented by Vishṇukaḍḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of Kuntala. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 219-21. For the wrong belief about the existence of a Chuṭu family, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 72.

[4] This appears to suggest that, like his ancestor Mayūraśarman, Śāntivarman also received the *paṭṭabandha* (i.e. the position of a feudatory) from the Pallavas. Possibly the Early Kadamba kings owed nominal allegiance to the Pallavas. Śāntivarman's younger brother Kṛishṇavarman I became independent and performed the Aśvamedha; but he was defeated and killed by the Pallavas. See *ibid.*, pp. 258, 280ff.; *supra*, p. 461, note 3.

[5] Kubja was thus both a poet and a calligraphist. No other work of this poet is known. The poet did not actually engrave the inscription, but wrote it on the stone to facilitate the engraver's work. This was also the custom often followed in engraving copper plates.

[6] अधिवास = the temple; or, the place called Sthānakundūra (modern Tāḷagunda). सर्व्वसमन्तागत: = सर्वान् समन्तात् (= समस्तवासिन:, प्रत्यन्तवासिन:) प्राप्त:,

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D—WESTERN GAṄGAS[1]

No. 70—Penukoṇḍa Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava

PENUKOṆḌA (Penugoṇḍa), Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh.

FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 480; L RICE, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 334f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the second half of the 5th century A.D.[2]

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[3]

First Plate

१ँ स्वस्ति (॥*)[4]

1 जितम्भगवता गतघन-गगनाभेन पद्मनाभेन (॥*) श्रीमज्जाह्नवेय-कुलामळ-व्योम-भा-

2 सन-भास्करस्य स्व-भुज-जव-जय-जनित-सुजन-जनपदस्य दारुणारि-गण-विदारण-रणोप-[5]

3 ळब्ध-व्रण-भूषणस्य काण्वायन सगोत्रस्य श्रीमत्कोङ्गणिवर्म्म-धर्म्ममहाधिराजस्य पु-

4 त्रस्य पितुरन्वागत-गुणस्य नाना-शास्त्रार्थ-सद्भावाधिगम-प्रणीत-[म]ति-विशेषस्य नीति-शास्त्र-

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[1] Later Eastern Gaṅga records appear to suggest a connection between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas. The Vizagapatam plates (Śaka 1040) of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and the Kendupatna plates (Śaka 1217 or 1218) of Narasiṃha II (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1103, 1116) refer to Kolāhala as an ancestor of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the former also to the foundation by Kolāhala of a city called Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi (the popular name of the Western Gaṅga country in Mysore). It is however difficult to determine if there was actually any relation. The Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is not called Jāhnaveya-kula. The Kāṇvāyana-gotra is changed to Ātreya. But the presence of both the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas in the east coast shows that such relations are not improbable. Most of the early Western Gaṅga records are spurious and it is difficult to settle Early Western Gaṅga genealogy in the present state of our knowledge.

[2] Fleet ascribed the record to c. 475 A.D. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. On the seal is found the representation of an elephant to right.

[4] १ँ = symbol for सिद्धम्. १ँ स्वस्ति is written in the left margin, १ँ on the level of line 1 and स्वस्ति on that of line 2.

[5] Rice : विदारणोप°,

5 स्य वक्तृ-प्रयोक्तृ-कुशलस्य सम्यक्प्रजापालनमात्राधिगत-राज्य-प्रयोजनस्य श्रीमत्मा-[1]

Second Plate: First Side

6 धव-महाधिराजस्य तस्य पुत्रस्य अनेक-युद्धोपलब्ध-व्रण-विभूषित-शरीरस्य नाना-
7 शास्त्रेतिहास-पुराण-तत्वज्ञस्य[2] श्री-पल्लव-कुलेन्द्रेण सिंहवर्म्म-महाराजेन यथार्हम-
8 भिषिक्तस्य गङ्ग-राजस्य आय्यवर्म्मणः[3] पुत्रेण पितृ-पैतामहा(ह)-गुण-संयुक्तेन देव-
9 द्विजाति-गुरु-पूजन-तत्परेण धर्म्माभ्यास-कृत-मतिना स्व-बाहु-वीर्य्यार्जित-राज्य-विभवेन
10 गाङ्गेय-वंश-ध्वजेन स्व-वंश-क्रमागत-राज्य-प्रणीतेन पल्लवानां श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्म-महा-

Second Plate : Second Side

11 राजेन यथार्हमभिषिक्तेन गङ्गानाम्माधव-महाधिराजेन श्री-सिंहवर्म्मणा[4] ब्राह्म-
12 णाय वत्स-सगोत्राय तैत्तिरिय[5]-चरणाय कुमारशर्म्मणे यम-नियम-तप(:*)-
13 स्वाद्ध्याय-यजन-याजनाद्ध्ययनाद्ध्यापन-शापानुग्रह-सामर्थ्याय अ-दान-प्रतिग्रहा-
14 य चैत्र-मास्याम्[6] तिथौ पौर्ण्णमास्याम् परुवि-विषये[7] परुवि-महातटाकाधस्तात् कर्म्मटुव-क्षे-

Third Plate

15 त्रे पञ्चषष्टि-केदाराः सप्तविंशत्खण्डुकवापाः[8] ब्रह्मदेय-क्रमेणाद्भिः प्रदत्ताः (।*)
16 यो(ऽ*)स्य हर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तो भवति ॥ अपि चात्र मनु-गीताः श्लोकाः (।*)
17 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (॥*) 1

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[1] Read श्रीमन्मा°

[2] Read तत्त्व°

[3] Read आर्य्य°.

[4] His second name was apparently given after his father's overlord. This Pallava king Siṃhavarman is identified with the *Kāñchiśa* Siṃhavarman whose 22nd regnal year corresponds to Saka year 380 (458 A. D.) according to the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

[5] Read तैत्तिरीय.

[6] Read °मासि.

[7] Paruvi is modern Parigi, 7 miles to the north of Hindupur in the Anantapur District, still noted for its tank. In early records, Parivi is mentioned as the capital of the Bāṇas, and, at the time of Choḷa Rājarāja I, it was the headquarters of the Parivai *nāḍu* in the Nulambapāḍi or Nolambavāḍi district.

[8] Read °विंशति-ख°. The actual measurements of *Kedāra* and *Khaṇḍukavāpa* are not known. Cf. *Keyār*, a land measure in the Sylhet District where 12 *K.*=1 *Hāl* (*Hala*). *Khaṇḍukas* of various weights (between 40 and 1280 maunds) are known.

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18 स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यन्दु × खमन्यार्त्थ-पाळनम् (।*)
दानं वा पाळनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपाळनम् (॥*) 2

19 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (।*)
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि घोरे तमसि वर्त्तते (॥*) 3

20 इति सुवर्ण्णकारार्य्य-पुत्रेण अपापेन लिखितेयन्ताम्र-पट्टिका ।(।*)
[A Symbol for *Siddham*?]

E—EARLY CHĀLUKYAS

No. 70A—Badami Rock Inscription of Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I)—

Śaka Year 465 (=543 A.D.)

BĀDĀMI, Bijapur District, Mysore State.
R.S. PANCHAMUKHI, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 4-9.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.
Metre: Verses 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) शक-वर्षेषु चतुश्शतेषु पञ्चषष्टियुतेषु[2]
2 अश्वमेधादि-यज्ञानां यज्वा श्रौत-विधानतः (।*)
3 हिरण्यगर्भ-सम्भूतश्चलिक्यो[3] वल्लभेश्वरः (॥*) 1
4 धराधरेन्द्र-वातापिमजेयम्भूतये[4] भुवः (।*)
5 अधस्तादुपरिष्टाच्च दुर्ग्गमेतदचीकरत् (॥*) 2

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[1] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind*

[2] This portion in prose is followed by verses.

[3] The other well-known forms of the family name is *Chalukya* and *Chālukya* For the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna*, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 50 ff.

[4] Pulakeśin I made Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi) his capital; but the description of his son Kīrtivarman I as the first maker of Vātāpi, as found in the Chiplun plates, would suggest that he had a large share in the construction of the city or fort.

F—PITṚIBHAKTAS[1]

No. 70B—Bobbili Copper-plate Inscription of Achaṇḍavarman—Regnal Year 4.

BOBBILI, Vizagapatam District, Andhra Pradesh.
R. K. GHOSHAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 33ff ; D. C. SIRCAR, *I.H.Q.*, XXIX, pp. 299-300 (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 1ff.)

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

First Plate : Second Side

1 १ँ[3] स्वस्ति (॥*) विजय-सिङ्ह(सिंह)पुरात्परमभागवत[ः] पितृपादानुद्ध्यात[ः]
2 कलिङ्गाधिपति-श्री-महाराजाचण्डवर्म्मा तिरित्थाणग्रामे सर्व्व-
3 समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः भोजकां[ं]श्च समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्येषो(ष) ग्रा[मो](ऽ*)-
4 स्माभिरात्मन[ः] पुण्यायुर्य्यँशसामभिवृद्धये [आ]-समु[द्रा]द्द(द्रि)-शसि(शि)-तारकार्क्क-
5 प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व्वँ-कर-परिहारैश्च परिहृत्य षट्त्रिंश(ट्त्रिंश)-

Second Plate : First Side

6 दग्रहार-सामान्यञ्चाग्रहार-प्रदेय(ं*) साम्ब(सांव)त्सरिकं स(प)णाग्रं(ग्र)-शतभु(द्व)-
7 यञ्चा(ं*)ग्रं[4] चोपनिबन्ध्यः(न्ध्य) [ति]रित्थाण-वाटकाग्रहार-ब्राह्मणानाम्

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[1] For this dynastic name and the history of this family of rulers, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 74-81. The name of the donor of this grant and of his Śālaṅkāyana namesake was formerly read wrongly as *Chaṇḍavarman*. But see now *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, p. 3.

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

[3] This is the *Siddham* symbol.

[4] The word *shaṭtriṁśat* (literally, 'thirtysix') has been used in the sense of 'all' in accordance with an Indian convention. The reference is to the custom prevalent in the Kaliṅga region, according to which even holdings declared to be revenue-free were liable to pay annually a nominal rent called in some records *triṇodaka* (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1952, pp.4ff.). That the *agrahāra-pradeya* (amount annually realisable from the *agrahāras* or free-holdings) was 200 *paṇas* is supported by another early inscription of the same region. *Paṇa* seems to mean either the small coin called *fanam* or a *paṇa* of cowries. The word *agra* may suggest payment in advance. Cf. the Brihatproshtha grant (lines 5-6) : दत्तयवागुभोगादुस्य

8 नाना-गा(गो)त्र-सब्रह्मचारिणाम्[1] सम्प्रत्तः (।*) तदेवं ज्ञात्वा

9 युष्माभिः पूर्व्वोचित-मर्य्यादया सर्व्वोपस्थान[ं] कर्त्तव्यम्

10 मेय-हिरण्याद्यश्चोपनेयम् (।*) भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो

Second Plate : Second Side

11 विज्ञाम(प)यामि (।*) धर्म्म-क्रम-विक्रमाणामन्यतम-योगा-

12 दवाप्य महीमनुशासताम् प्रवृत्तकमिदन्दानम्(नं)

13 सद्धर्म्ममनुपश्यद्भिरेषो(ऽ*)ग्रहारा(रोऽ)नुपाल्य(ः ।*)[2] अपि चात्र

14 व्यास-गीतानि(तान्) श्लोकानुदाहरन्तिः(न्ति ।)

बहुभिर्भद्रंवो[3] दत्ता वसुधा
15 [व]सुधाधिपैः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य[4] तद[।*] फलं(लम् ॥) 1

Third Plate : First Side

16 [स्व-द]त्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यत्नाद्रक्षस्व[5] युधिष्ठिर ।[6]
महीन्म(म्म)हिमतां श्रेष्ठ
17 [दानाच्छ्रेयो](ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम् ॥) 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भू-
18 मिद[ः] (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्यैव नरके वसेदिति[7] (॥*) 3

19 स्वयमाज्ञापना (।*) देशाक्षपटलाधिकृतेन मातृवरस्य

20 सूनुना रुद्रदत्तेन लिखितमितिः(ति ।) संवत्सर˙ चउतम[8] ४ ग्रीष्म २ दि ५[9] (॥*)

षट्विंशदग्रहारसामान्यङ्कृत्वा भोगसम्बन्ध-निर्व्वचनीयम्प्रत्तः, "[the gift land], having separated it from the Dantayavāgu division and having put it on a par with all other *agrahāras*, is given in such a way that its present relation to the subdivision should be always declared." The passage was misunderstood by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 5. See now, *ibid.*, XXX, p. 118, text line 15.

[1] Better read °ब्राह्मणेभ्यः....°ब्रह्मचारिभ्यः.

[2] I. e. "This *agrahāra*, which is a gift settled [by myself] should be maintained by those that keep true virtue in their mind out of the persons that rule the earth after having obtained possession of it by any one of the means such as right, inheritance and conquest". The passage was misunderstood by Hultzsch and later writers that followed him.

[3] Read °र्बहुधा or °र्वन्सवो (vocative).

[4] Read भूमिस्तस्य

[5] Read °द्रक्ष.

[6] The punctuation is indicated by a small curve. It is thus not impossible to think that the *visarga*-like sign in lines 13-14 was really intended to indicate double *daṇḍa*.

[7] Better read वसेत् ॥ 3 । इति ॥

[8] Read संवत्सरे चतुर्थे.

[9] *I.e.* ग्रीष्म-पक्षे द्वितीये दिवसे पञ्चमे = चैत्र-शुक्ल-पञ्चमी-दिवसे.

G—EASTERN GANGAS

No. 71—Jirjingi Copper-plate Inscription of Indravarman—Gaṅga Year 39 (=c. 535 A.D.)[1]

JIRJINGI, near Tekkali, Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh.
R. SUBBA RAO, *J. A. H. R. S.*, III, pp. 47ff; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, VII, pp. 229ff; R. K. GHOSHAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 286f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 नुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 १[3] स्वस्ति (॥*) अमरपुरप्रतिस्पर्द्धि-श्रीमद्दन्तपुराद्भगवतस्सकल-भु-

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[1] Some scholars refer to the reckoning as the Gaṅga-Kadamba era which is a misnomer. The Kadambas of Kaliṅga used the era as feudatories of the Gaṅgas. The commencement of the Gaṅga era is still a disputed problem; but there can be no doubt that it started from about 496 A. D., either from that very year or from some date in the next two years. A definite clue is given by the Santa Bommali plates (dated in the Gaṅga year 520 in the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman; *J. A. H. R. S.*, pp. 171f.) and the Mandasa plates (dated in शकाब्द(ब्दे) नवशतक-सप्तरश-सप्त(मिते) in the reign of Anantavarman, *ibid.*, V, pp. 272f) belonging to the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi. Scholars have rightly taken Anantavarman of both the grants to be the same person. But the Śaka date has been interpreted differently, as 900 + सप्त + रस = 900+7+6 = 913 by some and as 900+76 or 900+67 by others. The influence of Prakrit on the early Gaṅga records however seems to prove that सप्तरश is a mistake for Sanskrit सप्तदश (i.e. 17). As Anantavarman of the two records is apparently identical, Śaka 917=995 A.D. is a few years earlier than the Gaṅga year 520. The Gaṅga era thus started some years later than 995—520=475 A.D.. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1474, refers to a lunar eclipse on the Mārgaśīrsha paurṇamāsī in the Gaṅga year 128, i.e. 475 A. D.+128+x=603+x A. D. Now, lunar eclipse on Māgaśīrsha-pūrṇimā after this date occurred in A.D. 606 and 607, 624, 625, 626 and 643, etc. There are also references to solar eclipses in the Gaṅga years 154, 304, 351, etc. (*ibid.*, Nos. 1477, 1482, 1484). If the date Mārgaśīrsha-pūrṇima, Gaṅga year 128, be equated with the 30th November, 624 A.D., all the other dates are fairly satisfactorily explained. We therefore arrive at 496-97 A. D. as the initial year of the Gaṅga era. See *Ind. Int.*, LXV, pp. 237f; *Ind. Cult.*, IV, pp. 508f. It is possible that the Gaṅga era started from the first regnal year of king Indravarman of the Jirjingi plates. Mirashi favours 498 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 326ff.).

[2] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV.

[3] सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

2 वनतलोत्पत्ति-स्थिति-प्रलय-हेतोः[1] परमेश्वरस्य[2] सतत-प्रणा-

3 मावाप्तः[3] पुष्यसञ्चय-प्रभाव-निरस्ताशेषदुरितो गङ्गामल-कुल-

4 गगनतल-सहस्ररश्मिः अनेक-चातुर्द्दन्त-समर-विजय-[4]

5 विमल-विकोश-निस्त्रिङ्श[5]-धारा-समाक्रान्त-सकल-सामन्त-

6 नृपति-मण्डलाधिपतिः[6] मकुट-निहित-रुचिर-पद्मराग-

7 प्रभा-प्रसेक-परिष्वङ्ग-पिङ्गाङ्गीकृत-चरणयुगलः

Second Plate : First Side

8 अतुल-वल[7]-समुदयावाप्त-विपुलविभव-सम्पल्लता-

9 मण्डप-च्छाया-विश्रान्त ।[8] सुहृत्साधु-वा(बा)न्धवार्थि-जनः

10 माता-पितृ-पादानुद्ध्यातत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति[9]-श्रीमहा-

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[1] Dantapura is an old city, the early form of the name possibly being Dantakūra. Some scholars identify it with Ptolemy's Paloura, from Dravidian *pal* (tooth)+*ūr* (city). It is usually located at the site of modern Dantavaktra near Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh.

[2] Note that Śiva Gokarṇeśvara installed in a temple on the Mahendragiri peak is mentioned in the later records of the family as the tutelary deity of the Eastern Gaṅga kings.

[3] Read ०मावाप्त-पुण्य०. Parameśvara is Śiva.

[4] Chaturdanta is the name of Indra's Airāvata. As Indra is the guardian of the east, the reference may be to Indravarman's struggles with some eastern or north-eastern power. But the word is too often used in inscriptions to warrant such a suggestion.

[5] Read निस्त्रिंश.

[6] Read ०पति-मकुट०.

[7] Read बल. In this record, the sign for व has been usually employed for ब which has been used only twice.

[8] The punctuation mark after विश्रान्त is unnecessary.

[9] The title त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति was later used by the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III and a few of his successors. It was also used by the Somavaṃśī kings of South Kosala and the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. The unique instance of its use in a Chandella record is apparently due to the fact that the charter belongs to the Kauravas of Karkareḍi who were at first feudatories of the Kalachuris and afterwards of the Chandellas. The epithets of their previous Kalachuri overlords were tacitly applied in that record to the name of their new Chandella suzerain. It is possible that त्रिकलिङ्ग originally indicated a particular territory between Kaliṅga and South Kosala, which may have been conquered by Indravarman who thus called himself त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति. The original home of the Somavaṃśīs may have been in this country. The adoption of the title by the Kalachuris and the later Gaṅgas is possibly due to their success against the Somavaṃśīs or their encroachment into Somavaṃśī territory. Trikaliṅga may also indicate the eastern, central and western parts of Kaliṅga, or Kaliṅga, Utkala and Kosala, or may be a technical name of Kaliṅga with Koṅgoda and Utkala or Kosala (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1956); but in that case it is

11 राजेन्द्रवर्म्मा ।[1] वोड्डुर-भोग-संम्बद्ध[2]-जिज्जिकग्रामे ।[1]
12 सर्व्वंसमवेतान्कुटुम्बिन(ः*) समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्ययं ग्रामो-
13 (ऽ*)स्माभिर्व्विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्राय त्तैत्तिरीय-सब्रह्मचारिणे[3]

Second Plate : Second Side

14 रुद्रस्वामि-सूनवे अग्निस्वामिने तत्तनुजाय च रुद्रस्वामिने
15 संविभज्यार्द्धंनासमुद्राद्रि-शशि-तारकार्क्क-प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा
16 स्वपुण्यायूर्य्यंशो-वल-वर्द्धनार्त्थं(ं*)[4] माता-पित्रोश्च पुण्यावाप्त-
17 ये ।[1] सर्व्वं-कर-परिहारै(ः*) ।[1] परिहृत्य चायं ग्रामः
18 प्रत्तः (।*) तद्देवं भवद्भिः पूर्व्वोचित-मर्य्यादयोपस्थेयम्[5] (।*)
19 भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो विज्ञापयामि । धर्म्म-क्रम-विक्रमा-

Third Plate

20 णामन्यतम-योगादवाप्त-भूमण्डलाधिराज्यैरपि मा[6]
21 महीमनुशासद्भि × क्रमागतं दानमी(मि)त्यनुपालनीयम् ॥
22 अपि च श्लोकौ भवतः ॥
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तांम्वा[7] ।[1] यत्नाद्रक्ष
23 युधिष्ठिर (।*)
मही(ं*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ ।[1] दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) 1

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difficult to explain why other equally powerful Gaṅga kings do not use the title. Moreover, in the records of the Eastern Chālukyas of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., their kingdom Veṅgī deśa is called *Tri.al.ṅya-sahita* or *Trikaliṅg-ā'avī-yukta*. This suggests that Trikaliṅga was not far from the Veṅgī country. As the Kākatīyas of the Telugu country do not use it, त्रिकलिङ्ग seems to be quite different from त्रिलिङ्ग (Telengana). Triliṅga appears also to have been originally a district (in the southern part of the present Andhra country according to some authorities; see *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 40), the geographical connotation of which afterwards expanded so as to include the whole of the Telugu-speaking area.

[1] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] Read संबद्ध. Jijjika is modern Jirjiṅgi.

[3] Read तैत्ति॰ and सब्रह्म॰

[4] Read पुण्यायु॰ and बल.

[5] उपस्थेय=उपसेव्य, पूज्य (to be honoured).

[6] This *akshara* is redundant.

[7] Read ॰त्तां वा.

24 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद(:*) ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुम-
25 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
प्रवर्द्धमान-सं ३० (+*) ९[1] वैशाख-दि २० (+*) १ ।
26 लिखितमिदं महाराज्ञो[2] सान्धिविग्रहीक-देवसिङ्घदेवेनेति ॥[3]

H—KINGS OF ŚARABHAPURA

No. 71A—Pīpardūlā Copper-plate Inscription of Narendra—Regnal Year 3

Pīpardūlā, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh.
D. C. Sircar and L. P. Pandeya, *I.H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 139ff.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet of the 5th or 6th century A.D.
Metre: Verses 1-3 ो क अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[4]

Seal

1 खड्गधारा-जित-भुवः शर[भात्प्रा]प्त-जन्मनः (।*)
2 नृपतेश्श्री-नरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपु-शासिन[:*] (॥*)[5] 1

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[1] This date was originally read as year 389 by Subba Rao.

[2] Properly महाराजस्य, See *supra*, Bk. II, No. 9, notes.

[3] Read °ग्रहिक-देवसिंह°, See p. 377, note 4.

[4] See the facsimile in *I.H.Q.*

[5] The sixth syllable of tho first quarter is short. Śarabha, father of Narendra, was probably the same as the maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died in 510 A.D. (above, No. 38). Both the father and the son appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. For the history of the kings of Śarabhapura, see the *Classical Age*, pp. 219ff *Paramabhāgavata* Narendra also issued his Kurud plates in the year 24 of his reign from his residence at Tilakeśvara (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 263ff.). It is stated that the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (apparently the Gupta emperor) granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa by a charter written on palmyra leaves which were destroyed by a conflagration in the donee's house. Narendra therefore issued the grant in favour of the original donee's son for the merit of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* to whom he may have then owed nominal allegiance.

First Plate : Second Side

1 १[1] स्वस्ति (॥*) शरभपुरान्महाराज-श्री-नरेन्द्रः
2 नन्दपुर-भोगीय-शर्क्करापद्रके[2] ब्राह्मणा-
3 दीन्प्रतिवासि-कुटुम्बिनो बोधयति (।*)
4 एष ग्रामो राहुदेवेन[3] स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्ध-
5 ये ब्राह्मण-वाजसनेय[4]-आत्रेयसगोत्र-

Second Plate : First Side

6 स्वामिष्पाय[5] ताम्रशासनेनातिसृष्टो मया-
7 पि च अ-चाट-भट-प्रावेश्य इत्यनुमोदितो
8 यतो भवद्भिरस्य यथाकालं मेय-
9 हिरण्यादीनां प्रत्यायानामुपनयः
10 कर्त्तव्यः (।*) भविष्यतश्च भोगपतीनभिनन्दयति

Second Plate : Second Side

11 पूर्व्व-दत्तेरनुपालनाच्छ्रेयसा सम्बन्धः आ-
12 च्छेदाच्च प्रत्यपा(वा)य इत्यनुप्रपश्यद्भिर्भवद्भि-
13 रस्य ग्रामस्यानुपालनं कर्त्तव्यम् (॥*)
14 व्यास-गीतौ चात्र श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति ।
पूर्व्व-
15 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)

Third Plate : First Side

16 महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ।दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनम् (॥*) 2
17 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः (।*)
18 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके

---

[1] This is the symbol for *Siddham*.

[2] Possibly the names are preserved in modern Nandgaon and Sākrā in the old Sarangarh State.

[3] Rāhudeva, the actual donor, was apparently a subordinate of king Narendra. According to the legal procedure of ancient India, when one granted land out of his *jāgīr* or of an area purchased from the king, the latter had to sanction the creation of a rent-free holding. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 50ff.

[4] Read ॰सनेयात्रेय॰.

[5] Sanskrit स्वाम्यात्मनि.

19 वसे(त् ॥*) 3

प्रवर्द्धमान-त्रि(तृ)तीय-वर्षस्य मार्ग्गशि-

20 र-मास-दिवसे दशमे (।*) उत्कीर्ण्णा[1] श्रीदत्तेनेति (॥*)

J—VIGRAHAS

No. 71B—Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Prithivivigraha-bhattaraka—Gupta Year 250 (=569 A.D.)

SUMANDALA, old Khallikot State, Ganjam District, Orissa.

S. N. RAJAGURU, *Manoramā*, I, i, pp. 17-24; D. C. SIRCAR *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 79ff.

Language: Sanskrit.
Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre: Verses 1-4 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

First Plate : Second Side

1 ९ँ[3] स्वस्ति (।*) चतुरुदधिमेखलायां सद्वीप-पर्व्वत-सरित्पत्त[न*]-

2 भूषणायाम्व(यां व)सुन्धरायाम्व(यां व)र्त्तमान-गुप्त-राज्ये[4] वर्षशत-द्वये

3 पञ्चाशदुत्तरे कलिङ्गराष्ट्रमनुशासति श्री-पृथिवीविग्रह-

4 भट्टारके तत्पादानुध्यातः पद्मखोल्यां महाराजोभयान्वयो[5]

5 व(ब)प्पदेव्यामुत्पन्न-तनुः सहस्ररश्मि-पाद-भक्तो महाराज-धर्म्मरा-

6 जः कुशली परक्खलमार्ग्ग-विषये वर्त्तमान-भविष्यत्साम[न्त]-

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[1] Read उत्कीर्णा [पट्टिका] or उत्कीर्णं [शासनं].

[2] From the original plate and impressions.

[3] This is the *Siddham* symbol.

[4] This shows that, even though the Guptas had been ousted before this date from Bihar and U. P. by the Maukharis, they were continuing their hold on Bengal and Orissa. There are two conflicting Jain traditions giving the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and 255 years and pointing to its extinction respectively about 550 A.D. and 574 A.D. The first of these may refer to the extirpation of the Guptas from Bihar and U.P. and the second from Bengal and Orissa. See *Jadunath Sarkar Presentation Volume*, ed. H. R. Gupta, II, pp. 343ff.

[5] The name of the ancestor (father ?) of Dharmarāja is *Ubhaya* which may be the contraction of a name like *Ubhayachara*.

Second Plate : First Side

7 महाराज-राजपुत्त्र-कुमारामात्त्योपरिक-तदायुक्तक-दाण्डवासिक[1]-स्थान[ा]-

8 न्तरिकानन्याङ्श्च(न्यांश्च) वल्लभजातीयान्राज-पादोपजीविनो व्य[व]हारिविषे(ष)-

9 यिकाङ्श्च(कांश्च) यथार्हम्मानयत्यादिशति च (।*) विदितमस्तु वो य[थ]ा-

10 स्माभिः माघ-कृष्णस्यैकादश्यामुत्तरायणे एतद्विषय-सं

11 [ह्विव्टा[2]र्डा] कसुवाडाकग्रामश्चन्दनवाटक-सहितो ऽ·)ग्रहारीकृत्य ह्रोम्व(म्ब)काग्र-

12 हारीय-ब्राह्मगोपाध्याय-भट्टस्वामि-प्रमुखानां नाना-गोत्त्र-चरणा-

Second Plate : Second Side

13 नां वृत्ताध्ययनवतां ब्राह्मणानां ना)माचन्द्रार्क्क-सम-काल-स्थित्या ताम्र-[प]-

14 ट्टाभिलिखितः सर्व्व-कर-पीडा-वर्ज्जितः सोद्देशः सोपरिकरः मा[ता]-

15 पित्त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये प्रतिग्रहेण प्रतिपादितः (।*)

16 तदेषास्मद्दत्तिर्ध्धर्म्म-गौरवात्परिपालनीयेति । उक्तञ्च धर्म्म-

17 शास्त्रे ।

व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)

यस्य यस्य य-

दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम् ।) 1

18 षष्टिम्व(ष्टिं व)र्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति

Third Plate : First Side

19 भूमिदः (।*)

आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं(के) वसेत् ।(।*) 2

मा भूदफ-

[3]ल-शङ्का वः पर-दत्तेति पार्थिवाः (।*)

20 स्व-दानात्फलमानन्त्यं पर-दा-

नानुपालनं(ने) ।(।*) 3

21 स्वदत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।

स्व-विष्ठा-

---

[1] The same as ॰पाश्रिक.

[2] Read संबद्धा॰.

[3] Another *la* was written and rejected before this letter.

22 यां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ।(।*) 4
लिखिताधिकरणि-
23 क-द[ा]सुकेन । लक्षणस्वामिना[1]
24 तापितमिति ॥[2]

---

[1] The name may be *Lakshmaṇa*°.

[2] This inscription has to be read along with the Kanās plate of Lokavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka (Gupta year 280=599 A.D.), the Soro (Gupta year 260=579 A.D.) and Patiakella (Gupta year 283=602 A.D.) plates of Śambhuyaśas of the Māna dynasty and Mudgala *gotra* and the records of Śaśāṅka and his feudatories. The Vigrahas originally owed allegiance to the Guptas but later ruled independently over Orissa (comprising Northern Kaliṅga and the old Utkala country). Their kingdom became known as Tosalī probably after their capital at modern Dhauli. Soon the Māṇas, probably living in the Mānbhūm-Mayurbhanj region and belonging to the Oḍra tribe, ousted the Vigrahas and established their rule over Orissa which became famous as Oḍra from this time. The Māna rule was extirpated from Orissa by the Gauḍas. The word *tāpita* refers to heating the plates for affixing the seal.

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—Burma

No. 72—Maunggun Gold-plate Inscriptions

MAUNGGUN, Prome District.[1]

MAUNG TUN NYEIN, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 101.

Language: Pāli.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 6th century A.D.[2]

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या.

TEXT[3]

No. 1

1 १ँ (?)[4]

ये धम्मा हेतु-पभवा तेस(ं*) हेतु तथागतो आह (।*)
तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महासमनो ति (॥*) 1[5]
इति पि सो भगवा अरहं

---

[1] The ancient name of Prome was Sirikhettara = Śrikshetra.

[2] Maung Tun Nyein believed that the characters used in these plates were in vogue during the first century A.D. This is certainly wrong. Elsewhere however he says, "The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions at Pagan of the ourth and fifth centuries A.D. and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets."[2]

[3] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, V.

[4] The decipherment of the first sign in No. 1 and the first two or three signs in No. 2 are not quite beyond doubt. Maung Tun Nyein only gives two *daṇḍas* at the beginning of the inscriptions. His Nos. 1 and 2 are here represented as Nos. 2 and 1, respectively.

[5] Read हेतुं and ०वादी. This is the most popular Buddhist formula. Sometimes in Sanskrit we have ह्यवदत् in place of आह. महासमणो = बुद्ध. एवंवादी = holding this doctrine. हेतुप्पभवा धम्मा = conditions originated from a cause. The formula refers to the fundamental tennets of the doctrine of the Buddha; for its interpretation, see *infra*. No. 73, verse 2; for the four noble truths which are related to the formula, see *infra*, p. 495, note 1

2 सम्मा-संबुद्धो विज्जाचरणसम्पन्नो सुगतो लोकविदु अनुत्तरो पुरिस-दम्म-सारथि सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा ति (।*)

3 स्वाख्यातो भगवता धम्मो सन्दिट्ठिको अकालिको एहिपस्सिको ओपणायिको[1] पच्चत्तं वेदितब्बो विञ्ञूहीति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।
तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

इति अपि (=एवमपि=एतस्मात् कारणात्) सः भगवान्—अर्हन्, सम्यक्संबुद्धः, विद्याचरणसम्पन्नः सुगतः, लोकविद्, अनुत्तरः, पुरुष-दम्य-सारथिः (=नररूपाणां वृषाणां नियन्ता), शास्ता देवमनुष्याणां, बुद्धः भगवान् इति [विश्रुतः] । स्वाख्यातः (=सुष्ठु व्याख्यातः) भगवता धर्म्मः—सान्दृष्टिकः (=दृष्टिगोचरः), अकालिकः (=सार्वकालिकः), +ऐहिपश्यिकः (=असङ्कुचितः), औपनयिकः (=निर्वाण-सम्पादकः), प्रत्युक्तं (=सौक्ष्म्येण) वेदितव्यः विज्ञैः इति ॥

No. 2

1 [१ँ स्वस्ति ?] (।*)
ये धम्मा हेतु-पभवा तेसं हेतु तथागतो आह (।*)
तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महसमनो ति (॥*) 1
चत्तारो इद्धिपादा

2 चत्तारो सम्मप्पधाना चत्तारो सति-पट्ठाना चत्तारि अरिय-सच्चानि चतु-वेसरज्जानि पञ्चिन्द्रियाणि पञ्च चक्खूनि छ

3 असद्धारणानि[2] सत्त वोज्झङ्गा अरियो अट्ठिङ्गिको[3] मग्गो नव लोकुत्तरा धम्मा दस बलानि चुद्दस बुद्ध-कोनि[4] अट्ठारस बुद्ध-धम्मानि (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ ये धर्म्माः हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।
तेषां च यः निरोधः एदंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

---

[1] Read ओपनयिको.

[2] It has been corrected to असाधारणानि [ञानानि]. If this suggestion is accepted, they would no doubt refer to the six *abhijñās* (supernatural knowledge of an Arhat) which are (1) the different magical powers, (2) the divine ear, (3) knowledge of the thoughts of others and (4) of former existences, (5) the divine eye, and (6) the knowledge that causes the destruction of human passion.

[3] Read अट्ठङ्गिको.

[4] Read °योनि

[तेन च महाश्रमणेन व्याख्यातानि]—चत्वारि ऋद्धिपादानि, चत्वारि सम्यक्प्रधानानि, चत्वारि स्मृत्युपस्थानानि, चत्वारि आर्य-सत्यानि, चत्वारि वैशारद्यानि, पञ्च इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च चक्षूंषि, षट् असाधारणानि [ज्ञानानि], सप्त बोध्यङ्गानि, आर्यः आष्टाङ्गिकः मार्गः, नव लोकोत्तराः धर्म्माः, दश बलानि, चतुर्द्दश बुद्धयोनयः, अष्टादश बुद्ध-धर्म्माः ॥[1]

No. 72A—Vesālī Stone Slab Inscription of the time of Nītichandra

VESĀLĪ, near Mrohaung, Akyab District, Arakan.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 108-09.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या.

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[1] The 4 *iddhipādas*, by which *iddhi* is attained, are *chhando* (determination), *viriyaṃ* (exertion), *chittaṃ* (preparation of the heart) and *vimaṃsā* (investigation). The 4 *sammā-padhānas* are exertion (1) to prevent sinful conditions arising, (2) to put away sinful states already existing, (3) to produce meritorious states not yet in existence, and (4) to retain meritorious conditions already existing. The 4 *satipaṭṭhānas* are meditation (1) on the impurity of the body, (2) on the evils of sensations, (3) on the evanescence of thought, and (4) on the condition of existence. The 4 sublime truths are (1) *duhkhaṃ* (suffering), (2) *duhkha-samudayaṃ* (cause of suffering), (3) *duhkha-nirodhaṃ* (cessation of suffering), and (4) *duhkhanirodha gāminī paṭipadā* (the path leading to the cessation of suffering). For a Buddha's 4 *vesārajjas* (subjects of confidence or fearlessness), see p. 423, note 5. The five *indriyas* (qualities) are *saddhindriyaṃ* (faith), *viriyin°* (energy), *satin°* (recollection), *samādhin°* (contemplation) and *paññin°* (wisdom). The 5 *chakkhus* (kinds of vision) are *maṃsa-chakkhu* (human eye), *dibba°* (divine eye), *paññā°* (eye of wisdom), *samanta°* (eye of universal knowledge). and *buddha°* (the eye of a Buddha). Six *asādhāraṇas* are noticed above, p. 494, note 3. The 7 requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha are recollection, investigation, energy, joy, calm, contemplation and equanimity. For the sublime eightfold path, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 101, notes. The *lokuttaradhammas* (transcendent conditions) are the 4 *maggas* (noble paths), the 4 *phalas* (fruitions of the paths) and Nirvāṇa. The ten *balas* or forces belonging to a Buddha consist of his comprehension in ten fields of knowledge; sometimes they are given as consisting in the knowledge of the *paṭichchasamuppāda*. The 14 *buddha-yonis* (requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood) are however not enumerated in the lexicons: but a Buddha's *ñāna* is sometimes referred to as 14 in number. The 18 *buddhadhammas* (conditions or attributes of a Buddha) are the same as the *āveṇika-dhammas* (p. 423, note 7) which are (1) seeing all things, past, (2) present and (3) future; (4) propriety of actions of the body, (5) speech, and (6) thought; (7) firmness of intention, (8) memory, (9) *samādhi*, (10) energy, (11) contemplation, (12) and wisdom; (13) freedom from fickleness, (14) noisiness, (15) confusedness, (16) hastiness, (17) heedlessness and (18) inconsiderateness.

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TEXT[1]

1 ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतु तेषां तथाग[त]

2 आह (।*)

तेषां च यो निरोधो(ध) एवंवादि(दी) [म]हाश्रमण[:] (॥*) 1

3 श्री[नीतिचन्द्र]स्य चन्द्रवत्पर्छी[नास्य][2] देवी(व्याः) सावीतां-

4 चन्द्रश्री(श्रि)या-नाम-परे(र)[मो]पासिकस्य[3]

5 देय्य[4]-धर्म्मो(ऽ*)यंम्[5] सर्व्वसत्वा(त्त्वा)नां(ना)मनुत(त्त)म[6]

No. 72B—Vesali Stone Slab Inscription of Virachandra

VESĀLĪ, near Mrohaung, Akyab District, Arakan.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 9-10

Language : Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the close of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक)

TEXT[1]

1 सत्यधर्म्मान(नु)रागेणं कृतं स्वार्थेण(न) भूभुजा (।*)

2 [प]रार्थघटनोद्योग-सम्यङ्नि(ङ्नि)हित-चेति(त)सा (॥* 1

3 श्री-वीरचन्द्रदेवेण(न) महीमण्डलमण्डनं(नम् ।)

4 धर्म्माधिगतराज्येण(न) बुद्धस्तूपशत(तं) [कृतं(तम्)] (॥*) 2

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[1] See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII.

[2] Probably प्रार्थ्यमानस्य is intended.

[3] Read ०सिकायाः.

[4] This is the Pāli form of Sanskrit देय.

[5] Omit the final म् which is redundant.

[6] The word ज्ञानाय seems to have broken away after this.

B—MALAYSIA

No. 73—Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Buddhagupta

NORTHERN DISTRICT, Wellesley Province, Malay Peninsula.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XVII, ii, p. 71; J. W. LAIDLAY, *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 247, Plate X; H. KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, pp. 255 ff.; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II (Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 5), p. 7; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. B., L.*, I, pp. 14ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

ये धर्म्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेषा(ं*) हेतु(ं*) तथागतो[2] (।*)
तेषा(ं*) च यो निरोध एव(ं*)वादी महाश्रमण(ः*) (॥*) 1
अज्ञानाच्चीयते कर्म जन्मनः कर्म कारणम् (।*)
ज्ञानान्न क्रि(ची?)यते कर्म्म कर्म्माभावान्न जायते (॥*) 2
महानाविक[स्य] बुद्धगुप्तस्य रक्तमृत्तिका[3]-वास[4]......

---

[1] From the partial facsimile in *J. R. A. S. B., L.*, I, and transcripts. The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. Kern assigned the inscription to *circa* 400 A. D. on palaeographic grounds.

[2] Read ०भवास्तेषां ; and तथागतो ह्यवदत् to suit the metre. The formula is also found in the Keda inscription (*India and Java, loc. cit.*).

[3] Scholars have rejected Kern's indentification of this place with Chih-tu (meaning 'red earth' in Chinese), which is usually located in Siam. It is now generally believed that रक्तमृत्तिका is to be identified with the *Vihāra* called Lo-to-mo-chi (=Pāli *Rattamattikā*=Sanskrit *Raktamṛittikā*) which Hiuen-tsang found near Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of king Saśāṅka of Gauḍa. Hiuen-tsang's Lo-to-mo-chi has been identified with a place called Rāṅgāmāṭi (litterally, 'red earth'), 12 miles to the south of Murshidābād, West Bengal. See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 82f. A clay seal of the Raktamṛittikā monastery has been recently unearthed from a site near Rāṅgāmāṭi.

[4] The reading intended is possibly ०वास्तव्यस्य दानम्. महानाविक=captain of a महानौ or ship.

C—BORNEO

Nos. 74-75—Kutei Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman

Muara Kaman (on the Mahakam river), KUTEI State, East Borneo, now in Malaysia.

KERN, *V. G.*, VII, pp. 62, 64; VOGEL, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXXIV, pp. 167-232; LXXVI, p. 431; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 18; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S., L.*, I, pp. 38ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about th th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 and 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

No. I

1 श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य

2 कूण्डुङ्गस्य महात्मनः (।*)

3 पुत्तो(ऽ*)श्ववर्म्मो[2] विख्यातः

4 वङ्‌-कर्त्ता यथाङ्‌मान्[3] (॥*) 1
श शु

5 तस्य पुत्ता महात्मानः

6 त्रयस्त्रय इवाग्नयः (।*)

7 तेषान्त्रयाणाम्प्रवरः

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[1] From the eye-copies in *V. G.*, VII. Out of the 4 *Yūpa* inscriptions, we give the text of two only. For the text of another of the four, see p. 499, note 1. Kern proposed 400 A. D. as the approximate date of the Kutei inscriptions. The un-Sanskritic name of Mūlavarman's grandfather suggests that these were indigenous princes of the Malay race, who adopted Indian culture and religion. The equation Kūṇḍuṅga=Kauṇḍinya is probable.

[2] Read ०वर्म्मा विख्यातो. Note also that the record does not observe the rules of *sandhi* at the end of the first and third *pādas* in line 5 (०त्मानस्त्रय०), line 7 (वरस्तपो०) and line 11 (यूपोयं द्वि०). The fifth syllable is often long (cf. V. 1, *pāda* 3; V. 2, *pāda* 3; V. 3, *pāda* 1) though it is required to be short according to some authorities.

[3] Read वंश and यथांशु०.

8 तपो-बल-दमान्वितः (॥*) 2
-मूलवर्म्मा राजेन्द्रो
10 यष्ट्वा बहुसुवर्णकम्[1] (।*)
11 तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्(यं)
12 द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः (॥*) 3

No. 2

1 श्रीमतो नृप-मुख्यस्य
2 राज्ञ(:*) श्री-मूलवर्म्मणः (।*)
3 दानं[2] पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे
4 यद्दत्तम्वप्रकेश्वरे[3] (॥*) 1
5 द्विजातिभ्यो(ऽ*)ग्निकल्पेभ्यः[4]
6 विङ्तिर्ग्गोसहस्त्रिकम् (।*)
श
7 तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्(यं)
8 कृतो विप्रैरिहागतै[:*] (॥*) 2

N.B.—The following three more *Yūpa* inscriptions, recently discovered at Kutei, are now preserved in the Djakarta Museum (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel LXXXIII, 1946, pp. 370 ff.).

A.—जयत्यतिब[लः*] श्रीमान्श्री-मूळवर्म्म-भू[पतिः*] (।*)
यस्य ळिखितानि दानान्यस्मिन्महति [स्थानके] (॥*)
जळधेनुङ्घृतधे[नुं*] कपिळादानन्तथैव ति[ळदानम्*] (।*)
वृषभैकादशम[पि यो*](ऽ*)दत्ता(दद्) विप्रेषु राजेन्द्र[*:] (॥*)

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[1] बहुसुवर्णं has been taken to mean a सोम sacrifice. One would expect to have in it a महादान like कल्पवृक्ष and गोसाहस्रिक of the other two *Yūpa* inscriptions of Mūlavarman. But it is not found in the general list of the 16 *mahā-dānas*. The inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 60) referring to the Kalpavṛiksha reads श्रीमद्विराजकीर्त्तेः राज्ञ(:*) श्रीमूलवर्म्मणः पुण्यम् । शृण्वन्तु विप्रमुख्य:(ख्या) ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(ा*)ः॥ बहुदानजीवदानम् सकल्पवृक्षं सभूमि-दानञ्च । तेषाम्पुण्यगणानाम्(नां) यूपो(ऽ*)यं स्थापितो विप्रैः ॥ (Metre : आर्या).

[2] Kern : जा(?)त.

[3] Read दत्तं वप्र°. Vaprakeśvara was apparently the name of a god (Śiva?), which was also applied to the locality where his temple was situated.

[4] Read °कल्पेभ्यो विंशति-गोसा°.

Kern : °कल्पस्य विङ्तिर्गो°. The 5th syllable should have been short and 6th long according to some.
श

B.—श्रीमूलवर्म्मणा राज्ञा यद्दत्तन्तिळ-पर्व्वतम् (।*)
स(सु)दीप-मालया सार्द्धं यूपो(ऽ*)यं लिखितस्तयोः (॥*)

C.—श्रीमूळवर्म्मा राजेन्द्र(ः*) सम(व*)जित्य पार्त्थिं[वान्] (।*)
करदां(दान्) नृपतींश्चक्र यथा राजा युधिष्ठिरः (॥*)
चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणि स ददौ वप्प्रकेश्वरे (।*)
घा * * * * * त्रिंशत्सहस्राणि पुनर्द्ददौ (॥*)
* * * * मालां स पुनर्जीव-दानं प्रि(पृ)थग्विधम् (।*)
आकाशदीपं धर्म्मात्मा पार्त्थिवेन्द्र(ः*) स्वके पुरे (॥*)
* * * * * * * * * * * * महात्मना (।*)
यूपो(ऽ*)यं स्था[पितो] विप्रैर्न्नानादेशादिहा[गतैः*] (॥*)

Jaladhenu and *ghṛitadhenu* are apparently names of gifts like *Ratnadhenu*, etc., mentioned in the list of the sixteen *Mahādānas* (see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 50). *Ākāśadīpa* (a lighted lamp attached to the top of a pole) is raised in honour of Vishṇu or Lakshmī in the month of Kārttika. See the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.; also Apte's *Sans. Eng. Dictionary*, s.v.

D—JAVA (Indonesia)

No. 76—Jambu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman

JAMBU Rock, West Java.

KERN, *V.G.*, VII, p. 6; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-25; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, p. 25.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class cf the 5th or 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 स्रग्धरा.

TEXT[1]

1 श्रीमान्दाता[2] कृतज्ञो नरपतिरसमो यः पुरा [ता]रुमाया (ं*)[3]
नाम्ना श्री-पूर्णवर्म्मा प्रचुर-रिपुशराभेद्य-विख्यात-वर्म्मा (।*)[4]

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[1] From the eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII. The characters which are box-headed are almost identical with and only a little more developed than those used in the records of Mūlavarman. A close affinity between the script of these records with the alphabet (wrongly called *grantha*) used by the Pallava kings in their records has been noticed; but the contemporary epigraphs of the Pallavas, Kadambas, Western Gaṅgas and others are written in the same Late Southern Brāhmī or Early Telugu-Kanaḍa. If Mūlavarman's records are to be assigned to c. 400 A. D., the records of Pūrṇavarman may be assigned roughly to the second half of the 5th century A. D. Kern suggests the date 450 A. D. It is not known whether Pūrṇavarman was an Indian, or an indigenous prince of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion as well as a Sanskritic name.

[2] Kern : ॰म्पाता.

[3] Read ॰मायां. Tārumā (also called Tāruma) was apparently the capital of Pūrṇavarman. Some scholars believe that the Ci-tarum river has preserved the name of Tārumā.

[4] There is a pair of foot-prints engraved near the inscription. Cf. the Ci-arutön Rock inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 5) engraved near the representation of foot-prints. It runs :

विक्रान्तस्यावनिपतेः श्रीमतः पूर्णवर्म्मणः ।
तारुम-नगरेन्द्रस्य विष्णोरिव पद-द्वयम् ॥

The king was apparently deified and his foot-prints were worshipped by the people, as those of the Buddha and of Vishṇu were worshipped in India. According to Vogel (*Op. cit.*, pp. 16-21), the foot-prints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman. He suggests that the Ci-arutön rock marks the spot of the king's cremation and that the foot-prints of the dead king were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies. Stutterheim (*B. K. N. I.*, LXXXIX, pp. 288f.) believes that the foot-prints are a symbol of the king's supremacy over the land. It is also interesting to note that the Kebon Kopi rock has the representation of two elephant's foot-prints and the following verse inscribed near them :

* * जय-विशालस्य तारुमे[न्द्र]स्य ह[स्ति]नः ।
* * [ऐरा*]वताभस्य विभातीदम्पद-द्वयम् ॥

All the three records lie close to one another in the hilly country called Buitenzorg which was up till the Japanese occupation of Java during World War II the residence of the Governor General of Dutch East India. The lost letters of the verse may be conjecturally restored as भुवि and राज्ञः. The reference seems to be to another king of Tārumā, whose name was Hastin.

2 तस्येदम्पादविम्ब[1]-द्वयमरिनगरोत्सादने नित्यदक्षम्
भक्तानां यन्द्रिपानाम्भवति[2] सुखकर(ं*) शल्य-भूतम्[3] रिपूणाम् (॥*) 1

No. 77—Tugu Rock Inscription of Pūraṇavarman

—Regnal Year 22

Tugu Rock, to the east of Tanjong Priok (the port of Batavia), West Java; now in the Batavia (Jakarta) Museum.

Kern, *V. G.*, VII, p. 131f.; Vogel, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, p. 32; N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 26

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th or 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[4]

1 पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा[5] पीन-बाहुना (।*)
[खा]ता ख्यातां पुरी(ं*) प्राप्य
2 चन्द्रभागार्ण्णव(ं*) ययौ ॥ 1
प्रवर्द्धमान-द्वाविङ्द्वत्सर[6] श्री-गुणौजसा (।*)
श
नरेन्द्र-ध्वज-भूतेन

---

[1] The word *vimba* (*bimba*) here means 'a representation'.

[2] Read यन्नृपा॰.

[3] Read भूतं.

[4] From the partial eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII, and transcripts.

[5] गुरु has been taken in the sense of 'the father'. चन्द्रभागा, name of the cannal excavated. by the king's father, and गोमती, that of the other excavated by the king himself, possibly point to a North Indian element in the Indian influence on the old culture of Java. The first was named after the Chandrabhāgā = modern Chenāb (in the Punjab) whose older name was Aśikni. गोमती (line 4) was named after either the river Gomatī = modern Gumāl, the western tributary of the Indus, or Gomatī = modern Gumtī which joins the Ganges on its left bank below Banaras. The title *Rājādhirāja* also exhibits North Indian influence.

[6] Read ॰विंशे वत्सरे. The 5th syllable is required to be short according to some.

3 श्रीमता पूर्ण्ण वर्म्मणा ॥ 2
प्रारभ्य फाल्गुन[1]-मासि खाता कृष्णाष्टमी-तिथौ (॥*)
चैत्र-शुक्ल-त्रयोदश्याम्[2] दिनैस्सिद्धैकविङ्के[:*][3] (॥*) 3[4]
श

4 आयता षट्हस्रेण धनुषा[ं] स-शतेन च (।*)
स
द्वाविङ्गेन[5] नदी रम्या गोमती निर्म्मलोदका ॥ 4
श
पितामहस्य राजर्षेर्व्विंदाय्यँ शिविरावनि[म्] (।*)
5 ब्राह्मणैर्ग्गोसहस्रेण[6] प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणः[7] ॥ 5

E—CHAMPĀ (South Annam)

No. 78—Vo-canh Rock Inscription

Vo-canh (pronounced *Vo-kañh*), Khánh-Hoà District of Annam, North Viet-nam (former French Indo-China).

A. Bergaine, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, No. XX, pp. 16-18 (196-98); Finot., *B. E. F. E. O.*, XV, No. 2, p. 3; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 1f.; B. Ch. Chhabra, *J. R. A. S. L.*, I, pp. 45f.; D. C. Sircar, *J. G. I. S.*, VI, pp. 57f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVII, pp. 107f.; G. Coedès, *ibid.*, XVI, pp. 484ff.

---

[1] Better read फाल्गुने.

[2] Read ॰दश्यां.

[3] Read ॰विंश॰

[4] This verse shows that the मास recognised was अमान्त as in South India, and not पूर्णिमान्त as in the North.

[5] Read ॰विंशे॰. 1 *dhanus*=4 *hastas* or cubits: 6122 *dhanuses*=24488 cubits=12244 yard=a little less than 7 miles. Note that the canal of this length was excavated in 21 days.

[6] गोसहस्र is the name of a महादान.

[7] Read दच्चिणैः. The meaning seems to be that the canal was consecrated by a gift of *go-saharra* to the Brāhmaṇas. ख्यातां पुरीं प्राप्य in line 1 may indicate that the canal started from the capital city.

[8] The ancient kingdom of Champā roughly corresponded to the southern portion of he modern region of Annam in the eastern part of the Indo Chinese peninsula. The name may have been an Indianised form of the original name of the indigenous people who are

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (but actually of a little later date).[1]

Metre: Verses 1-2, can not be determined, but may be some metre like शिखरिणी; Vv. 3-4 वसन्ततिलका; V. 5 शार्दूल-विक्रीडित.

TEXT[2]

1-5 ....

6 .... प्रजानाङ्करुणा ... ...

7 प्रथम-विजय ... ... (॥*) 1-2

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — ⏑

8 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [पौ*]र्णम(ा*)स्याम् (पूर्णमस्याम् ?) ।

आज्ञापितं सदसि राज-वरेण [लोकाः ?]

[सामन्त ?]राज-गण-

---

now called Cham, the Indianization having been influenced by the name of the Indian city of Champā, capital of the Aṅga *janapada* (modern Monghyr-Bhāgalpur region). In India, the name of the capital is often applied to the country.

[1] Scholars have assigned the record to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. on grounds of palaeography. In our opinion, the theory is untenable. In the above period not Sanskrit but Prakrit was generally used in Indian inscriptions. Classical metres like वसन्ततिलका were popular in India from the Gupta period and were rarely used in Indian inscriptions before the fourth century A. D. The draft of lines 14-15 of the record appears to be an immitation of inscriptions of the Gupta period. We are therefore inclined to think that the inscription is not earlier than the first half of the 4th century. As regards the early script, cf. *supra*, No. 9, notes. As to the conservativeness of the Indo-Chinese scribes, Blagden has rightly pointed out (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 131) that the anchor-shaped subscript *y* is found in the Pyu inscriptions (c. 12th century, though their palaeography may be a few centuries earlier) of Myazedi (Burma), although the form had become obsolete in India after the 4th century A.D. The late date of the Vo-cañh inscription proposed by us has been supported by Emile Gaspardone in the *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLI, 1953, pp. 477-85. It has been suggested that the date is not much earlier than the 5th century A.D.

[2] From transcripts. The inscribed rock is called Nha Trang.

9 वागमृतं पिबन्तु ॥ 3
श्री-मार-राज-कुल-व[ंश - विभूषणे*]न
श्री-मार-लो[क*]-[नृ]-

10 [पतेः*][2] कुल-नन्दनेन ।
आज्ञापितं स्वजन-स[ज्जन-सङ्घ?]-मध्ये
वाक्यं प्रजा-हि-

11 तकरं करिणो(?)र्व्वरेण ॥ 4
लोकस्यास्य गतागति(ती?) वि
⏑ ⏑ न (विविचता ?) सिंहासनाद्धयासने

12 पुत्रे भ्रातरि नान्त्य(न्नग?)के स्वसमीकरणंच्छन्देनप्तेषु (०समके
राजच्छदावाप्तिषु?) (।*)
यत्किञ्चिद्रजतं सु-

13 वर्ण्णमपि वा सस्थावरञ्जङ्गमं
कोष्ठागारक[तो ध?]नं प्रियहिते सर्व्वं विसृ-

14 ष्टं मया ॥ 5
तदेवं मयानुज्ञातं भविष्यैरपि राजभिरनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम्) (।*)

15 विदितमस्तु च मे भृत्यस्य वीरस्य ....

---

[1] The passage may indicate the family of king Śrīmāra or the family of the illustrious king Māra. The name of the king responsible for the record is lost. He appears to have been a descendant of a king named Māra. Māra has been identified by some scholars with Kiu Lien who began to rule in 192 A. D. Coedès identifies him with Fan-She-man of the Chinese annals, who was the king of Fou-nan (an ancient kingdom comprising Cambodia and the adjoining regions) about the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The identifications are doubtful; but even if any of them be accepted, the present record should be placed considerably later, as it belongs to a descendant of Māra and not to Māra himself.

[2] The restorations in the first half of verse 4 are not ours. One may also suggest, e.g., कुलवर्द्धिषडाननेन, The emendations and restorations suggested by us are conjectural.

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No. 79—Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (No. 2) of Bhadravarman

NHAN-THAP,[1] near CHO DINH, Phu-yen District, to the north of Cape Vareila in Annam, North Viet-nam, former French Indo-China.

BARGAIGNE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites*, No. XXI, p. 26 (236); FINOT, *B.E.F.E.O.*, II, p. 186; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 3f.; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J.R.A.S.B.*, *L.*, I, p. 48.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 नमो देवाय (।*) भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-पाद-प्रसादात् अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं करिष्यामि[3] (।*)

2 धर्म्ममहाराज-श्रीभद्रवर्म्मणो[4] यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पुत्र-पौत्रम्भोक्ष्यति (।*)

3 पृथिवि[5]-प्रसादात्का(त्क)र्म्म-सिद्धिरस्तु[6] ।

---

[1] Cho-Dinh is the name of a market place in the neighbourhood of the village.

[2] From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.B.*, *L.*, I. Scholars have referred these inscriptions to *circa* 400 A.D. on palaeographical grounds. The actual date may be a little later, but certainly not earlier. Some scholars identify Bhadravarman with Fan-Hou-ta (380-413 A.D.) known from the Chinese sources.

[3] *I.e.*, I shall make thee agreeable to fire, i.e., I shall sacrifice thee (referring to some unknown object).

[4] धर्म्ममहाराज, etc., are peculiar titles used (in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) in South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the Vākāṭakas, Early Pallavas, Early Gaṅgas and Early Kadambas. This fact and that Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. indicate that our record cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the 5th century. पुत्र-पौत्रं भोक्ष्यति=[Agni] will protect the sons and grandsons.

[5] Usually पृथिवी°. This reference to the Earth as a goddess is interesting.

[6] कर्म्मसिद्धि refers to the successful completion of the sacrifice or to the attainment of the result due to the sacrifice.

No. 80—My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman

MY-SON, Quang Nam District of Annam, North Viet-nam, former French Indo-China.

FINOT, *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, p. 187; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, p. 4.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या(?); V. 2 उपगीति.

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 [सि]द्धं(द्धम्) (॥*) नमो महेश्वर[म्] उमाञ्च प्र[ति ?]

2 ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमेव च नमो[2] (।*)

पृथिवी(ं*) वायुरा(मा?)काशमप[ो?]

3 ज्योतिश्च[3] पञ्चमं(मम्) (॥*) 1

नमस्कृत्वाहमिच्छामि[4] सर्व्वं(ं*) विशेषैरनुध्यातं(तुम्)[5] (।*)

दुस्कृ-[5]

4 र्म्मं व्यपोह[न्तु] सुकृतो नयुतन्तुदा[6] (॥*) 2

भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-प(ा*)दानुध्या[ते*]न चास्माक[ं*] महारा[जेन*]

5 भद्रवर्म्मणा मानुष्यमध्वानं ज्ञा[त्वा*] भद्रेश्वराय[7] अक्षयी(या?) नीवी दत्ता (।*) यथा [पूर्व्वेण*]

6 सुलह्ह-पर्व्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्व्वतः पश्चिमेन कुचक-पर्व्वत[8] उत्तरेण [महानदी*]

---

[1] From the transcript in *Champā*.

[2] Read नमः ॥

[3] Read ०श्चेति.

[4] Read ०मिच्छे.

[5] Read दुष्कर्म्म०.

[6] Read व्यपोहितुं सुकृतं नयश्च तनितुं तथा.

[7] Bhadreśvara is the same as Bhadreśvarasvāmin, apparently a Śivaliṅga founded by and named after Bhadravarman. मानुष्य अध्वन् = मानवी गति (= परिणाम) = man's way leading to death.

[8] Finot suggests कुचोक which is an indigenous word meaning 'august'.

7 परिमाणाभ्यन्तरा स-कुटुम्बि-जना भूमि[1] दत्ता (।*) जनपद-मर्य्यादा षड्डागे(ऽ*)पि[3]
भ
[अस्माकं ?]

8 स्वामिना दशभागेनानुगृहीता देवस्य देय[ा*] इ[ि*]त (।*) तदेव(ं*) यथाभिलिखितमकुर्व्व[तो*][3]

9 देवस्य जन्म(नः*) प्रभृति[4] धर्म्म-प्रसवो यः तत्फलं भद्रवर्म्मण: (।*) यदि कश्चिद[ा*]क्रम्य हर[ति*]

10 विनाशयति वा मुक्तदोषा[ः*] कुटुम्बिनः तस्योपरि अधर्म्म[ः*] स्यात् (।*) चातुर्व्वैद्यं राजा[नं*]

11 राजमात्रं वा[5] सह कुटुम्बिभिः विज्ञापयामि ममानुकम्पार्थं यन्मया दत्तं मा विनाशय[त*] ॥[6]

Second Side

1 यदि विनाशयथ जन्मनि जन्मनि वो यत्सुकृतं तन्मम स्यात् (।*)

2 यच्च मम दुष्कृतं तद्युष्म[ा*]कं स्यात् (।*) अथ सम्यक्परिपालयथ तद्युष्माकमेव

3 धर्म्म(ः*) स्यादिति भूयो विज्ञा(प*)यामि (।*) य इह प्रभवति … … … देव-बलि-कारकाः [ते]-

4 [षा*]ङ्कर्म्म न कारयितव्यं स्यादोर … …. रत्तरतं वा राजकुलकार्य्यमनुष्ठेयं … …

5 [अ*]थ गु(?)रोऽ(?)स्माकं राजा[नो]…. ….. यत्किञ्चित्……..फलाद्येषु पदेषु पदितव्यमिति (।*)

---

[1] Read भूमिर्दत्ता. Better supply इति before परिमाण.

[2] Read षड्भागापि, i.e., even the sixth part of the produce received by the State according to custom prevailing in the kingdom (was reduced by the king to the tenth part and was made payable to the god).

[3] Possibly we have to suggest ॰मकुर्वतोऽपि.

[4] *I.e.*, from the creation of the god, i.e., so long as Bhadreśvarasvāmin has been established.

[5] Better read च.

[6] चातुर्वैद्य=Brāhmaṇa versed in the four Vedas, who may receive the district as an honorific grant. राजमात्र=king's officer who may be appointed a governor of the district; cf. महामात्र. ममानुकम्पार्थं=out of compassion for me.

6 [1]... ... ...

7 कुशलायतनाः बहुळ-रत्न-च[2] ... ...

8 [3] ... . अयन्न स्वरतो धर्म्मभव ....

9 ... ... पाळयति तस्यैव धर्म्म[:*] (।*) यो न तु पाल(य*)ति अभिनाशयतु[4]
अथ विनाशयति

10 ... ... तस्य भद्रेश्वरस्वामि[5] जानाति ॥

F—KAMBUJA[6] (CAMBODIA)

No. 81—Neak Ta Dambang Dek Stone Inscription of the time of Jayavarman[7]

NEAK TA DAMBANG DEK attached to the village of KHVOO, Prei Sandék District, Treang Province, Cambodia.

G. COEDÈS, *J.G.I.S.*, IV, pp. 117-21 ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.[8]

Metre: Verse 1 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; verse 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) ; verses 3-5 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

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[1] About 27 *aksharas* are lost.

[2] About 16 *aksharas* are lost.

[3] About 18 *aksharas* are lost.

[4] Read ०शयति.

[5] Read स्वामी. Possibly we have to suggest परिणामं before तस्य.

[6] Usually spelt as *Kamvuja*.

[7] Little is known about this early king of the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan from any other source. He has been regarded as the father of prince Guṇavarman of the Prasat Pram Loven inscription (No. 82 below). But see below, p. 511, note 3.

[8] The characters resemble those in the records of the Early Kadambas (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 22-32; VII pp 33-38; etc). Note also the script of such other records as the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja (*Ep Ind.*, XXIX, pp. 1 ff.), Kesaribeda plates of Arthapatibhaṭṭāraka (*ibid.*, pp. 12ff.), etc., etc.

TEXT[1]

1 युञ्जन्योगमतर्कितङ्कमपि य(ः*) क्षीरोद-शै(श)य्या-गृहे
2 शेते शेष-भुजङ्ग-भोग-रचना-पर्य्यङ्क-पृष्ठाश्रितः (।*)
3 [कु]क्षि-प्रान्त-समाश्रित-त्रिभुवनो नाभ्युत्थिताम्भोरुहो
4 [राज्ञीं] श्री-जयवर्म्मणो(ऽ*)ग्रमहिषीं स स्वामिनीं रक्षतु ॥ 1
5 [कु]लप्रभावती-नाम्ना प्रभावात्कुळवर्द्धिनी (।*)
6 दृष्टिरेकेव या दृष्टा[2] जयेन[3] जयवर्म्मणा ॥ 2
7 विप्राणां भवनं कुरुम्बनगरे प्रा — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣
8 कृत्वा यां प्रतिमां सुवर्ण्ण-रचितां — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ (।*)
9 कार्य्याणां व्यसने[4] निमग्न-मन[सा] — — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣
10 भोगे(ऽ*)स्त्यपि नैव भोग[5]-रहिते[व] — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ [॥*] 3
11 शक्रस्येव शची नृपस्य दयिता स्वाहे[व सप्तार्च्चिषः]
12 रुद्राणीव हरस्य लोक-विदिता सा श्री[रिव श्रीपतेः] (।*)
13 भूयस्सङ्गतमिच्छती नृपतिना श्री — ⌣ — — ⌣ —[6]
14 लौल्यं वीक्ष्य भुवि श्रियाश्च[7] बहुभा(धा) च[ा] — ⌣ — — ⌣ — [॥*] 4
15 राज्ञश्श्री-जयवर्म्मण≍प्रियतरा — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —
16 कृत्वा बन्धुजनञ्च सौख्य-सहितं वि — ⌣ — ⌣ — — (।*)
17 ज्ञात्वा भोगमनित्य-बुद्बुद-समं स — ⌣ — — ⌣ —
18 आरामं स-तटाकमाळय-युतं — — ⌣ — — ⌣ — [॥*] 5

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[1] From the facsimile in *J. G. I. S.*, IV. Majumdar's text is an erroneous copy of the transcript published by Coedès.

[2] The meaning is that king Jayavarman regarded the queen as precious an object as the single eye is to a one-eyed man.

[3] The word *jaya* here means 'victorious'. But the intended reading may be जयिना.

[4] The word *vyasana* here means 'division.' The activities of the queen were classified under the heads *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* which were attended to in specific hours.

[5] Others have read *bhāga*.

[6] As the name of Jayavarman cannot be accommodated here in accordance with the metrical necessities, an expression associating the king with Śrī is expected at this place.

[7] The plural number suggests that the reference is to the royal fortunes of the kings who were Jayavarman's enemies.

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No. 82—Proasat Pram Loven Stone Inscription of Guṇavarman.[1]

PROASAT PRAM LOVEN temple, Thup Muoi or 'Plaine des Joncs' (Marshy Plain), Cochin-China.

COEDÈS, *B.E.F.E.O* , XXXI, pp. 1 ff. ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 2 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 (damaged); verses 2-3 वसन्ततिलक ; verse 4 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) ; verses 5-9 वसन्ततिलक ; verses 10-11 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; verse 12 अर्धसम-मालभारिणी.

TEXT[2]

1 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
2 — — ⏑ — विदिव — ⏑ तग ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] 1
3 ॥ तस्य प्रसादज ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ नृपतिर्ज्जं ⏑ — ⏑ — — (।*)
4 यस्याग्रहस्त-परिमृष्ट-जलस्समुद्र-
×क्षीरोदको(ऽ*)प्यमृतवद्दहृमभ्य — — (॥*) 2
5 ॥ जाराङ्ग — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — युधि वीर — —[3]
नाम्ना नराधिपतिना सह यु ⏑ — — (।*)
6 श्री — ⏑ — ⏑[3] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
र्य्योनौ ⏑ — परि चतुर्भुज — ⏑ — — ॥ 3
7 ॥ क … … … स … … (।*)
स्वहृदि … … हन्ति निर्द्दग्धाराम … मा ॥ 4

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[1] He has been regarded as a son of Jayavarman of No. 81 above. But see note 3 below.

[2] From the facsimile in *B.E.F.E.O.*; Majumdar has committed errors in copying Coedès' transcript.

[3] The reference may be to a king named Vīravarman in both lines 9 and 11.

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8 ॥ पद्म ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ यो भुवि — ⏑ सर्व्व-
— — ⏑ — रिपुगगास्त्व ⏑ जा ⏑ येन (।*)
9 स — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ वतश्च जगत्यनेका
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ धनै ≍ परितोषिताश्च ॥ 5
10 ॥ तस्यावनी ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ तेर्गुणवर्म्मनामा
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ णबुद्धिरभून्महात्मा (।*)
11 से — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ सङ्क्रम-चारु-काञ्ची
येने ⏑ — ⏑ दयिता जनिता मनोज्ञा ॥ 6
12 ॥ यः श्रीमता विजयविक्रमिविक्र[मेण]
कौण्डिन्य-व$\overset{\text{ह}}{\text{श}}$-(वंश)-शशिना वसुधाधिपेन (।*)
13 जम्बात्त-भोजक-पदे[1] नृप-सूनू — —
बालो(ऽ*)पि [स]न्नधिकृतो गुग-शौर्य्य-योगात् ॥ 7
14 ॥ तेनेदमात्म-जननी-कर-संप्र — —
[सं*]स्थापितं भगवतो भुवि पादमूलम्[2] (।*)
15 यस्यैव रूपमतुल-द्युति येन — —
— — स नेच्छति परि प्रतिमा ≍ पृथिव्याम् ॥ 8
16 ॥ अस्याष्टमे(ऽ*)ह्नि विचितैरुपवेद-वेद-
वेदाङ्गविद्भिरमर-प्रतिमैर्द्द्विजेन्द्रैः (।*)
17 संस्कारितस्य कथितं भुवि चक्रतीर्त्थ-
स्वामीति नाम विदधुः श्रुतिषु प्रवीणाः ॥ 9
18 ॥ स्थानं यो गुणवर्म्मणा गुणवता श्रद्धावता त्यागिना
पुण्यश्चित ⏑ — ⏑ — कृतमिदं श्रीचक्रतीर्त्थस्य ह (।*)
19 तद्भक्तो(ऽ*)धिवसेद्दिशेदपि च वा तुष्टान्तरात्मा जनो
मुक्तो दुष्कृत-कर्म्मणस्स परमङ्गच्छेत्पदं वैष्णवम् ॥ 10
20 ॥ दत्तं यद्गुणवर्म्मणा भगवते धर्म्मार्त्थिना शक्तितो
विप्रैर्भागवतैरनाथ-कृपणैस्तत्कर्म्मकारैस्तथा (।*)
21 तत्सर्व्वैरुपयुज्यतां समग्रतो यैरन्यथा भुज्यते
युज्यन्तां नरके यमस्य पतितास्ते पञ्चभि≍पातकैः ॥ 11

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[1] Jambūtta was apparently the name of a locality. जम्बात्तभोजकपद = the status of the fief-holder of Jambātta.

[2] *Pādamūla* means here 'a temple'. The inscription records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu called Chakratīrthasvāmin.

22 ॥ अभिवर्द्धयत ह यो महात्मा
भगवद्द्रव्यमिदं गुणाढ्य — — (।*)
स तु यत्कुशलं लभेत विष्णोः
परमं प्राप्य पदं महद्यशश्च ॥ 12

No. 83—Ta Prohm Stone Inscription of Rudravarman[1]

TA PROHM temple, Bati Province.

COEDÈS, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, pp. 8ff.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 4-7.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 पृथ्वी ; verses 2-11 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[2]

1 जितं विजित-वासना-सहित-सर्व्व-दोषारिणा
निरावरण-बुद्धिनाधिगत-सर्व्व[था सम्पदा] (।*)
2 जिनेन करुणात्मना परहित-प्रवृत्तात्मना
दिगन्तर-विसर्प्पि-निर्म्मल-बृहद्य[शो-भासिना*] (॥*) 1
3 उद्धृत्य विभवाम्बु[राशि-प*]तितं लोकं निरालम्बनं
निर्व्वाण-स्थलमुत्तमन्निरुपमं संप्राप्य — — ⌣ — (।*)
4 यस्याद्यापि च कुर्व्वते परहितं श्रीधातवश्शेषिता-
श्शास्तुस्तस्य हितोदयाय जगतां स ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣ — (॥*) 2
5 यस्योत्कृष्टतया कृशो(ऽ*)पि न गुणः कश्चित्स संप्रेक्षितो
यश्चूडामणिवच्छिरस्सु जगतां स्थातुं न — — ⌣ — (।*)
6 एकस्थानखिलान्नराधिप-गुणानुद्यच्छतेवेक्षितुं
धात्रा निर्म्मित एक एव स भुवि श्री-रुद्रवर्म्म-[नृपः*] (॥*) 3
7 सर्व्वं सच्चरितं कृतं नृपतिना तेनातिधर्म्मार्त्थिना
— — — श्वरि — निसर्ग्गं ⌣ बले चि — ⌣ — — ⌣ — (।*)

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[1] He is supposed to have been a son of Jayavarman of the Neak Ta Dambang Dek inscription (No. 81 above).

[2] From the facsimile in *B.E.F.E.O.* Majumdar's transcript is an erroneous copy of Coedès' text.

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8 लोकानुग्रह-साधनं प्रति न च क्षत्रव्रतं खण्डितं
मेधाधाय हि मा ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 4
9 तत्पित्रा जयवर्म्मणा नृपतिनाध्यक्षो]धनानां कृत-
श्श्री-रुद्राह्व ⏑ — ⏑ पि ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (।*)
10 विप्रस्य द्विज-नायकस्य तनयश्श्रीदेहमालोदिते-
स्सद्वर्त्मानिनि — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 5
11 बुद्ध[ं] धर्म्ममथार्य्य-सङ्घमखिलैस्स्वैस्स्वैर्गुणैस्सङ्गतं
यश्श्रेष्ठं श ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (।*)
12 यश्चोपासक-कर्म्म सर्व्वमकरोत्पापान्निवृत्त[ाशयः*]
— — नो वि ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 6
13 आधार≍पयसामिवाखिल-जलै≍पुण्यैर — — ⏑ —
सर्व्वं काम ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (।*)
14 यश्चाभूत्कुशल(:*) क्रियासु सकलास्स्वादान-दा — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 7
15 तस्याशेष-विशेषणैक-निलयस्याजन्मनोनु ⏑ ते
भार्य्यार्य्या सदृशी ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (।*)
16 अक्लेशात्सुषु[वे च*]सा दुहितरं सिद्धिं क्रियेवोत्तमा
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — — (।*) 8
17 आचारानतिवर्त्तिनी स्व-तनयां तन्तु प्र — — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*)
18 — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ मन्निरूपमं वर्णोत्तमं प्रा ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 9
19 को विद्वान्द्विजस[त्त*]मे ⏑ ⏑ ल — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (।*)
20 इत्येवं द्विजमण्डले सुब ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 10
21 षट्कर्म्मण्य ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (।*)
22 ते — — ⏑ ⏑ — द्विजस्य ⏑ ⏑ — — — स्य धर्म्मात्म[ना*]
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ = — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — (॥*) 11

SUPPLEMENT

Bk. I, No. 23-A—Gujarrā Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka

Gujarrā, Datia District, Madhya Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205ff.

Language: Prakrit.
Script: Early Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT[1]

1 देव[ानं]पिय[स] पियदसिनो असोकराजस[2] (।*) अ[ढ]तियानि[3] स[ं]वछरानि उपासके(ऽ*)[स्मि] (।*) साधिके स[ं]वछ[रे] य च मे संघे य[ा]ते[4] ती [अह]ं बा-

2 ढ[ं] च परकंते ती [आ]हा (।*) एतेना अंतरेणा जंबुदीपसि देवानंपीय[स] [अ]मिसंदेवा संतो मुनिस मिसंदेवा कटा (।*) परकमस इयं फले (।*) नो [च इ]यं महतेना ति व

3 चकिये पापोतवे (।*) खुदाकेण पी परकममीनेना धंमं चरमीनेना पानेसू संयतेना विपुले पी स्वगे चकिये आराधयितवे (।*) से एताये

4 अठा[ये] इयं सावणे (।*) खुदाके चा उडारे चा धंमं चरंतू [यो]गं युंजंतु[5] (।*) अंता पि चा जानंतू किंति च[6] चिळथि[ति]के[6] धंमच ....[7]

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[1] See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI.

[2] The personal name of the king occurs only in the Maski and Gujarrā versions of the Minor Rock Edict.

[3] A word like सातिरेकानि, found in the other versions of the edict, has been inadvertently left out by the scribe.

[4] Other versions have उपेत, उपगत and उपयात in place of यात in the sense of 'intimately associated' See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287ff.

[5] This refers to the commingling of pious men with the gods. Cf. उपविश्यासने युञ्ज्याद्योगमात्मविशुद्धये (गीता ।६।१२), योगिनो यतचित्तस्य युञ्जतो योगमात्मन: (गीता ।६।१९), etc.

[6] Read चिलथितिके च.

[7] Possibly चिलथितिके च धंमचरणं सिया (= चिरस्थितिकं च धर्माचरणं स्यात्).

5 … [सि]ति[1] [च] एनं [वा] धंमं चर[ं] अति[यो] (।*) इयं [च] सावन विवुथे[न][2]
[२००] (+*) ५० (+*) ६ (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः अशोकराजस्य [श्रावणम् इदम्]। [सातिरेकान्] अर्धतृतीयान् संवत्सरान् [व्याप्य अहम्] उपासकः अस्मि। साधिकं संवत्सरं [व्याप्य] यत् च मया संघः यातः इति अहं बाढं पराक्रान्तः इति आह। एतेन अन्तरेण जम्बुद्वीपे देवानांप्रियस्य अमिश्रदेवाः सन्तः मनुष्याः मिश्रदेवाः कृताः। [मम] पराक्रमस्य इदं फलम्। नो च इदं महता इति एव शक्यं प्राप्तुम्। क्षुद्रकेग अपि पराक्रममाणेन धर्मं चरता प्राणेषु संयतेन विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः शक्यः आराधयितुम्। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रवणम्। क्षुद्रकः च उदारः च धर्मं चरतां, योगं युञ्जताम्। अन्ता अपि च जानन्तु—किमिति—चिरस्थितिकं च धर्माचरणं [स्यात्]। [जनः] वर्धिष्यते च एनम् एव धर्मं चरन् अतीव। इदं च श्रावणं व्युषितेन २५६ (= द्वे षट्पञ्चाशदधिकद्विशते व्याप्य व्युषितेन मया विघोषितम्)।

Bk. I, No. 23-B—Ahraurā Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka

AHRAURĀ, Mirzapur District, U.P.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 239ff.; cf. A. K. Narain, *Bhāratī*, Varanasi, Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105; V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-47.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Early Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT[3]

1[4] … … … … … … … … … पियो[5] (।*) साति[6]

2[7] … … … … … … … … … [सा]धि[का] …[8]

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[1] Probably वढिसिति (=वर्धिष्यते).

[2] विवुथ = विवुत्थ = Sanskrit व्युषित ; cf. Pali-Prakrit वुत्थ = Sanskrit उषित. See *I.H.Q.*, XXXVIII, pp 222ff.

[3] See facsimile in *Ep Ind.*

[4] About 22 *aksharas* are lost here.

[5] The intended word may be देवानंपियो.

[6] The intended word may be सातिलेकानि.

[7] About 20 *aksharas* are lost here.

[8] About 3 *aksharas* are lost. The intended reading is साधिकानि षढ°.

3 … … … … … … … [1]च वाढं पलकंते (।*)

4 … … … … … … … [2]च पलकंते (।*) एतेन

5 [अ]ंतले … … …. … … … [3]मिसंदेवा कटा (।*)

6 पलकमस इ] … …. … … [4][स्वन] च [स]क्य पापोतवे (।*) खुदकेन पि

7 पलकममीनेना विपुले पि स्वग [स]क्ये आलाधेतवे (।*) एताये अठाये

8 [इ]यं सावने (।*) खुदका च [उडा]ला च प[ल]कमंतु (।*) अंता पि च जानंतू (।*)

9 [च]िळठीतिके च पळकमे होतू (।*) इयं च अठे वढिसति विपुलं पि च

10 वढिसति दियढि[यं अ]वळधिया वढिसती (।*) एस सावने विवुथे[न]

11 [टु]वे सपंना-लाति-सति अं मं[चे] बुधस सळीले आळोढे ति ।[5]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

… … … [देवानां]प्रियः। साति[रेकाणि] … … … … … … साधिकान् [[अर्धतृतीयान् संवत्सरान् यत् [अहं] उपासकः (=बुद्धोपासकः) अस्मि (।*) नो]] च [अहं] बाढं पराक्रान्तः [अभवम्]। एतेन अन्तरे[ण जम्बुद्वीपे अमिश्रदेवाः मनुष्याः] मिश्रदेवाः कृताः। [मम] पराक्रमस्य [हि] इ[दं फलम्]। नो हि इदं महत्त्वेन एव शक्यम् आराधयितुम्। क्षुद्रकेण अपि पराक्रममानेन विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः शक्यः आराधयितुम्। एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रावणम्। क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः च पराक्रमन्तु। अन्ताः अपि च जानन्तु। चिरस्थितिकः च पराक्रमः भवतु। अयं च अर्थः वर्धिष्यते विपुलम् अपि च वर्धिष्यते द्विकार्धम् अवरार्धिकात् वर्धिष्यते। एतत् श्रावणं व्युषितेन द्वे षट्पञ्चाशद्द्वात्रिशते (=द्विपञ्चाशद्द्वात्रि-शतव्युषितेन मया घोषितं) यत् (=यतः) मञ्चं बुद्धस्य शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) आरूढम् इति (=यदा बुद्धस्य देहावशेषः मञ्चारूढः अभवत् तत्कालतः)।

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[1] The lost *aksharas* may be restored as °तियानि संवछलानि अं उपासके सुमि (।*) नो.

[2] The lost *aksharas* may be restored as संवछले साधिके अं सुमि हकं संघ उपेत बाढं.

[3] The lost *aksharas* may be restored as °न जंबुदीपसि अमिसंदेवा संत मुनिसा.

[4] The lost *aksharas* may be restored as °यं फले (।*) नो हीयं मह°.

[5] The stop is indicated by an oval sign which has joined the right leg of त. This passage, not found in any other version of the edict, says that Aśoka set out on a tour of pilgrimage lasting at least for 256 days after the relics of the Buddha had been installed on the platform [for worship] apparently by himself.

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Bk. II, No. 42-A—Mathurā Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I (78-102 A.D.)—Regnal Year 14[1]

MATHURĀ, Mathurā District, U. P.

D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 96 ff.; H. LÜDERS, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Janert), pp. 116 ff. (No. 81).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Northern Class exhibiting resemblance with characters of the 3rd century A. D.[2]

TEXT[3]

1 महाराज-देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य स[ं]वत्सरे १०[1](+*)४ पौष[4]मास-दिवसे १० अस्मिं दिवसे प्रवरिक-ह[स्थिस्य]

2 भर्य्यं संघिला भगवतो पितमहास्य सम्यसंबुद्धस्य स्वमतस्य[5] देवस्य पूजात्थं प्रतिमं प्रतिष्ठा-

3 पयति सव्वं-दुक्ख-प्रहानात्थं ॥[6]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराज-देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १४(=चतुर्दशे) पौषमास-दिवसे १० (=दशमे)। अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रावारिक[7]-हस्तिनः भार्या संघिला भगवतः पितामहस्य[8] सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य स्वमत[ाविरुद्ध]स्य देवस्य पूजार्थं प्रतिमां प्रतिष्ठापयति सर्वदुःखप्रहाणार्थम् ॥

---

[1] Sahni and Lüders both read the first symbol in the date in line 1 as *10*. Various other readings have been proposed by scholars who have apparently not examined impressions of the inscription, but depended on the defective facsimile published. My doubts about the reading of the date were removed by the examination of an impression.

[2] The inscription uses the eastern type of ल, स (looped) and ह as well as the western type of ष and स. म found in the present inscription and ल, स and ह of the eastern type are generally found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. For a similar palaeographical vagary, see above, p. 277; cf. note 2 at that page.

[3] See facsimile in the works cited.

[4] There is an unnecessary horizontal stroke below ष.

[5] The intended word may be स्वमताविरुद्धस्य (above, p. 295 and note 4).

[6] The stop is indicated by a slightly carved horizontal stroke.

[7] *Prāvārika* means a maker of or dealer in *prāvāra* (cloaks for the Buddhist monks).

[8] The Buddha is called *Pitāmaha* in Lüders' List, No. 910, and in an inscription from Kosam (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 147-48).

Bk. II, No. 72-A—Devnimori Stone Casket Inscription of the time of Rudrasena I—Śaka year 127 (=205 A.D.)

DEVNĪMORĪ, near Śāmḷājī, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat.

R N. MEHTA and S. N. CHOWDHARY, *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Baroda, XII, pp. 173 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī.

Metre: Verse 1 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक) ; verses 2-6 आर्या.

TEXT[1]

(around the body of the casket)

1 नमस्सर्व्वज्ञाय ॥

ज्ञानानुकम्पा-कारुण्य-प्रभाव-निधये नमः (।*)

सम्यक्सं बुद्ध-सूर्य्याय परवादितमोनुदे ॥ 1

सप्ताविंशत्यधिके[2] कथिकनृपाणां[3] समागते(ऽ*)ब्दशते (।*)

2 भ(भा)द्रपदपंचमदिने नृपतौ श्रीरुद्रसेने च (॥*) 2

कृतमवनिकेतुभूतम्महाविहाराश्रये महास्तूपं(पम् ।)

सत्वानेकानुग्रह-निरताभ्यां शाक्यभिक्षुभ्यां(भ्याम् ॥) 3

3 साध्वग्निवर्म्मनाम्ना सुदर्शनेन च विमुक्तरन्ध्रेण (।*)

कार्म्मान्तिकौ च पाशान्तिकप ळौ शाक्यभिक्षुकावत्र[4] (॥*) 4
ळ

दशबलशरीरनिलयशभशैळमयस्स्वयं वराहेण (।*)
शु

(at the bottom of the casket)

4 कुट्टिम-क(कृ)ता कृतो(ऽ*)यं समुद्गकस्सेन-पुत्रेण ॥ 5

महासेन-भिक्षुरस्य च कारयिता विश्रुतः समुद्गस्य (।*)

5 सुगतप्रसादकामो वृद्ध्यर्थंन्धर्म्मसङ्घाभ्यां(भ्याम्)[5] ॥ 6

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[1] From the photographs published in *Journ. Or. Inst.*

[2] The correct form of the word is सप्त°.

[3] The reference is to the era of the *Kathika* kings, the word *Kathika* meaning 'a preacher of the Buddhist faith'. Apparently the Kushāṇa kings of Kanishka's house, who were celebrated for their patronage of Buddhism and were the overlords of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapas*, are alluded to. The Śaka era was the continuation of the regnal reckoning of Kanishka I.

[4] भिक्षुक = भिक्षु (monk). The two monks Agnivarman and Sudarśana built the *Mahāstūpa*, attached to the *Mahāvihāra*, at Pāśāntikapaḷḷi (modern Devnīmorī). They were also the कार्मान्तिक or supervisors of the construction.

[5] The casket was made, for interring the relics of the Buddha under the *Stūpa*, by Sena's son Varāha, the maker of the *kuṭṭima* (pavement), on behalf of the monk Mahāsena who wanted prosperity for himself as well as the Dharma and Saṅgha.

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Bk. II, No. 88-A—Silver Coin of Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi (c. 159-66 A.D.)[1]

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 247 ff.; cf. DINKAR RAO, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9ff.; A. S. ALTEKAR, *ibid.*, pp. 13 ff.

First Side

Bust of the king to right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon, crest-jewel (offering a side view and looking like a flower to front) above the forehead; legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust; the right part beginning from XII and ending at IV reads:

रञो वासिठीपुतस (Sanskrit राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य),

and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads:

सिरि-सातकणिस (Sanskrit श्रीशातकर्णेः)

in the normal Prakrit language and the Middle Brāhmī script of the Southern Class.

Second Side

Ujjayinī symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above; continuous circular legend (in Dravidianised Prakrit and modified Middle Brāhmī) around, starting from and ending at XII.

अरहणष वाहिटि-माकणष तिरु-हातकणिष[2] (Sanskrit राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीशातकर्णेः).

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[1] This ruler was the brother and successor of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) and was also called Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī-Śātakarṇi on some of his coins. The coin under study belongs to the silver currency of the Sātavāhanas, which was imitated from the coinage of the Śakas of Western India and was meant for circulation in areas previously under the Śakas, e.g., the Nasik-Poona region and the Konkan. Formerly only coins of this type issued by Yajña-Śātakarṇi were known, though the first word in the legend on their reverse (अरहणस) could not be satisfactorily read (cf. Rapson's *Catalogue*, pp. xci, 45).

[2] The palaeography and language of the legend exhibit considerable Dravidian influence अरहण = Tamil *araśan*, 'king'; वाहिटि = वासिठी; माकण = Tamil *makan* (also spelt *mākan* in early times); Tamil तिरु = Sanskrit श्री. Note the change of श and स to ह and of स to ष. The forms of the letters म, ष and ह are different from those in the ordinary Middle Brāhmī of the South.

Bk. II, No. 90-A—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Vijaya-Śātakarṇi—Regnal year 6

NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

H. SARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 273-74.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 3rd century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 नमो भगवतो अगपोगळस (।*)

2 रञो गोतमिपुतस सिरि-विजय सा-

3 तकणिस सव ६ गि-प ४ दिव वेसा-

4 ख-पुनिस[2] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः भगवते अग्रपुद्गलाय (= अग्रपुरुषाय बुद्धाय)। राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य श्रीविजय-शातकर्णेः संवत्सरे ६ (=षष्ठे) ग्री[ष्म]-प[क्षे] ४ (=चतुर्थे) दिव[से] वैशाख-पूर्णिमायां [कारितम् इदम्] ॥

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[1] From official notices. The importance of the inscription lies in the facts that it is the only epigraph of king Vijaya-Śātakarṇi so far discovered and that, according to its evidence, the Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa owed its origin to the later Śātavāhanas and not to the Ikshvākus as is usually believed. The city of Vijayapurī in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was probably built in the year Vijaya corresponding to 213-14 and named after Vijaya-Śātakarṇi who was possibly the reigning monarch at the time.

[2] The date shows that the summer season began on Caitra-badi 1 and that the months were *pūrṇimānta* as in North India. The mention of the month is interesting.

Bk. II, No. 102-A—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Vīrapurushadatta—

Year Vijaya (273-74 A.D.)

NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

J. PH. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 63-64; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT[1]

1 सिधं (॥*) महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटि[पदा]यिस

2 सिरि-चंतमूलस पुतस रंञो माढरिपुतस इखाकुन सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस

3 वस-सताय[2] सवछर[ं] विजय[ं][3] वास-पखं प्रथमं १ दिवस बितियं सग-गतस

4 रंञो अगिहोतागिठोम-वाजपेयसमेध-याजिस हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-

5 हलसतसहस-पदायिस सवथेसु अ[प]तिहत-संकपस वासिठि-पुतस

6 इखाकुस सामि-सिरि-चंतमुलस सह(हो)दराहि मताहि म[ह]देविहि अनतसिरिय[1]

7 खंदसिरिय विझबोधिसिरिय[5] मितसिरिय[6] ससुसिरिय[7] नागवसुसिरिय

8 मंगुसिरिय[8] खंदकोटिसिरिय महिसरसिरिय कोन्दमतिसिरिय[9] मुलसिरिय

9 अयकोटुसिरिय मड्डविसिरिय[10] नागसिरिय कामसिरिय[11] गोळसिरिय

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[1] See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV.

[2] Vogel : वससनय.

[3] Vogel : विंसयं = Sanskrit विंशकम् (twentieth). Vijaya is the name of a year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle. In the second half of the third century A. D., when Vīrapurushadatta flourished, the year Vijaya corresponded to 373-74 A.D. Cyclic years became very popular in South India in later days. Cf. above, p. 521, note 1.

[4] Vogel : सुनीतिसिरिय (?).

[5] Vogel : विभटविसिरिय.

[6] Vogel : मिससिरिय.

[7] Possibly ससुदसिरिय was intended.

[8] Vogel : नागसिरिय.

[9] Vogel : रोटुमतिसिरिय.

[10] There seems to be a punctuation mark after this, probably suggesting that the ladies mentioned before this were the *sahodarās* of Śāntamūla I.

[11] The reading may also be रामसिरिय.

10 खळिसिरिय[1] बोधिसिरिय[2] खदसिरिय सतिलसिरिय[3] पेरजतिसिरिय[4]

11 पंडितसिरिय सिवनागसिरिय समुदसिरिय[5] बापिसिरिय नदिसिरिय

12 अयसिरिय कंन्हसिरिय[6] सिवनागसिरिय अभतरिकाहि[7] च

13 सरसिकाय [कु]सुमलताय च छाया[8]-थभो ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-प्रदायिनः श्रीशान्तमूलस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य वर्षंशताय (=वर्षशतायुष्कामनया) संवत्सरे विजये वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे द्वितीये (=श्रावणकृष्णद्वितीयायां) स्वर्गंगतस्य राज्ञः अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य ऐक्ष्वाकवस्य स्वामिश्री-शान्तमूलस्य सहोदराभिः मातृभिः (=मात्रा विमातृभिः च) महादेवीभिः (=पत्नीभिः) अनन्तश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया विन्ध्यबोधिश्रिया मित्रश्रिया समु[द्र]श्रिया नागवसुश्रिया मंगुश्रिया स्कन्दकोटिश्रिया महीसारश्रिया कुन्दमतिश्रिया मूलश्रिया आर्यकोटुश्रिया मृद्वीश्रिया—नागश्रिया कामश्रिया गोलश्रिया खलिश्रिया बोधिश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया सतिलश्रिया पेरुजातीश्रिया पण्डितश्रिया शिवनागश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया—बप्पीश्रिया नदीश्रिया आर्यश्रिया कृष्णश्रिया शिवनागश्रिया आभ्यन्तरिकाभ्यां (=अन्तःपुररक्षिणीभ्यां) च सरसिकया कुसुमळतया च छायास्तम्भः (=स्वर्गंगतराज्ञः मूर्तिसनाथः स्मृतिस्तम्भः) [समुत्थापितः] ॥

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[1] Vogel : वेलिसिरिय.

[2] Vogel : एधिसिरिय.

[3] Vogel : सतिलिसिरिय.

[4] Vogel : पर°.

[5] There seems to be a punctuation mark here probably suggesting that the preceding names are of ladies who were the mother and step-mothers of Śāntamūla I.

[6] Vogel : रतुसिरिय.

[7] Vogel : सुभतरिकाह्नि which is meaningless.

[8] Vogel : द्वयं. The word *chhāyā-stambha* (memorial pillar bearing the representation of the person in whose memory it is raised) occurs in many of the pillar inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 25.

Bk. II, No. 104-A—Nagarjunikoṇḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Rudrapurushadatta—Regnal year 11

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.
D. C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.

Language: Prakrit.
Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the middle of the 4th century A. D.

TEXT[1]

1 महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरंणकोडि-गोस-
2 तसहस-हळसतसहस-पदायिस स्वामि-सिरि-चंतमूलस
3 पसुन्हाय महाराजस स्वामि-सिरि-वीरपुरि[सदतस]
4 सुंन्हाय महाराजस [स्वामि]-सिरि-एहवलचंतमूलस
5 पत्तीय रञो वासिठीपुतस इखाकूनं सिरि-रुद-
6 पुरिसदतस मातूय[2] महादेवीय महाखतप-धूतूय बह-
7 फल-सगोताय[3] सिरि-वंमभटाय संवछर एक्कारं १०(+*)१
8 वासापखं पथमं १ दिवसं अठमं ८ सग-गताय छाय-
9 खं[भो [4] ॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः स्वामिश्री-शान्तमूलस्य प्रस्नुषायाः महाराजस्य स्वामिश्री-वीरपुरुषदत्तस्य स्नुषायाः महाराजस्य

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[1] See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV.

[2] Since the paternal *gotra* of the mother of Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta was Vāsishṭha, Varmabhaṭā whose paternal *gotra* was Bṛihatphala, was apparently the king's step-mother.

[3] Varmabhaṭā, queen of Ehavala Śāntamūla, was the daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* who was apparently a Śaka king of Ujjayinī. It is to be noted that Ehavala's father Vīrapurushadatta also married a princess of the same house (cf. Bk. II, No. 99). Another interesting fact is that the Śakas of Western India, after their Hinduisation, claimed to belong to the Bṛihatphala or Bṛihatphalāyana *gotra*.

[4] Varmabhaṭā's representation on her memorial pillar shows her in the *udīchya-veśa* i.e., the dress of the foreign settlers of Uttarāpatha.

स्वामिश्री-एहवलशान्तमूलस्य पत्न्याः राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीरुद्रपुरुषदत्तस्य मातुः (=विमातुः) महादेव्याः महाक्षत्रप-दुहितुः बृहत्फलसगोत्रायाः श्रीवर्मभटायाः [रुद्रपुरुषदत्तराज्ये] संवत्सरे एकादशे—११—वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे—१—दिवसे अष्टमे—८ (=श्रावणकृष्णाष्टम्यां) स्वर्गंगतायाः छायास्तम्भः [उत्थापितः] ॥

Bk. II, No. 104-B—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Stone Inscription of Ābhīra Vasusheṇa—Year 30 (=278 A.D.)

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.
D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.

Language: Admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit.
Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT[1]

सीद्धं ॥[2]

1 नमो भगवतो देवपरमदेवस्य पुराणपुरुषस्य नारायणस्य[3] (।*) रञ्ञो वासेष्ठीपुत्तस्य आभीरस्य वसुषेणस्य संवत्सर [३०][4] वा-पा [३]

2 [दि]वस १ महाग्रामिकेन[5] महातलवरेण महादण्डनायक(के)न कौशिकसगोत्तेन पेरिविडेहाणां शिवसेवेन संजयपुरीण[6]-यो(न*)राजि(ज)भि

3 आव[न्त]केन शकेन रुद्रदामेन वानवासकेन च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द-[सात]-कर्ण्णिना [स्था]ना(न)तो(ऽ*)पि न चालितो एष भगवां रु'बरभवो आष्ट'(अष्ट)-(भु*)जस्वामि[7]

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[1] See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV.

[2] This is in the left margin.

[3] The passage shows that Nārāyaṇa was already identified with the god Vishṇu.

[4] The year seems to be referrable to the era of 248 A.D., which is believed to be an Ābhīra institution. It appears that Vasusheṇa occupied the Ikshvāku capital which remained in his possession for some years between the death of Vīrapurushadatta and the accession of Ehavala.

[5] *Mahāgrāma* was a *Pargana* or group of villages.

[6] Sañjayapurī may be identified with modern Sanjan in the Thana District of Maharashtra, where certain Yavana or Greek princes appear to have been ruling.

[7] Ashṭabhujasvāmin (a form of Vishṇu) is known from a conch-shell inscription found at the same place as the present record. रु'बरभव=possibly उदुम्बरभव.

4 [सेड]गिरिय[1] स्थापितो (।*) पव्वंतस्य च प्राकारो चितापितो (।*) वापि च महा[नं]दा सोधिता (।*) तडागानि च २ सेडगिरियं मुडेराय च खानितानि (।*) तलवनानि च

5 रोपितानि (।*) यो च ब्राह्मणार्त्थे मित्रार्त्थे च प्राण(म*)पि न परि(त्य*)क्षति गुणतश्च

सव्वातिथि [सव्वं-सख] कृतज्ञ[:]
सत्यव्रत ज्ञत्रुगणावमद्दि (।*)
रुजु[व्वंट]-न्यासन-प्रे म-नि-
6 [छो]
यो [धा*]र्मिक साधु-जनाभिनंदि ।(।*)

[उलेखग]श्चास्य[2] सेंबक-वधंमान[को] (।*) भरद्वाज-सगोत्तेण अमात्येन तिष्यसंमेण भगव[च्छक्तया]: कृतं (।*) स्वस्ति गोव्रातेभ्यः ।[3]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवपरमदेवाय पुराणपुरुषाय नारायणाय । राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य आभीरस्य वसुषेणस्य संवत्सरे ३० (=त्रिंशे) व[र्षा]-प[क्षे] ३ (=तृतीये) दिवसे १ (=प्रथमे) (=भाद्रपदकृष्णप्रतिपदि) महाग्रामिकेण (=महाग्राम-शासकेन, राज्यांश°) महातलवरेण महादण्डनायकेन कौशिकसगोत्रेण पेरिविडेहानां (=पेरिविडेहाख्यकुलजेन) शिवशेपेन सञ्जयपुरीणयवनराजैः आवन्तकेन (=अवन्तिदेशवास्तव्येन ; यद्वा—उज्जयिनीनगरी-वास्तव्येन) रुद्रदाम्ना वानवासकेन (=वनवास-वास्तव्येन) च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द-शातकर्णिना स्थानतः अपि न चालितः एष भगवान् उदुम्बरभवः (=उदुम्बरकाष्ठनिर्मितः) अष्टभुजस्वामी शेटगिरौ स्थापितः। पर्वतस्य च प्राकारः चितितः । वापी च महानन्दा शोधिता । तडागे च २ (=तडागद्वयं च) [तैः] शेटगिरौ मुडेरायां च खानिते । ताळवनानि च रोपितानि । यः च ब्राह्मणार्थे मित्रार्थे च प्राणम् अपि न परित्यक्ष्यति (=विगणयति) गुणतः च—

सर्वातिथिः सर्वसखः कृतज्ञः
सत्यव्रतः शत्रुगणावमर्दी ।
ऋजुर्वर्टन्यासनप्रेमनिष्ठो
यो धार्मिकः साधुजनाभिनन्दी ॥

उल्लेखकः च अस्य [स एव] सेंबक-वर्धमानकः (सेंबककुळज°) । भारद्वाजसगोत्रेण अमात्येन तिष्यशर्मणा भगवच्छक्त्या कृतं (=रचितः श्लोकः) । स्वस्ति गोव्रातेभ्यः ॥

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[1] Seḍagiri mentioned twice in the line is apparently the present Siddhaldbāri hill bordering the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley. It is mentioned in Bk. II, No. 86, text line 3.

[2] Sanskrit उल्लेखक which is probably used in the sense of 'the engraver'.

[3] This peculiar *maṅgala* meaning 'Let there be good to the herds of cows' becomes intelligible only when we remember that king Vasusheṇa was an Ābhīra, *i.e.*, a member of the cowherd clan.

APPENDIX

1. Shar-i-kuna (Kandahar) Greek-Aramaic Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka

This important record, definitely proving the inclusion of wide areas of Afghanistan in Aśoka's empire, has been published by U. Scerrato and others in *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka*, Rome, 1958, and by D. Schlumberger and others in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 1 ff. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 333ff.; XXXIV, pp. 1ff.

The Greek and Aramaic versions of the edict, apparently meant for Aśoka's Yavana and Kāmboja subjects respectively, may be rendered into Prakrit (as used in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehra edicts) as follows:

GREEK VERSION PRAKRITIZED

दशवषभिषितेन रज प्रियद्रशिन जनस्पि ध्रमनुशस्ति प्रवटित। तत चु तेन मुनिश बढतरं ध्रमयुत कट प्रण च वढित हितसुखेन सव्रपुठवियं। रज चु प्रणरंभो परितिजित सव्रेहि च मनुशेहि लुडकेहि च सव्रेहि केवटेहि च रजो परितिजित विहिंस भुतनं। येषं चु नसि संयमो ते पि च संयत भुत यथ तेन तेन शकं। ते पि च मत-पितुषु वुढेषु च सुश्रुषंति यदिशं नो भुतप्रुवं। एवं च करमिन ते पच हितसुखेन वढिशंति वढं च वढिशंति ॥

(Sanskrit *Chhāyā*—दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना जने धर्मानुशस्तिः प्रवर्तिता। ततः च तु तेन मनुष्याः बाढतरं धर्मयुताः कृताः प्राणाः च वर्धिताः हितसुखेन सर्वपृथिव्याम्। राज्ञा च तु प्राणालम्भः परित्यक्तः सर्वैः च मनुष्यैः लुब्धकैः च सर्वैः कैवर्तैः च राज्ञः परित्यक्ता विहिंसा भूतानाम्। येषां च तु न आसीत् संयमः ते अपि च संयताः भूताः यथा तेन तेन शक्यम्। ते अपि च माता-पितृषु वृद्धेषु च सुश्रूषन्ति यादृशं नो भूतपूर्वम्। एवं च कुर्वाणाः ते पश्चात् हितसुखेन वर्धिष्यन्ते बाढं च वर्धिष्यन्ते ॥)

ARAMAIC VERSION PRAKRITIZED

दशवषभिषितेन रज प्रियद्रशिन [स्पमिकेन नो तद ध्रमनुशस्ति] प्रवटित। तत अपयस हिनि जत सर्वस्पि च जनस्पि तेन दुप्रटिभग निवटित। अस्ति पि संति च प्रिति च सव्रपुठवियं। एत च पि भुतं। सुपठय चु रजो नो स्पसिकस लहुकं अरभियति। तस च शन सव्र-मनुश न अरभंति। एवं ये च केवट ते पि च नियसेन संयत। एवं पि येषं च नसि संयमो ते पि च संयत भुत। सव्रे च मतपितुषु सुश्रुषंति वुढेषु च सुश्रुषंति यदिशं

तस तस कटवं आरोपितं। ध्रमयुतनं चु खो परत नस्ति विचरण। सव्रे च मनुष ध्रमचरणेन अभुंनत च अभुंनमिषंति चेव॥

(Sanskrit *Chhāyā*—दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना स्वामिकेन नः तदा धर्मानुशस्तिः प्रवर्तिता। ततः अपायस्य हानिः जाता सर्वस्मिन् च जने तेन दुष्प्रतिभागाः निवर्तिताः। अस्ति अपि शान्तिः च प्रीतिः च सर्वपृथिव्याम्। एतत् च अपि भूतम्। सूपार्थाय च राज्ञः नः स्वामिकस्य लघुकम् आलभ्यते। तस्य च दर्शनात् सर्वे मनुष्याः न आलभन्ते। एवम् अपि ये च कैवर्ताः ते अपि च नियमेन संयताः। एवम् अपि येषां च न आसीत् संयमः ते अपि च संयताः भूताः। सर्वे च मातापितृषु शुश्रूषन्ति वृद्धेषु च शुश्रूषन्ति यादृशं तस्य तस्य कर्तव्यम् आरोपितम्। धर्मयुतानां च तु खलु परत्र न अस्ति विचारणा। सर्वे च मनुष्याः धर्मचरणेन अभ्युन्नताः च अभ्युन्नमिष्यन्ति च एव॥)

In connection with the edicts of Aśoka, reference may be made to the Śālihuṇḍām (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh) stone slab inscription reading धंमरञो असोकसिरिनो (=धर्मराजस्य अशोकश्रियः) in Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 85-86). The reference seems to be to a Buddhist structure believed to have been originally built by the Maurya emperor Aśoka who flourished in the third century B.C.

That Aśoka's was an inspiring name in later ages is indicated by the Ban Map Makham inscription (dated Śaka 1089=1167 A.D.) of *Mahārāja* Aśoka or *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Dharmāśoka, identified with king Ādityarāja of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun and Chieng Mai in Northern Siam). See *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 2, pp. 130 ff. Note also Dharmāśoka mentioned in Kumāradevī's Sarnath inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 319ff.).

2. Some Inscriptions of the Kushāṇa Age

The most important of the recently discovered inscriptions of the Kushāṇas is the one found at Surkh-Kotal near Baghlān on the Kunduz river in Northern Afghanistan (ancient Bactria). Written in the Tokhārian (Bactrian) language and Greek characters, it refers to Kanishka (I) in relation to a shrine called 'the Kanishka-Nikator sanctuary' and is dated in the year 31 of the Kanishka reckoning or Śaka era, which would correspond to 109 A.D. The inscription was published by André Maricq in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 345-446 (with Plates), and commented on by W. B. Henning in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIII, 1960, pp. 47ff.

A Sanchi inscription of the year 22 of apparently the Kaniska era speaks of a *Rājan* probably named Vaskushāṇa (Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, I, pp. 278, 386, No. 829) who may be the same as Vāsishka or a local ruler under Kanishka I, while a Mat (Mathurā) inscription mentions a *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* whose name may have been Vamataksha (*A.S.I.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 124 ; *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, pp. 191 ff.). Vamataksha was a *Kushāṇaputra* (scion of the Kushāṇa clan; cf. *Sibiputta* and *Bhojaputta*, above, p. 17, note 2) and probably one of the successors of Vāsudeva I.

A Buddha-pāda slab of the first century A.D. from Kosam speaks of the celebrated Ghoshitārāma which is known to have been situated at Kauśāmbī, the location of the ancient city at Kosam thus being settled beyond dispute (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 14 ff.). The inscription reminds us of another inscribed Buddha-pāda slab from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which belongs to the third century A.D. (*ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 247 ff.).

Two other inscriptions belonging to the age of the Kushāṇas were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 229 ff., and XXXII, pp. 82 ff. The first of these is the Kailvan (Patna District, Bihar) stone bowl inscription of the time of king Ārya-Viśākhamitra, dated in the year 108 apparently referable to the Kanishka era and corresponding to 186 A.D. The inscription points to the expansion of the use of the Kanishka reckoning to Bihar. Its language and paleography suggest that the era in question started in the first century A.D. rather than later. The word *Ārya* prefixed to the king's name reminds us of a similar epithet of Khāravela and other rulers.

The second epigraph is the Velpuru (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of the time of *Mahārāja* Hāritīputra Mānasada called *Aira* (*Ārya*) and *Gālaveya* (*i.e.* belonging to the Gālava-gotra). The inscription has been assigned to the first half of the second century A.D.

3. Two Vaishṇava Inscriptions

There is an inscription in one line on the flat shaft of the *gadā* (mace) held by a four-armed standing male figure of stone at Buṛhīkhār near Malhār in the Bilāspur District, Madhya Pradesh. The figure, known locally as Chaturbhujī Bhagavān, holds the *cakra* (discus) in the upper left hand and the top of the *gadā* by the upper right, while the palms of the lower two hands are folded in the *añjali* pose. He wears *kuṇḍalas* in the ears and the conical crown, called *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, usually found on the heads of subordinate deities. The image has characteristics of the god Vishṇu; but the *añjali* pose clearly suggests that it is not Vishṇu but a *parivāra-devatā* or attendant of the god. The line of writing, in Brāhmī characters of about the close of the first century B.C., begins in the upper part of the *gadā* and comes downwards.

The inscription reads—पग्राव[ति]य [द]न भारदयियकारित ति (Sanskrit प्रजावत्याः दानं भारद्वाज्या कारितम् इति)। The image was the gift of Prajāvatī, but was caused to be made by Bhāradvājī. Its importance lies in the fact that it points to the existence of a Vishṇu temple at Buṛhīkhār before the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription was published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Culture and Heritage Number, 1956, pp. 221-24 and Plate ; cf. also *Proc. I.H.C.*, Waltair Session, 1953, pp. 39-41.

The other Vaishṇava epigraph is the Umāchal rock (on the Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati, Assam) inscription of the time of *Mahārājādhirāja* Surendravarman, probably identical with the Bhauma-Nāraka monarch Mahendravarman (c. 470-95 A.D.) of Prāgjyotisha. It records the construction of a *guhā* or cave-temple for the god Balabhadrasvāmin (*i.e.* Balarāma). The importance of the inscription, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 67 ff., is that it points to the prevalence of the independent worship of Balarāma as late as the close of the fifth century A.D.

4. Jayrampur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 1

This inscription was discovered at Jayrāmpur under the Bhogarai Police Station of the Balasore District, Orissa. It has been published with facsimile by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, XI (1963), No. 4, pp. 206 ff. Unfortunately the published transcript and illustration of the epigraph are both useless, the former being full of palpable misreadings and wrong emendations. The essential parts of the record pointing to the inclusion of Daṇḍabhukti in Gopachandra's empire appear to read as follows in a slightly emended form.

स्वस्ति। चतुरुदधिसलिलसीमान्तायाम ··पृथिऽयां चतुःसमुद्रातिक्रान्तयशसाम[1]···
···च्छीमतो धनचन्द्रात्···श्रीगिरिदेऽया वर्णाश्रमऽयवस्थाहेतु साक्षाद्धर्म्मं इवोपात्तजन्मा[2]···
रारोपिताधिराज्यः[2]...षोपगताशेषराजमण्डलः[2] परममाहेश्वरो[2] महाराजाधिराजश्रीगोपचन्द्रे

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[1] The genitive plural seems to refer to the members of a dynasty.

[2] If these words refer to Gopachandra, they should properly be in locative singular. Otherwise either they would refer to Vijayavarman or गोपचन्द्रे should be गोपचन्द्र .

राज्यं प्रशासति प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे प्रथमे फाल्गुनमासे विंशतितमे दिवसे श्वेतबालिकावीथिसमुपागतान्वर्त्तमानभविष्यत्कालीयान्कार्त्ताकृतिकौपरिककुमारामात्यराजानकविजयवर्म्मा विषयपति-तदायुक्तकानन्यांश्च राजपादप्रसादोपजीविनो यथार्हं मानयित्वा शिरोभिश्च प्रगम्यास्मदधिवास-विंशत्यग्रहार-ताम्रपट्ट-पटशासन-हिरण्यलाभ-सामुदयिक-ग्रामवाटकेभ्यो महामहत्तर-प्रधान···अधिकरणञ्च विज्ञापयन्ति[1]। अस्तु वस्संविदितम्। प्रार्थिता वयं श्रीमहासामन्तमहाराजाच्युतेन युष्मद्वीथ्यां साधुभिरनेकैराचन्द्रार्ककालीन-ताम्रपट्ट-पटशासनस्थित्या सता मूल्येन ग्रामक्षेत्रवास्तुनि युष्मत् क्रीत्वा देवद्विजमठविहारावसथेभ्योतिसृष्टान्यतिसृज्यमानानि वीथ्यैव सम्यक्प्रतिपाल्यमानानीति समीक्ष्य···ममापि धर्म्मनिमित्तमुत्साहो जातः। सोहमिच्छे रत्नचैत्योद्भव-ख्यापिताशेषत्रिभुवनप्रतापमाहात्म्यातिशयभगवदार्य्यावलोकितेश्वराद्ध्यासित-श्रीबोधिपद्रक-महाग्रहारे विहारकरणाय तस्मिंश्च बलिचरुगन्धपुष्पप्रदीपादिक्रियाप्रवर्त्तनायार्य्यसङ्घस्य च यथाकालं हविष्यपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्य-परिष्कारायातिस्रष्टुम्। तदर्हथ श्वेतबालिका-ग्रामं क्रयेण दातुं ताम्रशासनीकृत्येति। यतोस्माभिर्युक्तमयं प्रार्थयति स च ग्रामः समुद्रोपसर्पितप्रत्यन्त····परमभट्टारकस्यापि धर्म्मषड्भागोपचयो··पुस्तपालभोगिभटावधारणया अवधृत्य दण्डभुक्त्यधिकृत-श्वेतबालिकावीथिव्यवहारि····श्वेतबालिकाग्रामस्सकलसमुदयः क्रयेण विषयाधिकरण-महामहत्तर-गृहस्वाम्यादिभिः यत्र··महत्तरधर्म्मस्वामिमहत्तरदेवस्वामि-महत्तरेन्दुस्वामि···क्रीत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च सर्व्वसत्वानाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये····महायानिकेभ्यो भिक्षुसङ्घाय प्रतिपादितः। यत्र सर्व्वदायवर्ज्जितः प्रतिवर्षञ्चार्य्यपिण्डकं चूर्ण्णिकाशतकं[2] देयमुपनिबद्ध्य श्रीमहासामन्ताच्युतस्य दत्तः। अस्य च ग्रामस्य सीमालिङ्गानि ···एतच्च शासनं तापितं पुस्तपालभोगभट्टेन लिखितं कायस्थमानदत्तेनेति। संव्वत्सरे १ फाल्गुन-दि २०। ···चिल्लुकेन।

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[1] If the subject is विजयवर्म्मा, it should be विज्ञापयति.

[2] The annual tax fixed at 100 *chūrnikās* (*purāṇas*) is called *ārya-piṇḍaka* (lump sum payable by the Buddhist establishment or by Achyuta on its behalf).

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Addenda et Corrigenda

N.B.—The readers may not find great difficulty in rectifying minor misprints and inaccuracies. From the beginning up to p. 208, wherever the name 'Bombay State' occurs, it should now be either 'Maharashtra' or 'Gujarat'.

Page17, foot-note 2.— *Add*—The Erragudi version has *Satikaputo* for *Satiyaputo* or *Sātiyaputo*. The name Satīka = Satiya = Sātiya has been regarded as the same as Sadaka (Śātaka = Śātika = Śāntika) of *Sadakana Kaḷalāya-Mahāraṭhi* of the coins from the Chitaldrug District, Mysore (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 73, note).

,, 22, text line 4.— *Add note*—Pāli *pettanika* means 'one who enjoys fortune or power inherited from his father,' so that *Raṭhika-petenika* and *Bhoja-petenika* of Aśokan records may be the Raṭhika and Bhoja peoples described as 'hereditary' and distinguished from the ordinary *Raṭhika* (*Rāshṭrika*, the governor of a *rāshṭra* or Pargana) and *Bhoja* (*Bhojaka*, usually a *Jā'gīrdār*). The official designation *Raṭhika* occurs in the Erragudi MRE and the Raṭhika and Bhojaka peoples in the Hathigumpha inscription. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 30.

,, 41, text lines 13-14.— *Add note*—Ludwig Alsdorf understands the sentence as *evaṁ = eva yaḥ paśyet yushmākaṁ, tena vaktavyaḥ any-ānyaḥ —'paśyata, evaṁ cha evaṁ cha Devānām-priyasya anuśastiḥ'* (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Litteratur—Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1962, No. 1, p. 237).

Page 43, line 11.— Read—*yushmabhyaḥ*

,, 50, note 1.— *Add—Vyuṭha* = *vyūtha* = *vivutha* stands for Sanskrit *vyushita* and not for *vyushṭa* (see p. 516, note 2).

,, 63, note 3.— *Add*—As shown by K. L. Janert, the correct reading of the word is *nisidiyā* = Sanskrit *nishadyā*, for which see p. 218, text line 15. For Janert's paper, see *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen*, I—*Philogisch-Historische Klasse*, 1959, No. 4, pp. 47ff.

,, 65, line 15.— For—*niḥślishṭakāḥ* (= *sopānāni*), read —*nishadyāḥ* (=*upāśrayāḥ*)

,, 67, foot-note 1.— *Add*—See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 436 ff.

,, 81, line 6.— Read—*Z.D.M.G.*

,, 82, foot-note 5, line 4.—Read—*madhu*

,, 107, foot-note 3.— *Add*—Since, in the joint representation of Agathokleia and Strato, the former is shown to the left of the latter, it is now suggested that Agathokleia was the queen of Strato.

,, 136, line 9.— *Omit*—C.

,, 144, text line 2.— Read—*Kaṇishkasya*

,, 145, text line 2.— Read—*trepiṭakasya*

,, 146, foot-note 4, line 2.— Read—*vahārisya*

,, 147, line 2. *Omit*—C.

,, 150, foot-note 3, line 2.— Read—*Rājatar.*

,, 160, foot-note 5, line 2.— *Read*—(Skanda-Kumāra)

,, 170, foot-note 2.— *Add*—Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XV.1, explains *charaka* as *chakradhara* probably meaning the bearers of the Vaishṇava emblem of the discus.

,, 173, line 11.— *Read*—Rudradāman I

,, 178, foot-note 4, line 3— *Read*—Dist.) according to the *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 43 ; cf. verse 37.

Page 217, foot-note 6.— *Add*—Allan thinks that the reading is doubtful and that no Magadhan king named Bṛihaspatimitra is mentioned in the inscription. See his *Catalogue of Coins* (Ancient India), p. xcviii.

,, 229, foot-note 9, line 3— Read—*Aṅguttara.*

,, 245, line 9.— *Read*—BRS

,, 251, line 12.— Read—*Namilgayayā*

,, 262, line 19.— *Add* —For some recent suggestions on the reading and interpretation of a few passages, *cf.* B. Ch. Chhabra in *Ind. Cult.*, XIV, pp. 141-50 ; V. Raghavan in *Journ. Or. Res.*, XVI, pp. 159-62 ; S. V. Sohoni in *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXXIX, pp. 34-36.

,, 265, foot-note 2, line 14—*Read*—Āryāvarta

,, 266, foot-note line 1.— *Read*—Yamunā-Kolang.

,, 267, foot-note 6.— *Add*—Even if the identification is accepted, it scarcely proves that Śrīgupta, founder of *Stūpa* in Varendrī, had his home in North Bengal as is sometimes supposed (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, I, pp. 69-70) because his kingdom may have included the neighbouring tracts to which his family, may have belonged.

,, 282, line 5.— *Read*—409-10 A.D. + x.

,, 283, line 4.— *Read*—No. 1543

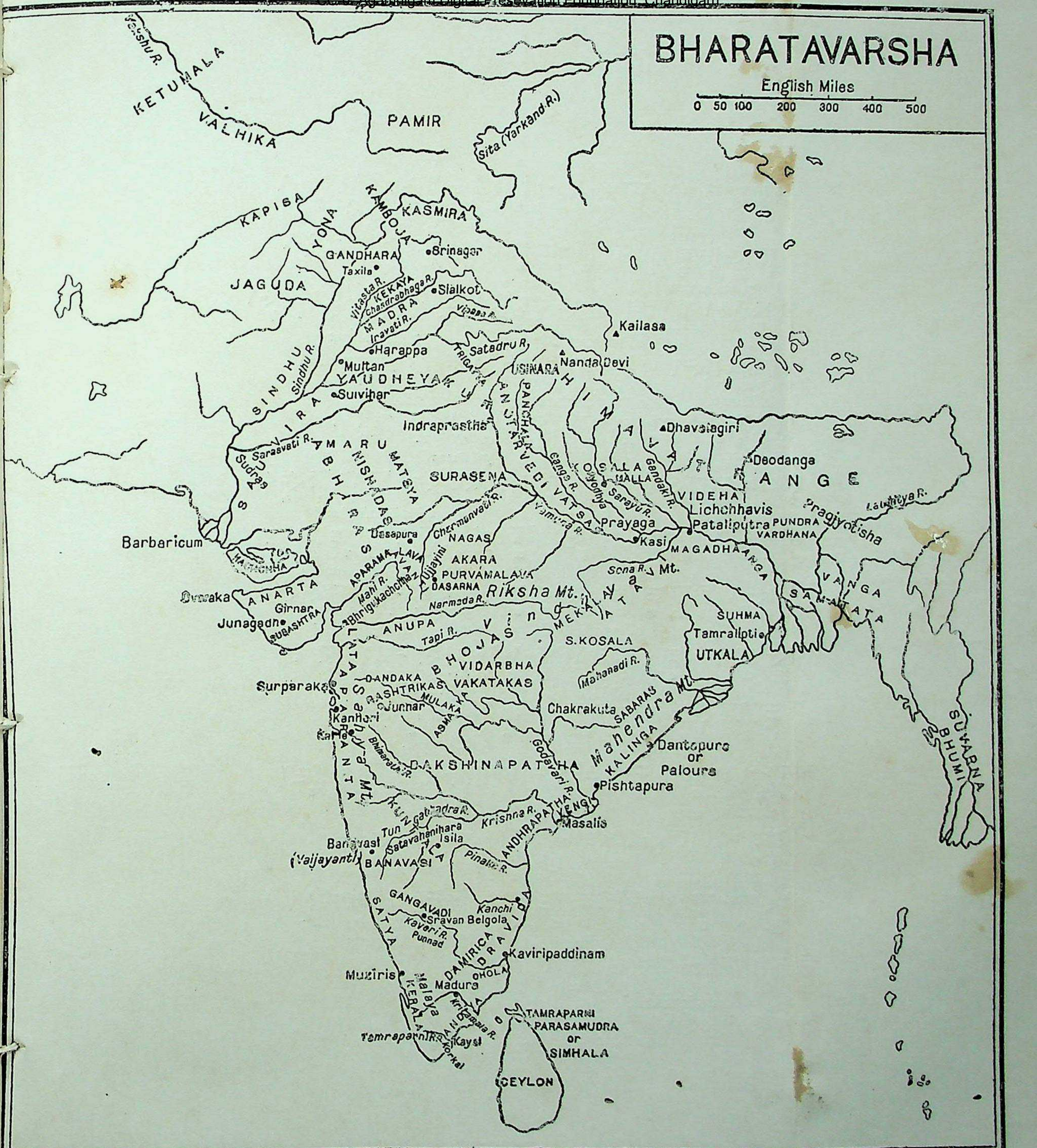
,, 295, foot-note 7.— *Add*—See No. 26-A (pp. 317-18).

,, 328, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read*—since Bhadra

,, 329, foot-note 1.— The sentence "Nalanda seals", etc., should be transferred to foot-note 7.

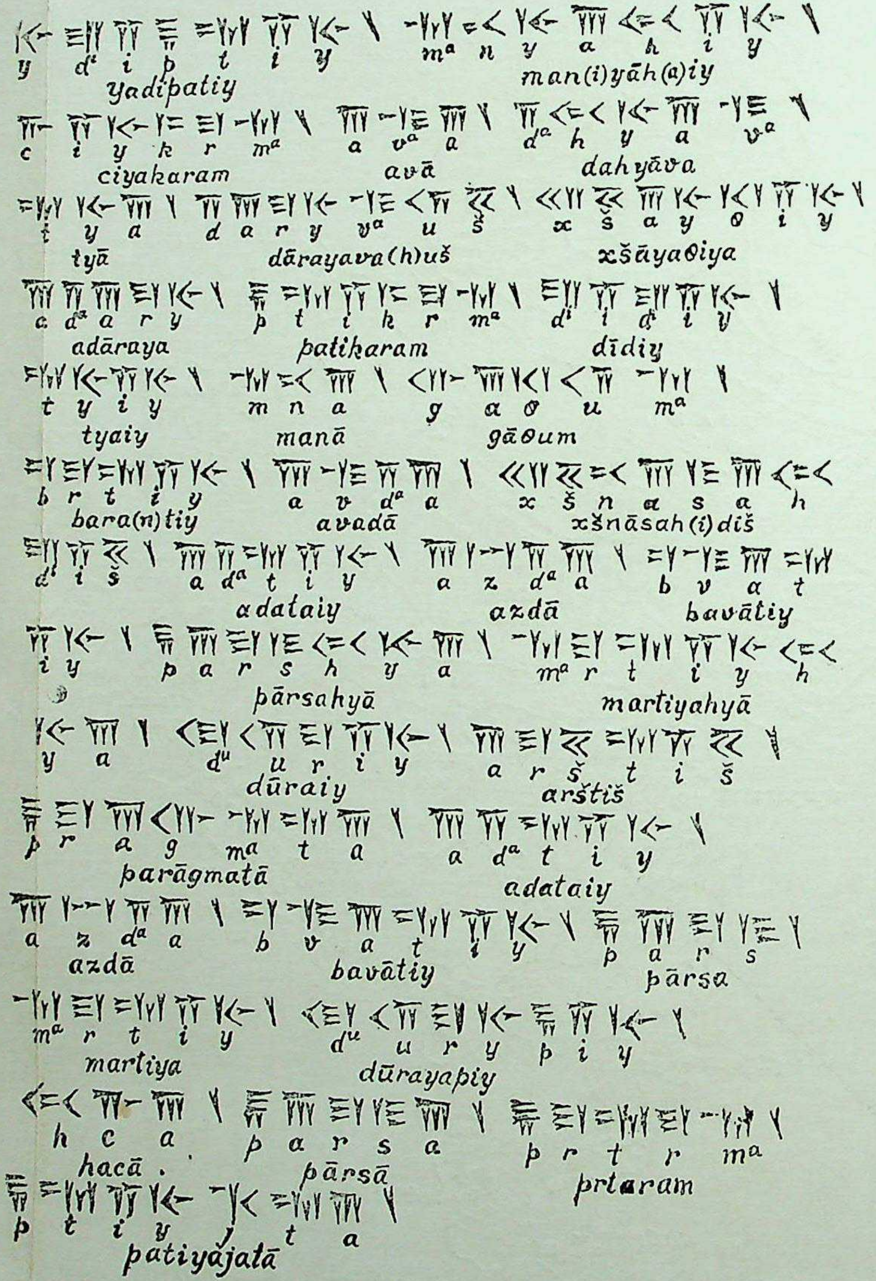
,, 346, foot-note 5.— *Add*—A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculpture representing the performance of penances by a *tapasvinī* has been wrongly interpreted as a *Satī* burning herself (*Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, XI, pp. 201 ff.).

Page 368, text line 14.— Read—*kulyavāpena*
,, 378, line 3.— *For*—No. 48, *read*—No. 47
,, 384, line 3.— *For*—Stone, *read*—Rock
,, 386, foot-note 1, line 4.—Read *śāśvatāḥ*
,, 387, line 10.— Read—*khedaṁ*
,, 388, foot-note 1.— *Add*—See *J.I.H.*, XLII, i, pp. 127 ff.
,, 426, line 17.— *Read*—Bhamodrā
,, 430, foot-note 1.— *Add*—See No. 63A (p. 456).
,, 456, line 12.— *Read*— B—The Pallavas
,, ,, line 13.— *Read*—63-B
,, ,, foot-note 4, line 5.—For—*ibid.*, read *Suc. Sāt.*
,, 490, line 4.— *For*—J, *read*—I
,, ,, line 5.— *Read*—Pṛithivīvigraha
,, 502, line 3.— *Read*—Pūrṇavarman
,, 507, line 1.— *Read*—Stele
,, 515, foot-note 1.— *Add*—For a fragmentary pillar inscription of Aśoka from Amarāvatī, see *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 40 ff.


BHARATAVARSHA
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Vakshu R.
KETUMALA
VALHIKA
PAMIR
Sita (Yarkand R.)
KAPISA
YONA
KAMBOJA
KASMIRA
GANDHARA
Srinagar
Taxila
JAGUDA
Vitasta R.
KEKAYA
Chandrabhaga R.
Sialkot
MADRA
Iravati R.
Vipasa R.
Kailasa
Harappa
Satadru R.
Multan
TRIGARTA
USINARA
Nanda Devi
SINDHU
Sindhu R.
YAUDHEYA
KURU
Suvihar
SAUVIRA
HIMAVAT
PANCHALA
ANTARVEDI
Dhavalagiri
Indraprastha
Sarasvati R.
MARU
ABHIRAS
NISHADAS
MATSYA
Sudras
SURASENA
KOSALA
MALLA
Ganga R.
Ayodhya
Sarayu R.
Gandaki R.
Deodanga
ANGE
VIDEHA
Lichchhavis
VATSA
Yamuna R.
Prayaga
Charmanvati R.
Pataliputra
PUNDRA VARDHANA
Lauhitya R.
Pragjyotisha
Barbaricum
Dasapura
NAGAS
Kasi
MAGADHA
ANGA
KACHCHHA
APARAMALAVA
AVANTI
Ujjayini
AKARA
PURVAMALAVA
Sona R.
DASARNA
Riksha Mt.
VANGA
Dvaraka
ANARTA
Mahi R.
Bhrigukachchha
Narmada R.
Vindhya
MEKALA
SAMATATA
Girnar
SURASHTRA
ANUPA
SUHMA
Junagadh
Tapi R.
S. KOSALA
Tamralipti
LATA
BHOJAS
UTKALA
VIDARBHA
Mahanadi R.
DANDAKA
Surparaka
RASHTRIKAS
VAKATAKAS
Sahya
APARANTA
Junnar
MULAKA
ASMAKA
SABARAS
Mahendra Mt.
Chakrakuta
Kanheri
Karle
Bhimarathi R.
Godavari R.
KALINGA
Dantapura or Palours
DAKSHINAPATHA
Pishtapura
KUNTALA
Tungabhadra R.
Krishna R.
ANDHRAPATHA
VENGI
Masalia
Banavasi (Vaijayanti)
Satavahanihara
Isila
BANAVASI
Pinaki R.
GANGAVADI
Kanchi
Sravan Belgola
SATYA
Kaveri R.
Punnad
DRAVIDA
DAMIRICA
Kaviripaddinam
CHOLA
Muziris
Madura
KERALA
Malaya
PANDYA
Kritamala R.
TAMRAPARNI PARASAMUDRA or SIMHALA
Tamraparni R.
Kaysl
Korkai
CEYLON
SUVARNA BHUMI

From *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

A

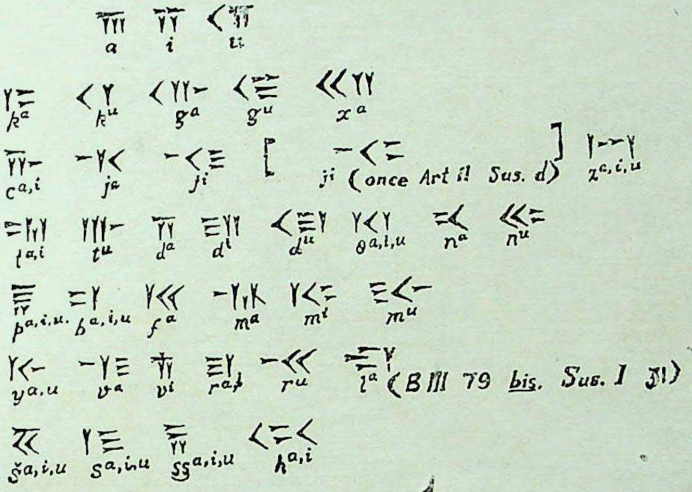

y d^i i p t i y m^a n y a h i y
yadipatiy man(i)yāh(a)iy
c i y k r m^a a v^a a d^a h y a v^a
ciyakaram avā dahyāva
t y a d a r y v^a u š x š a y θ i y
tyā dārayava(h)uš xšāyaθiya
a d^a a r y p t i k r m^a d^i i d^i i y
adāraya patikaram dīdiy
t y i y m n a g a θ u m^a
tyaiy manā gāθum
b r t i y a v d^a a x š n a s a h
bara(n)tiy avadā xšnāsah(i)diš
d^i i š a d^a t i y a z d^a a b v a t
adataiy azdā bavātiy
i y p a r s h y a m^a r t i y h
pārsahyā martiyahyā
y a d^u u r i y a r š t i š
dūraiy arštiš
p r a g m^a t a a d^a t i y
parāgmatā adataiy
a z d^a a b v a t i y p a r s
azdā bavātiy pārsa
m^a r t i y d^u u r y p i y
martiya dūrayapiy
h c a . p a r s a p r t r m^a
hacā . pārsā prtaram
p t i y j t a
patiyajatā

Specimens of Cuneiform Writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—A

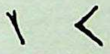
From *Old Persian Inscriptions* by S. Sen.

PLATE III

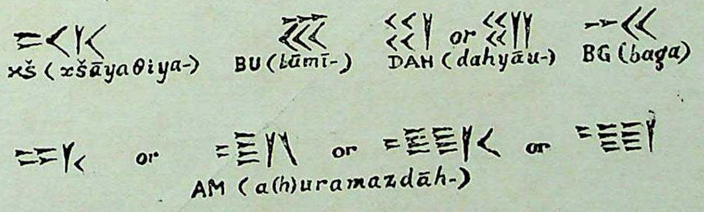
B


a i u
ka ku ga gu xa
ca,i ja ji [ji (once Art II Sus. d)] za,i,u
ta,i tu da di du θa,i,u na nu
pa,i,u. ba,i,u fa ma mi mu
ya,u va vi ra,i ru la (B III 79 bis. Sus. I JI)
ša,i,u sa,i,u ssa,i,u ha,i

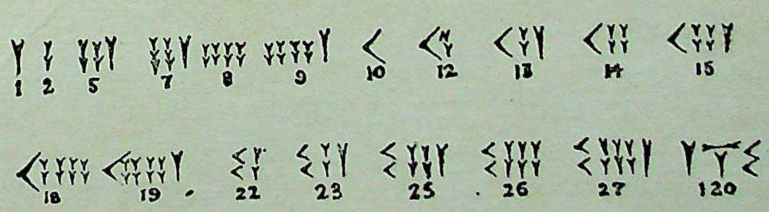
WORD-DIVIDER



IDEOGRAMS

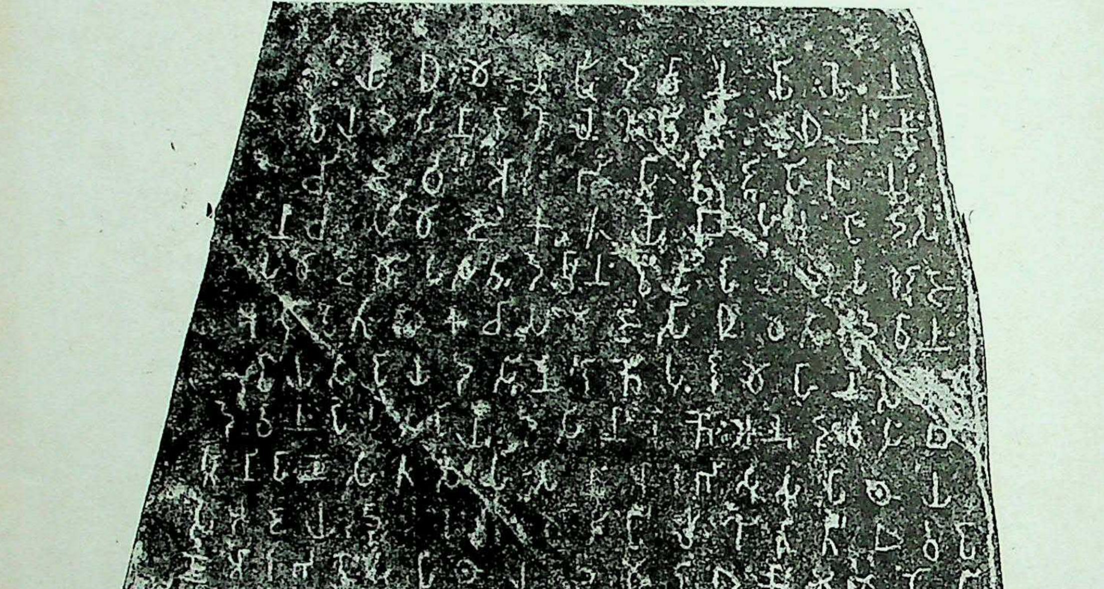

XŠ (xšāyaθiya-)
BU (būmi-)
DAH (dahyāu-)
or
BG (baga)
or
or
or
AM (a(h)uramazdāh-)

NUMERALS


1 2 5 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15
18 19 22 23 25 26 27 120

Specimens of Cuneiform Writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—B.

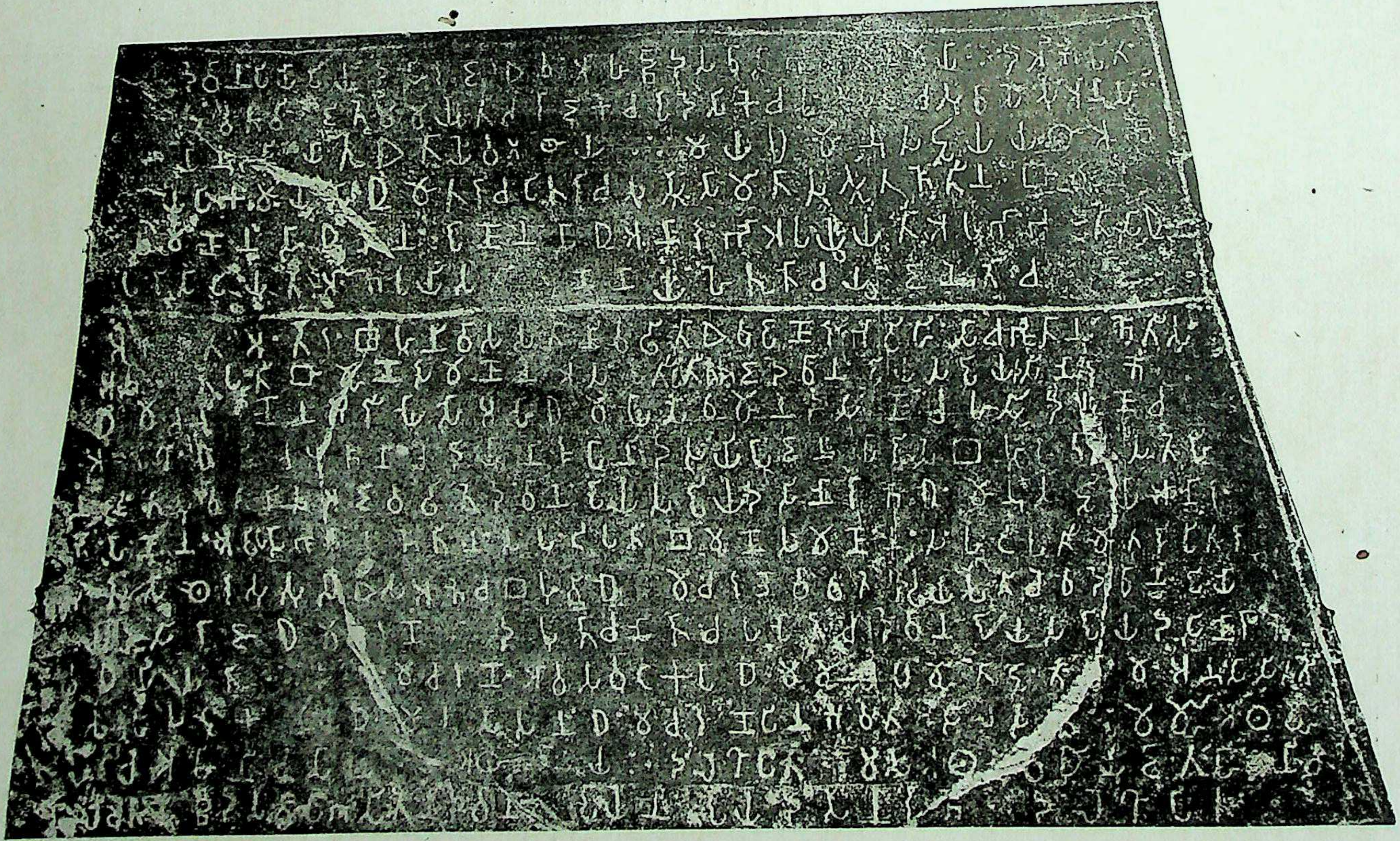
From *Old Persian Inscriptions* by S. Sen.



Girnār Rock Edicts I and II of Aśoka (Bk. I, Nos. 6-7).

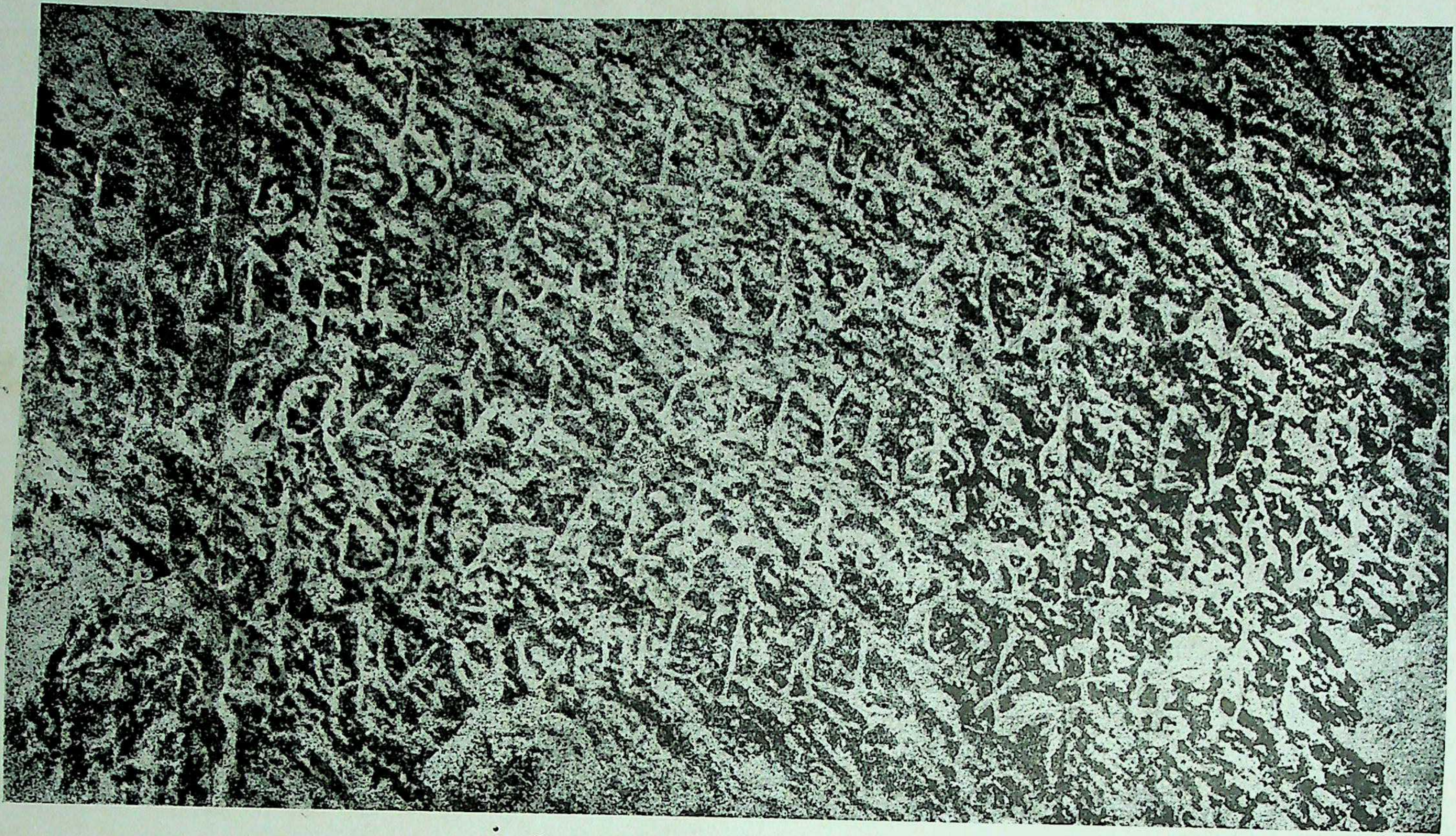
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind (*Corp. Ins Ind.*, I).

PLATE V



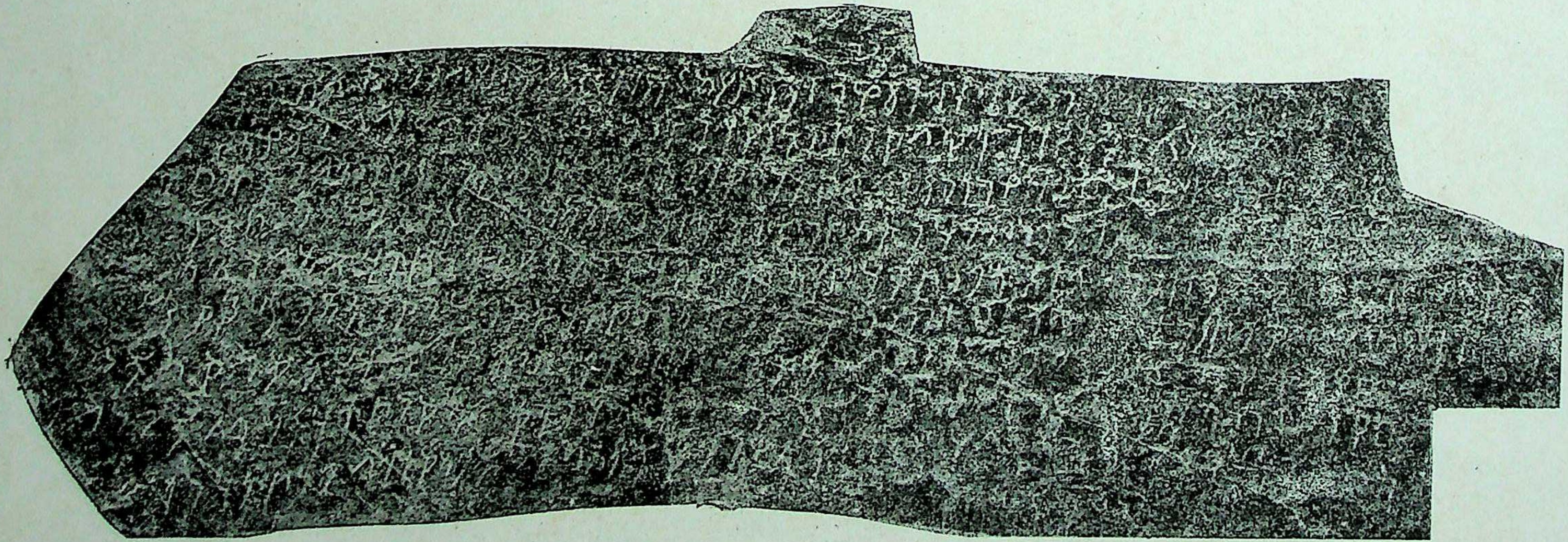
Girnār Rock-Edicts III and IV of Aśoka (Bk. I, Nos. 8-9).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I).



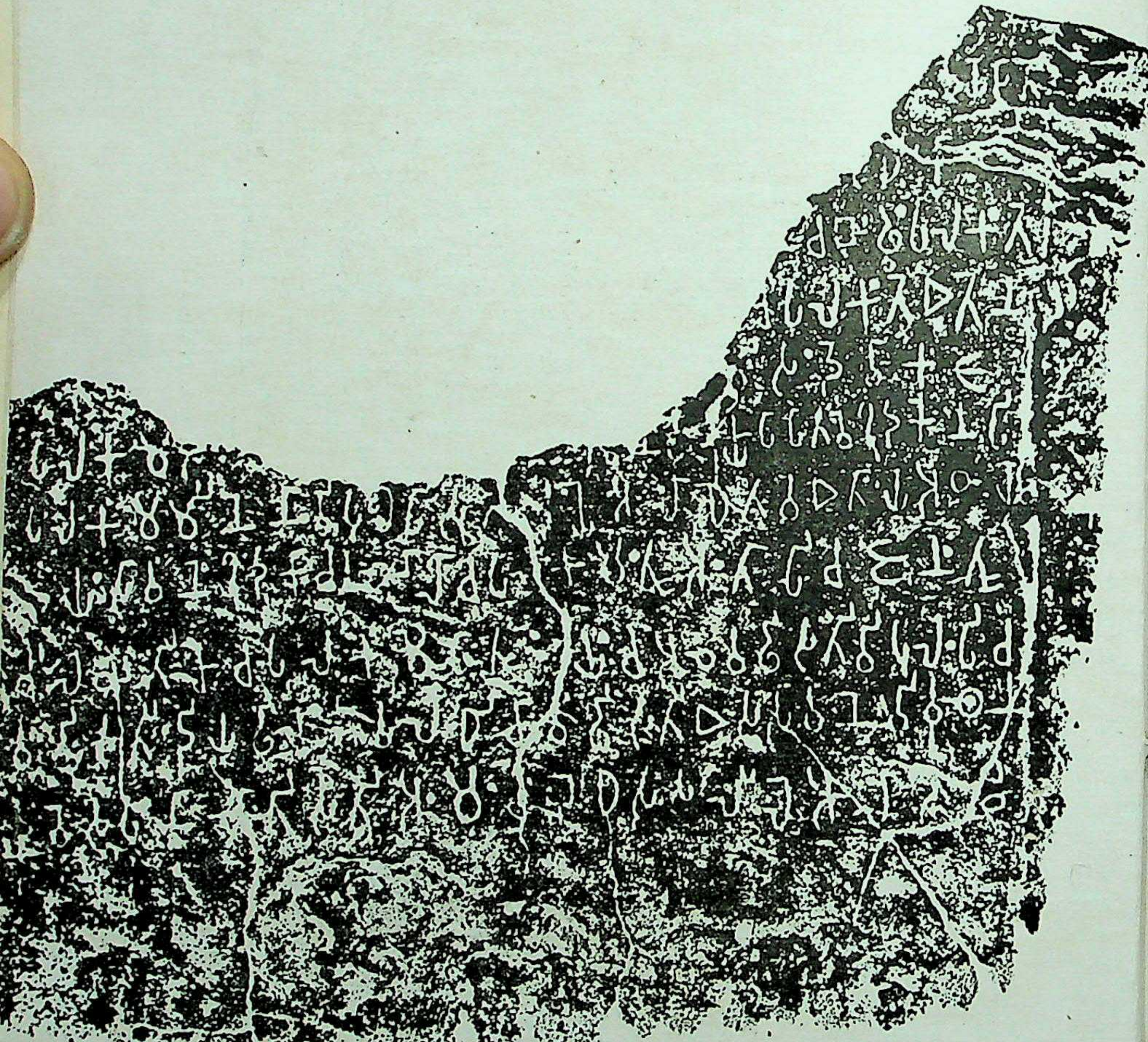
Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict VII of Aśoka (Bk. I, No. 12)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I).



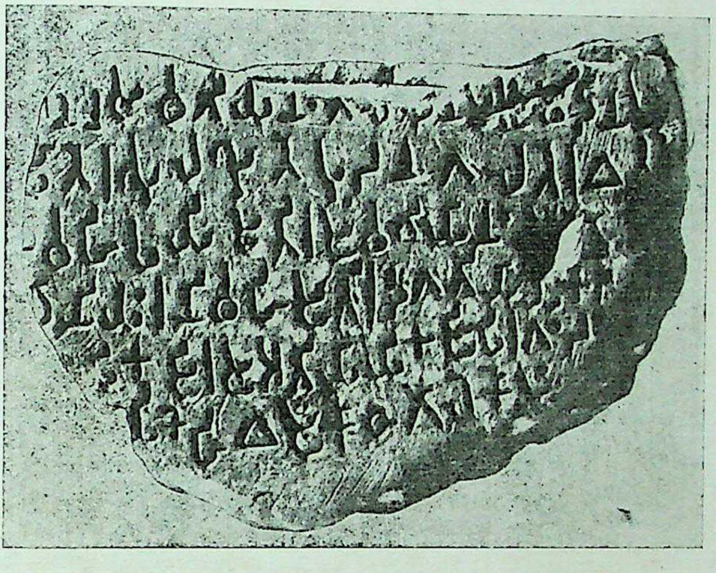
Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict XII of Aśoka (Bk. I, No 17)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I)

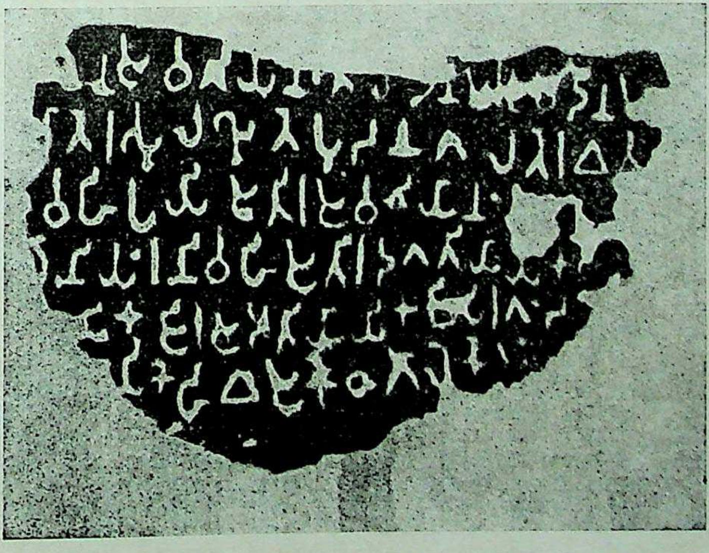


Ahraurā Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka (Bk. I, No. 23-B).

ourtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad.



(Photographic Print)

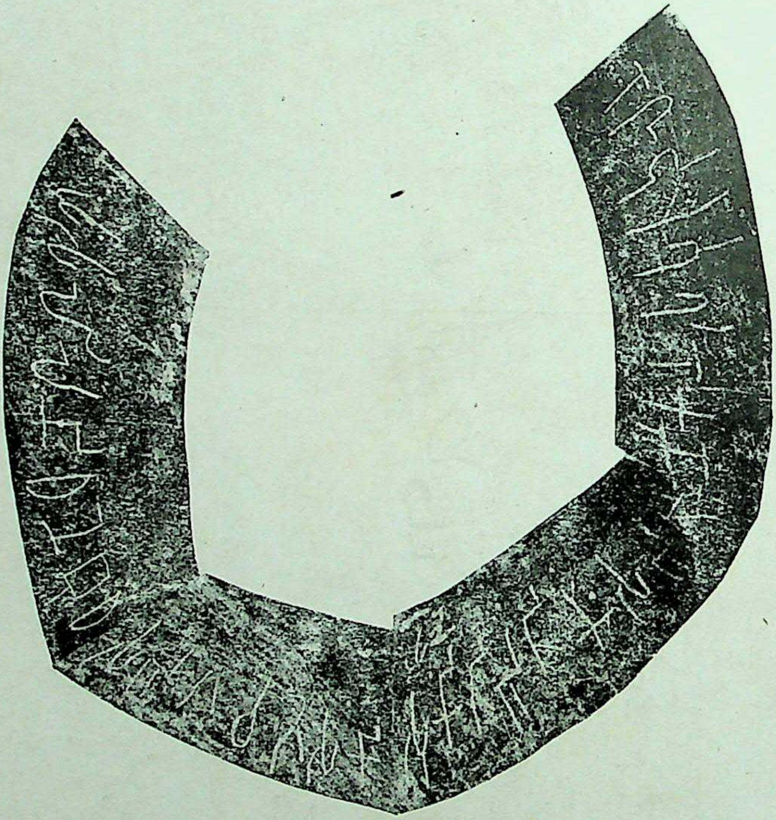


(Rubbing)

Mahāsthān Stone Plaque Inscription (Bk. I, No. 45).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

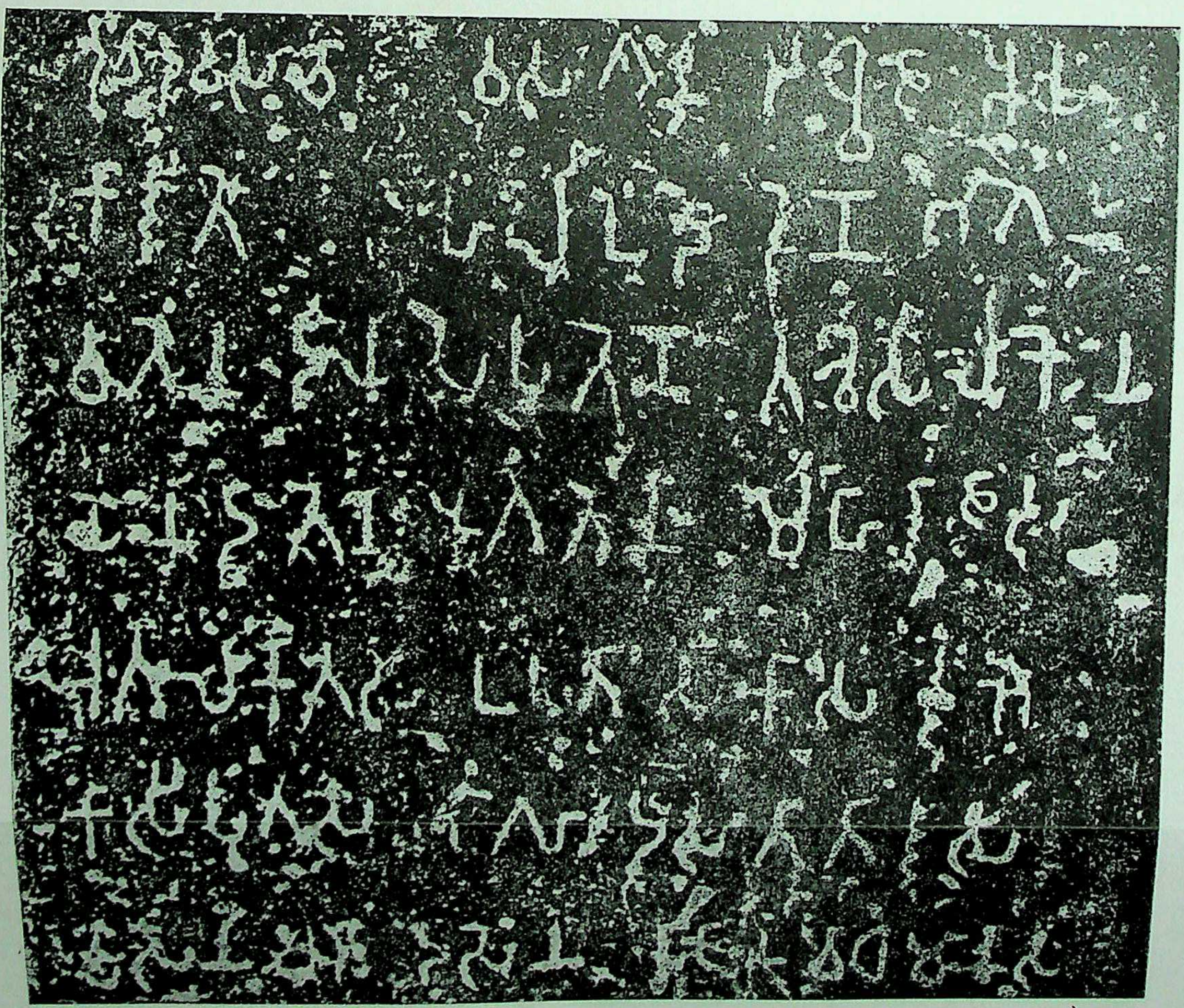
PLATE X



Piprāhwā Vase Inscription (Bk. I, No. 46).

From *Journ. Dep. Let.*, IV.

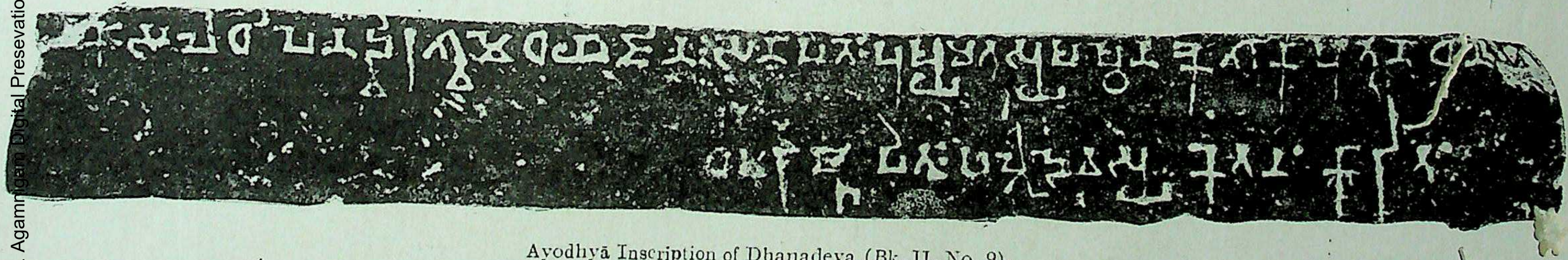
PLATE XI



Besnagar Pillar Inscription (Bk. II, No. 2).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1).

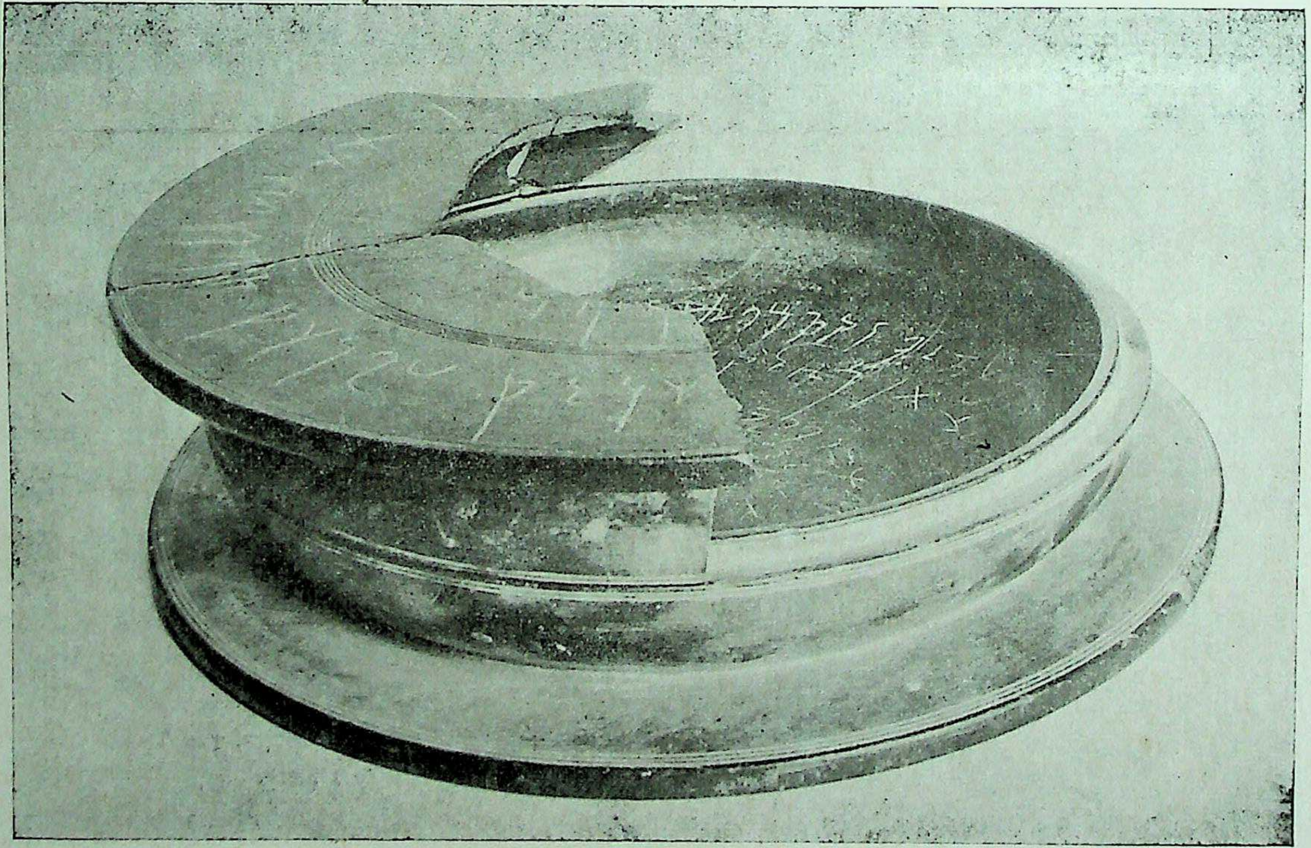
PLATE XII



Ayodhyā Inscription of Dhanadeva (Bk. II, No. 9).

Courtesy : B. O. R. S. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, X).

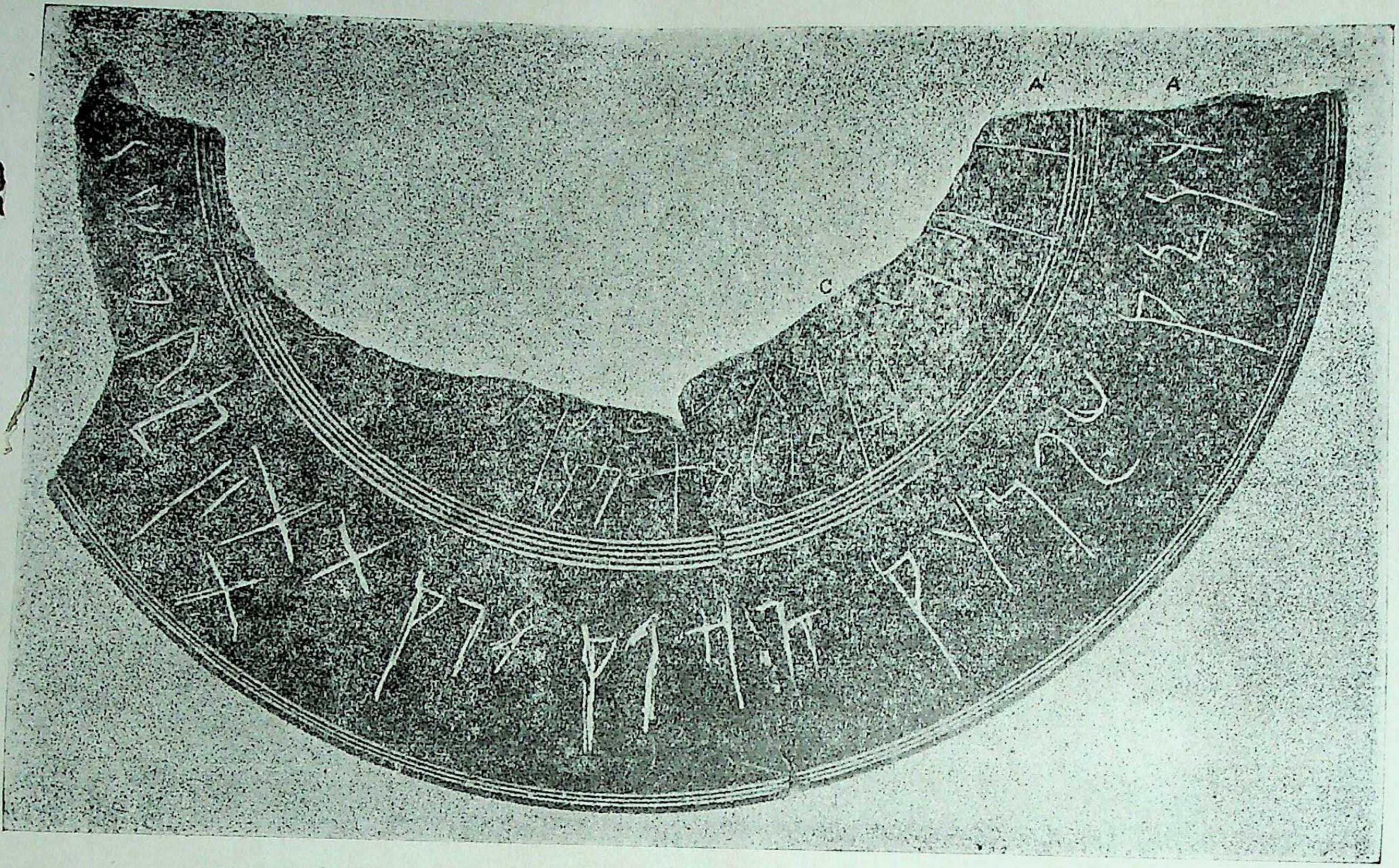
PLATE XIII



Shinkot (Bajaur) Relic Casket (Bk. II, No. 14).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

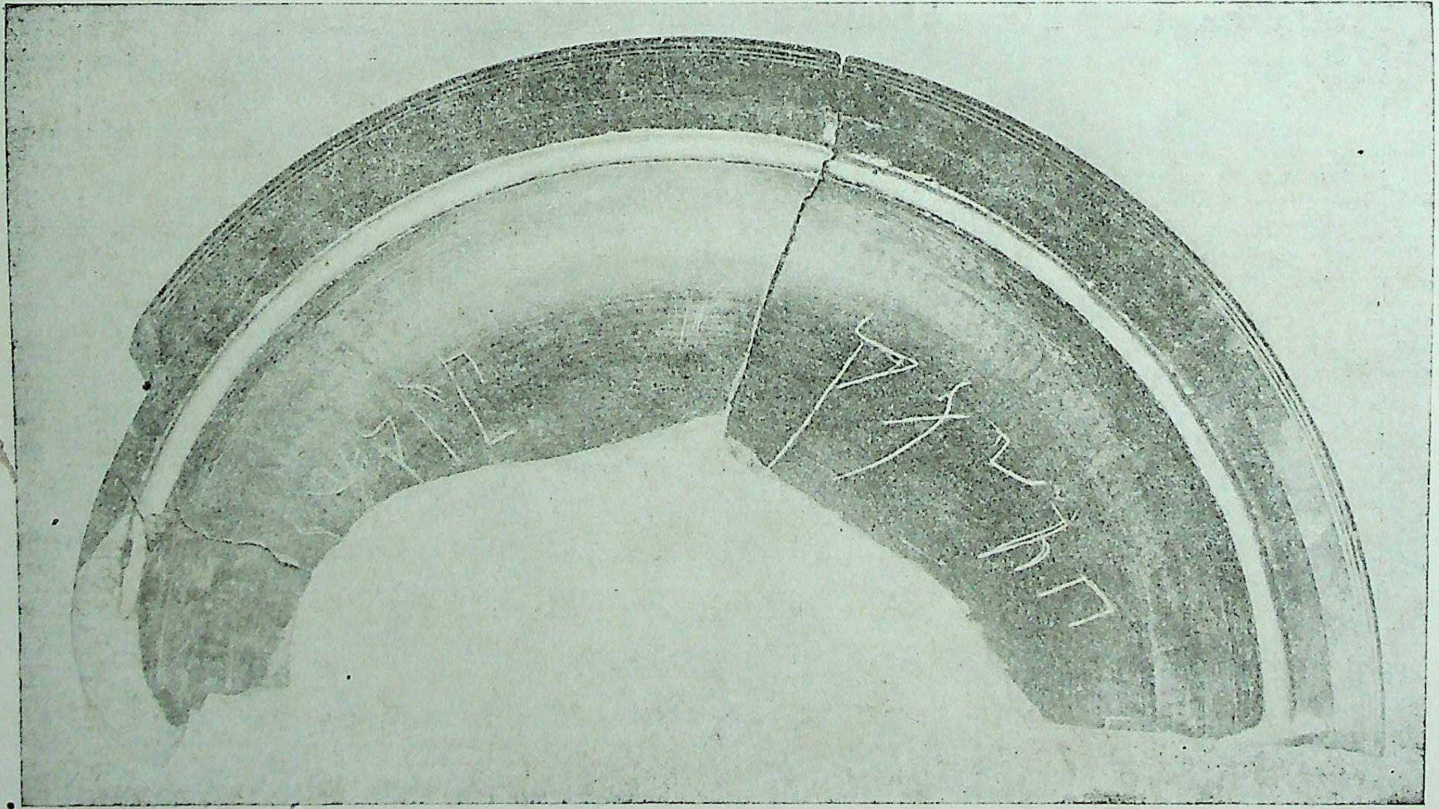
PLATE XIV



Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No. 14), Sections A, A^1 and C.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

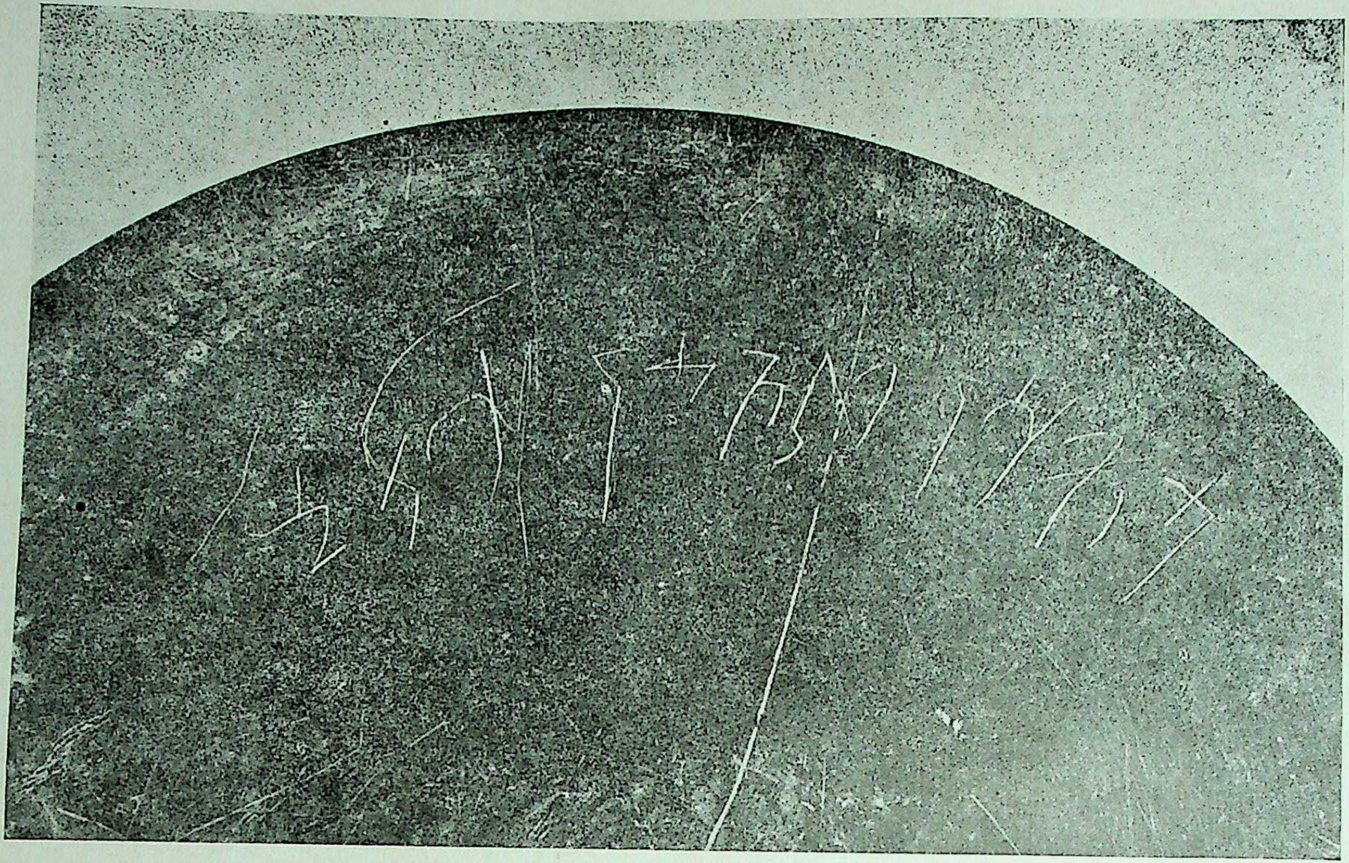
PLATE XV



Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Bk. II, No. 14), Section A².

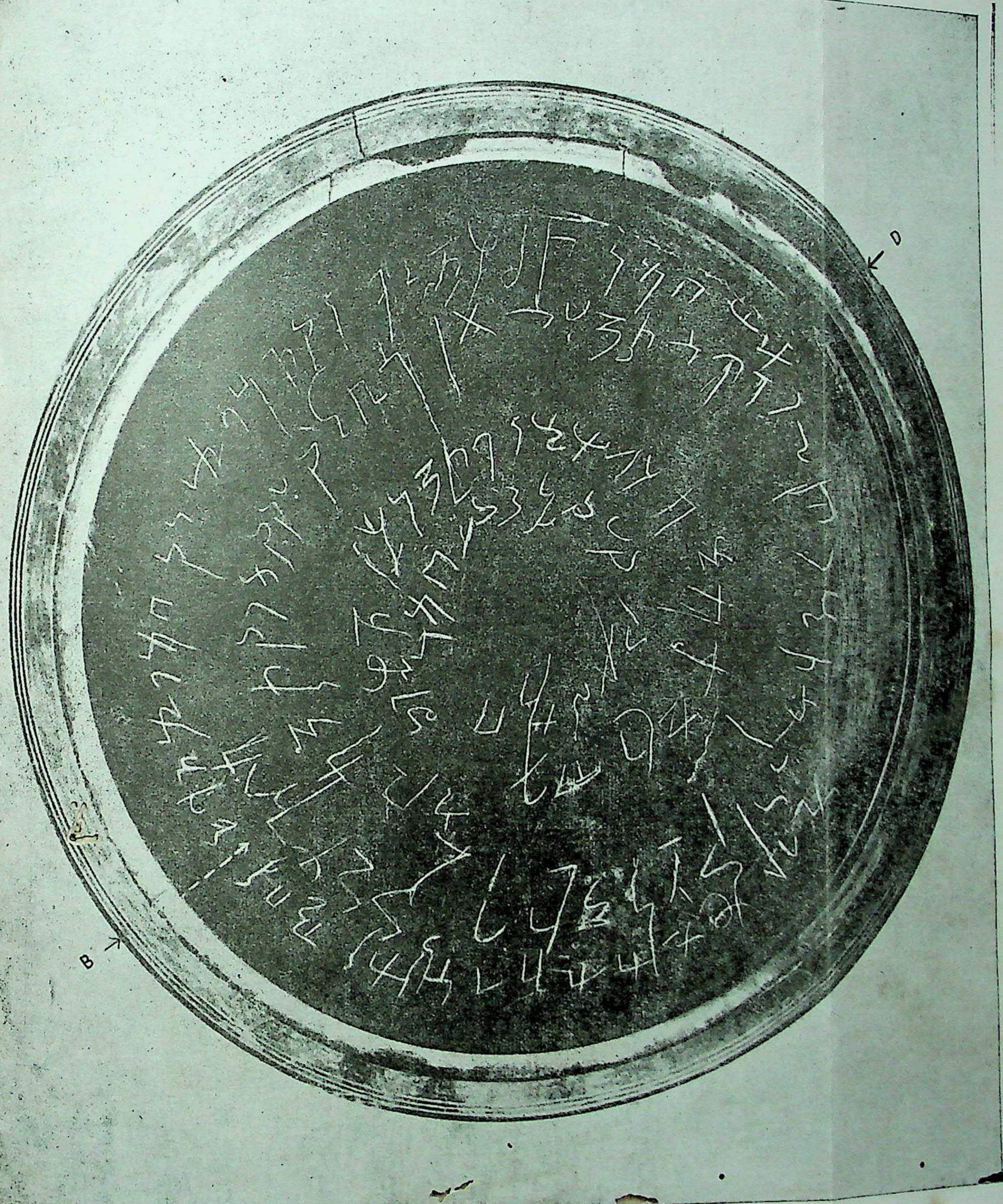
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

PLATE XVI



Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No. 14), Section E.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

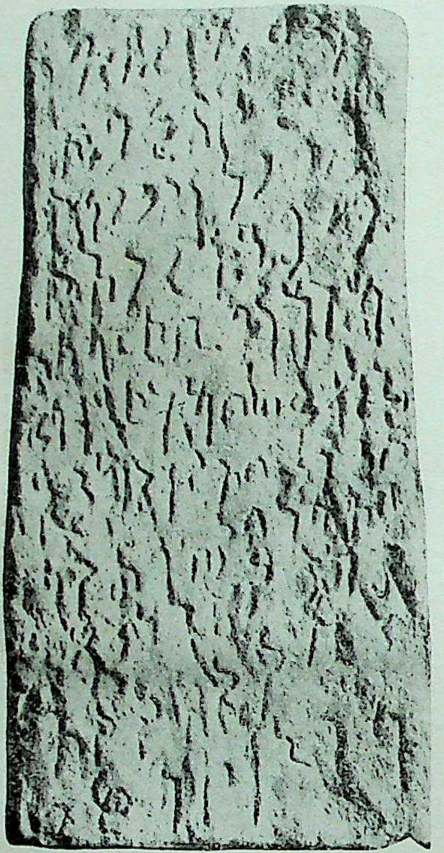


Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Bk. II, No. 14), Sections B and D.

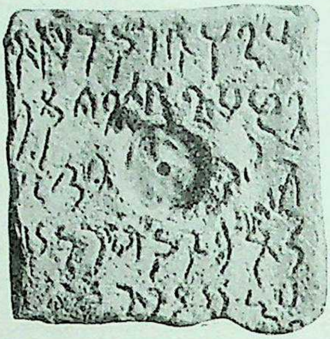
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

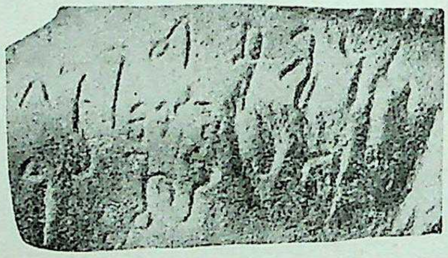
PLATE XVIII

A (lines 6-16)

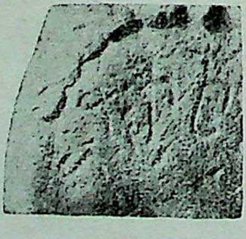


A (lines 1-5)

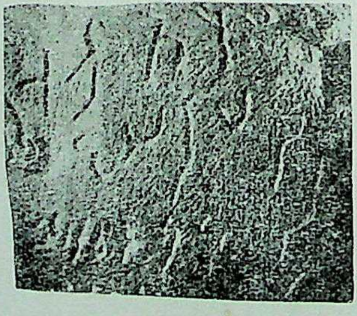




E (lines 1-2), E′



E″

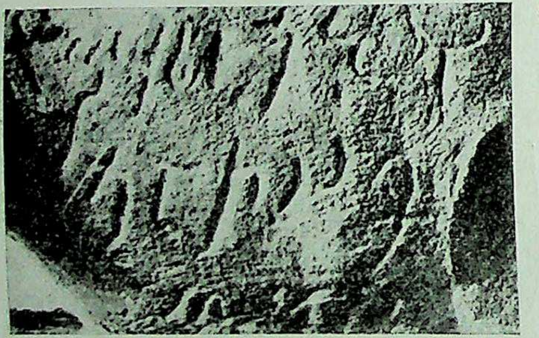


E (lines 3-4)

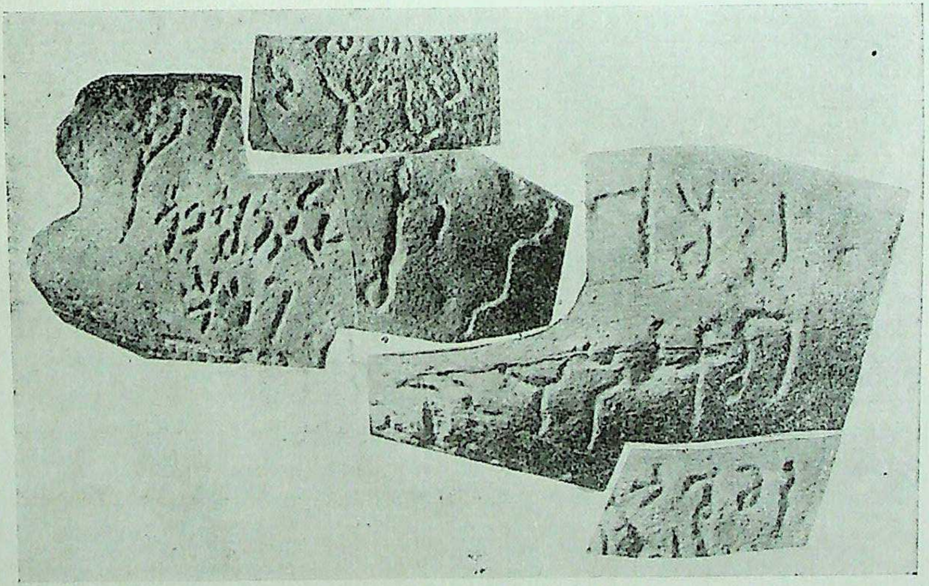
Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections A, E and E″.

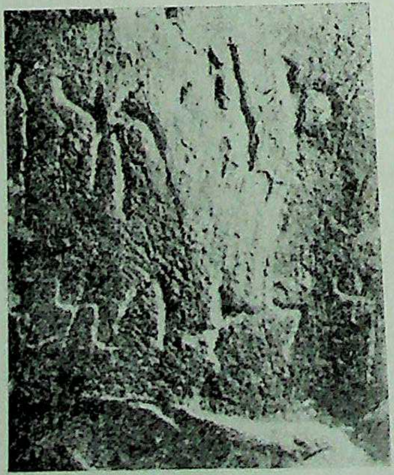
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).

M



B. C, D





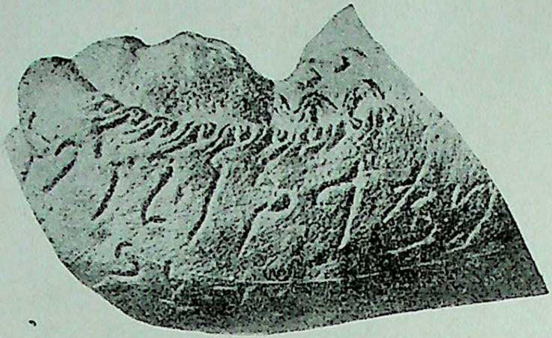
J

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections B, C, D, J and M.

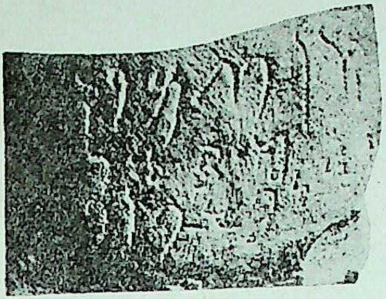
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).

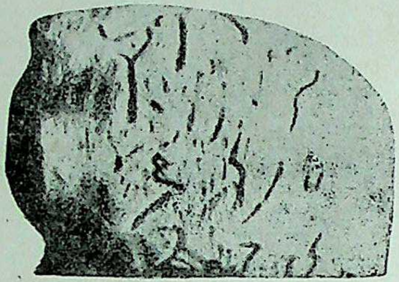
PLATE XX

F (line 1)

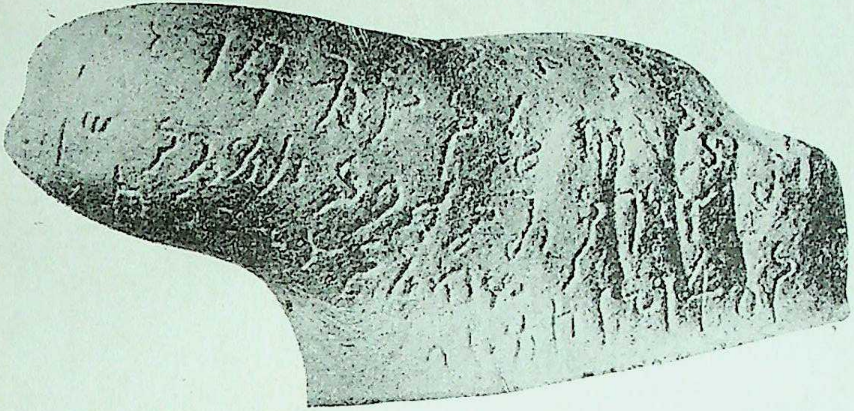


K. L





G



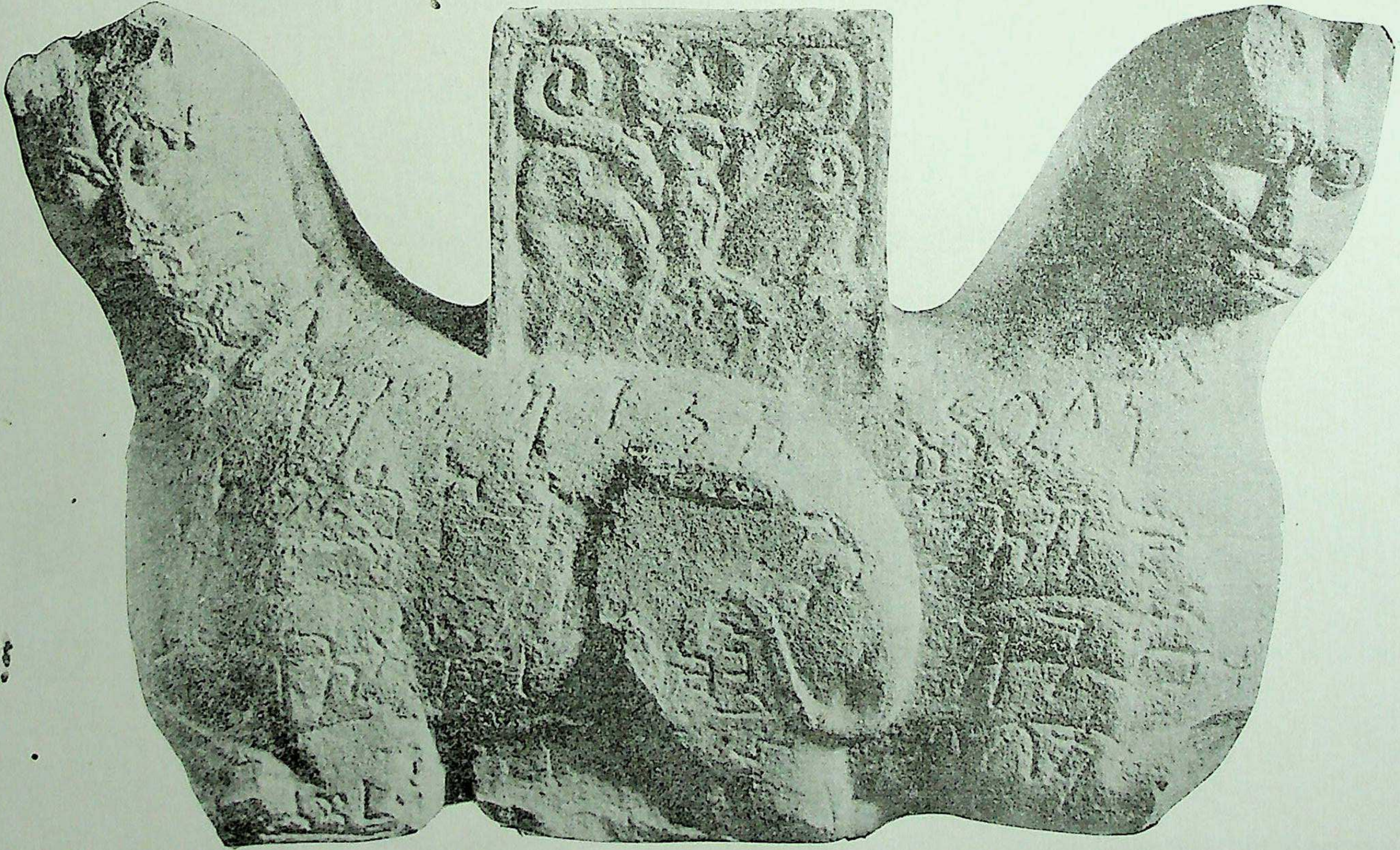
F (line 2), G, J (line 3), K, L (line 3)

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections F, G, J, K and L.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).

PLATE XXI

I, J, M (line 3), Q (line 2)

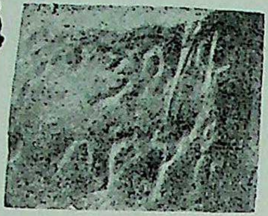


Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections I, J, M and Q.

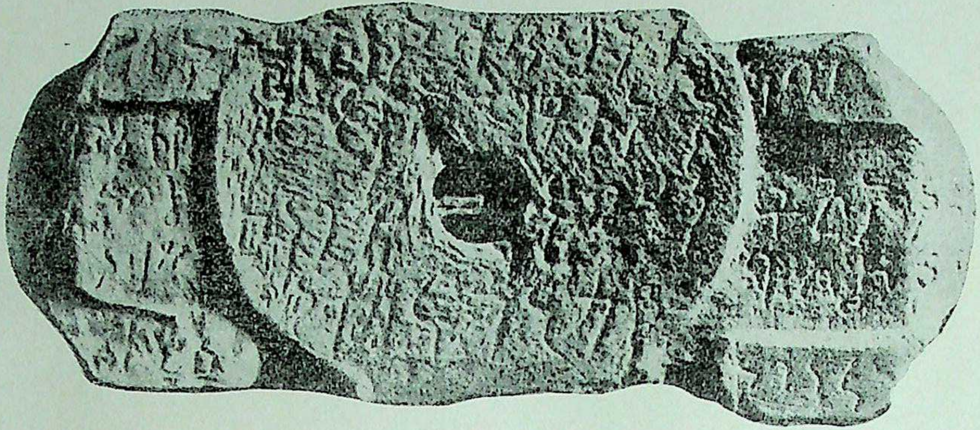
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II. i).

PLATE XXII

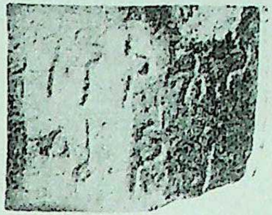
O

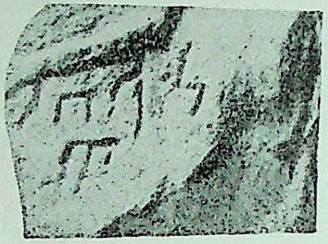


N, O, P, Q, R

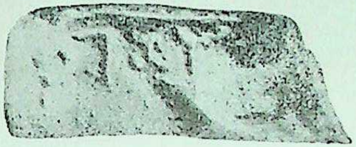


P





J′

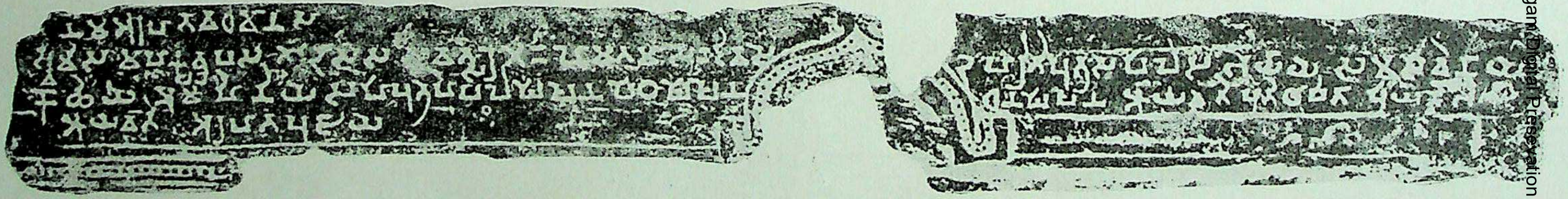


Q (line 2)

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections J′, N, O, P, Q and R.

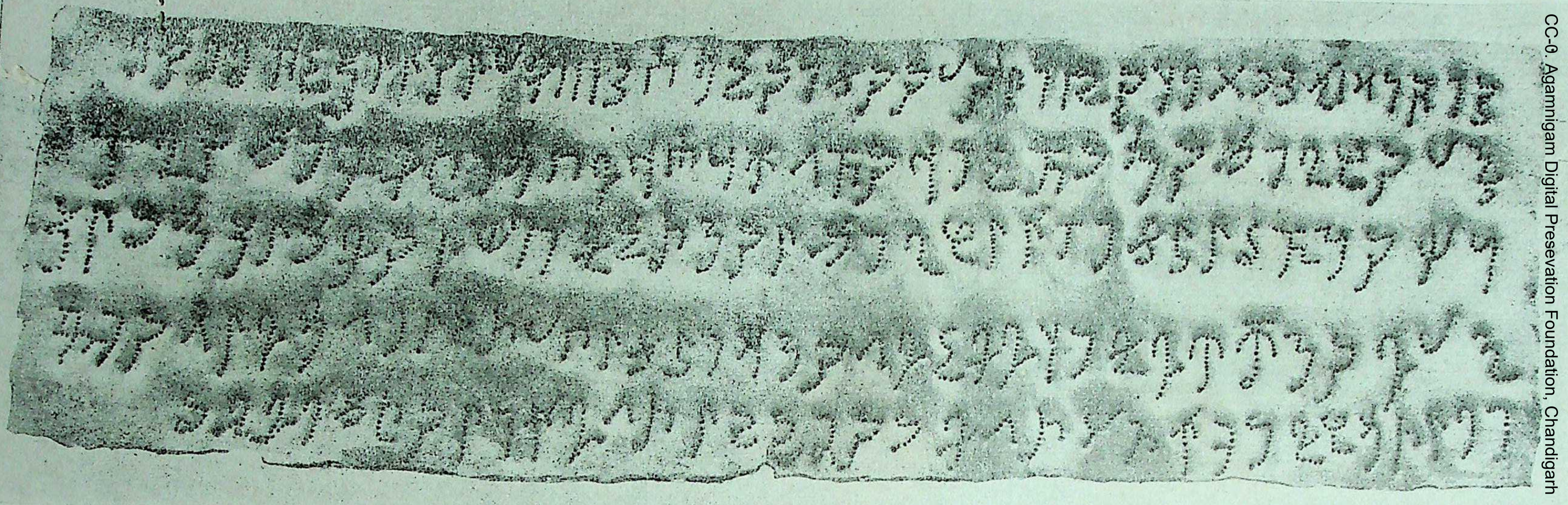
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).

PLATE XXIII



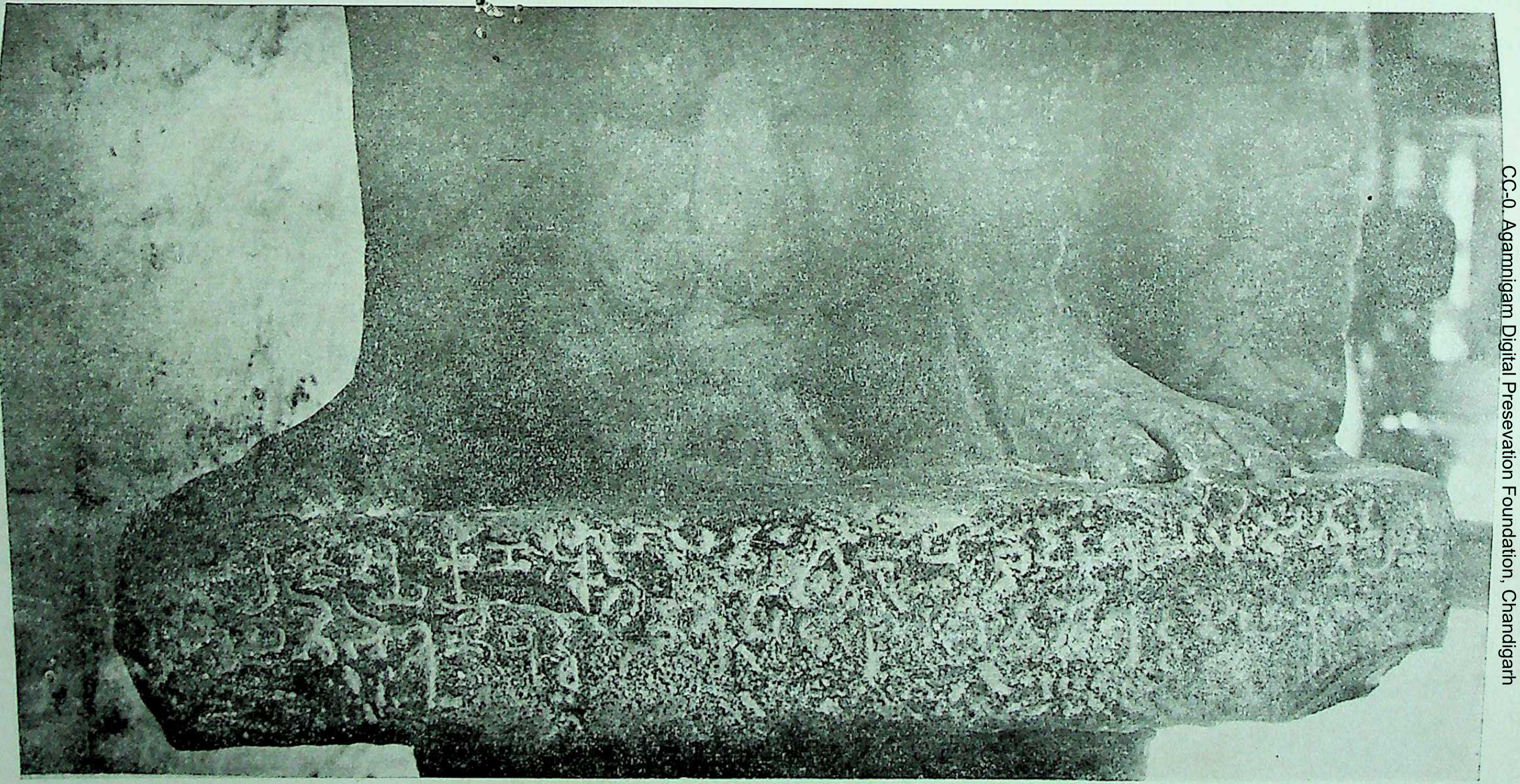
Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription (Bk. II, 25).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, II).



Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. II, No. 33).

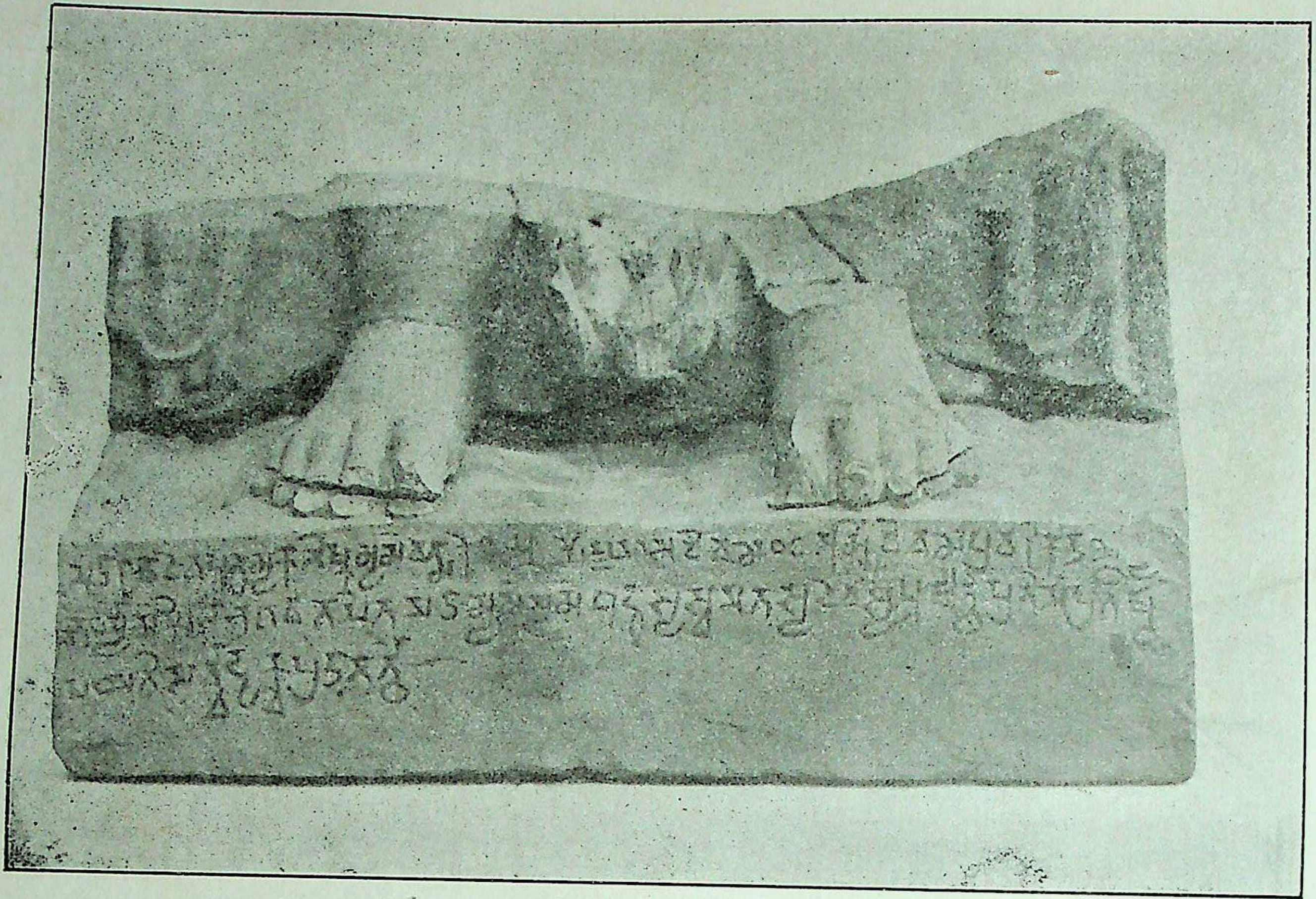
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).



Kosam Inscription of Kanishka I (Bk. II, No. 36-A).

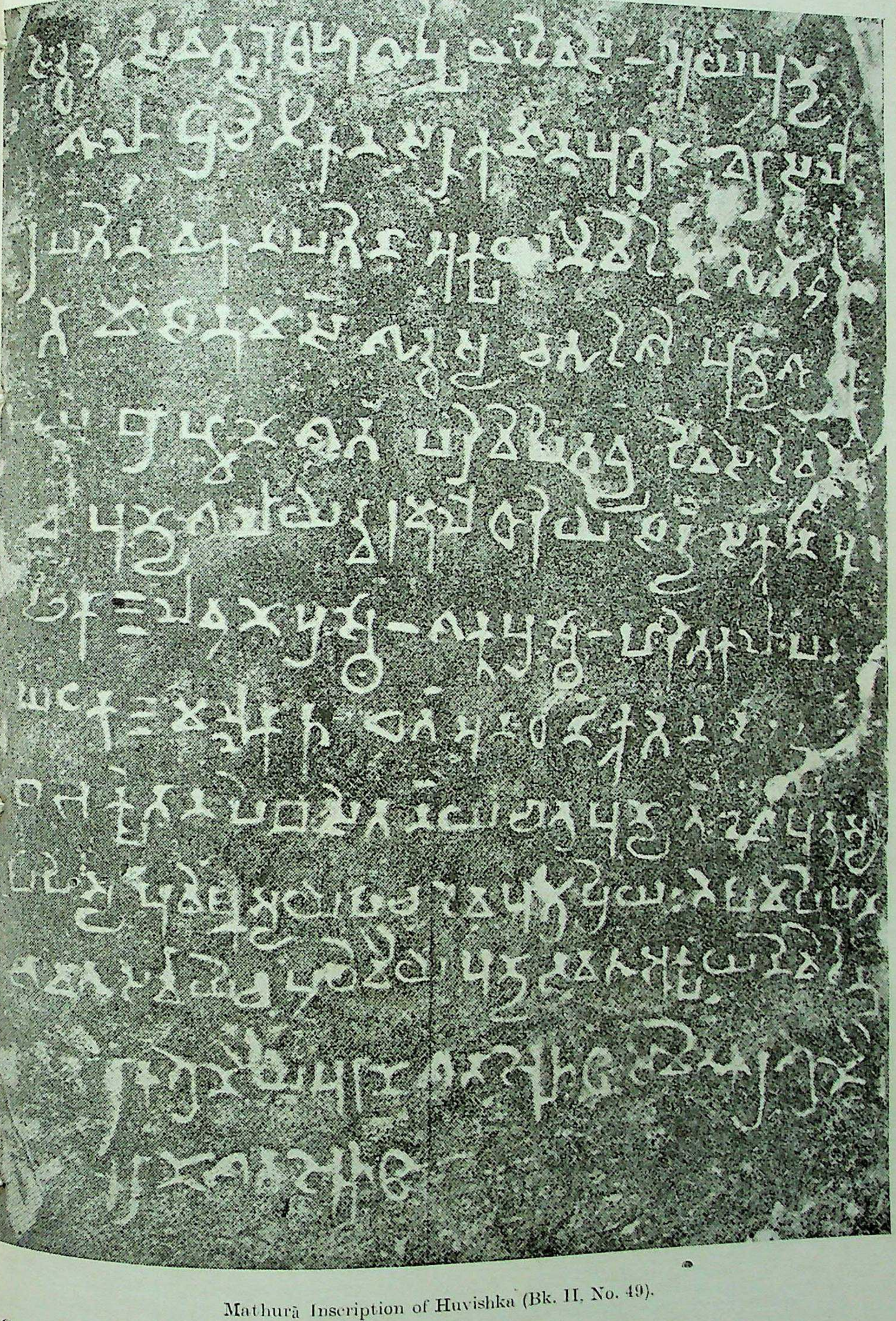
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

PLATE XXVI



Mathurā Inscription of Kanishka I (Bk. II, No. 42-A).

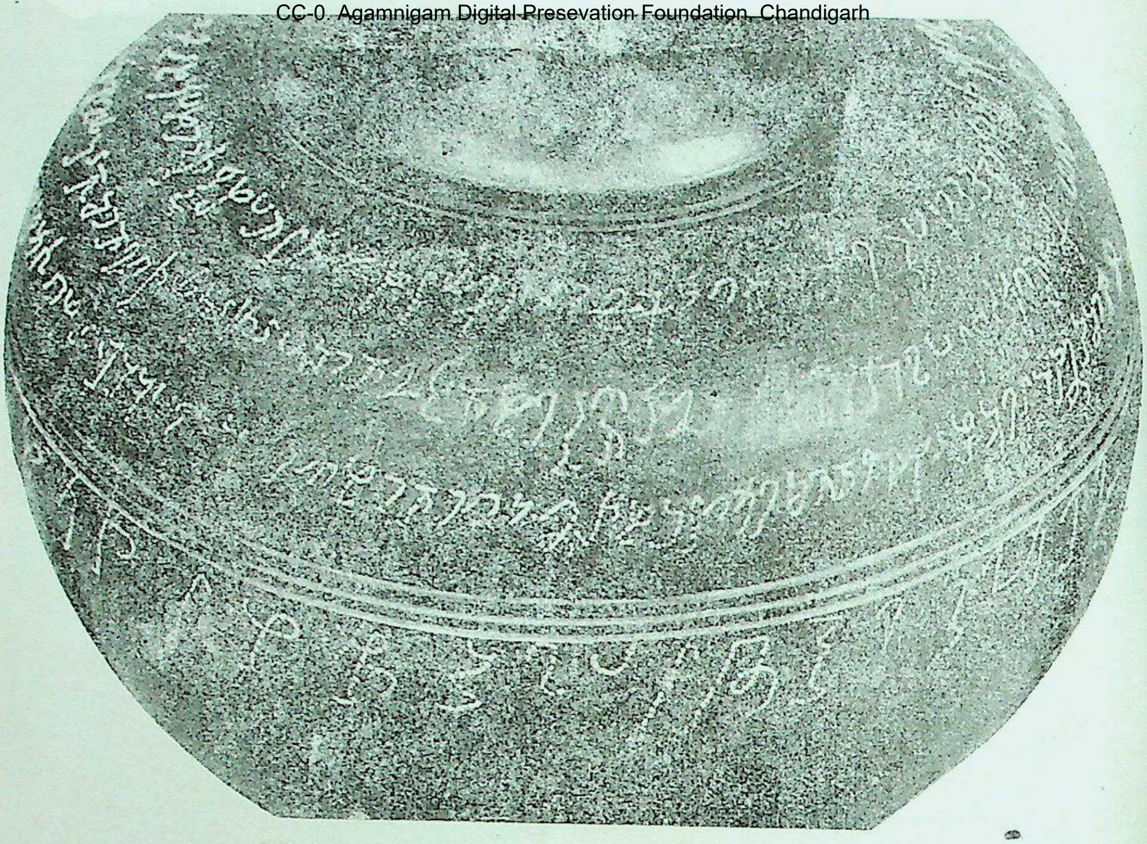
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX).



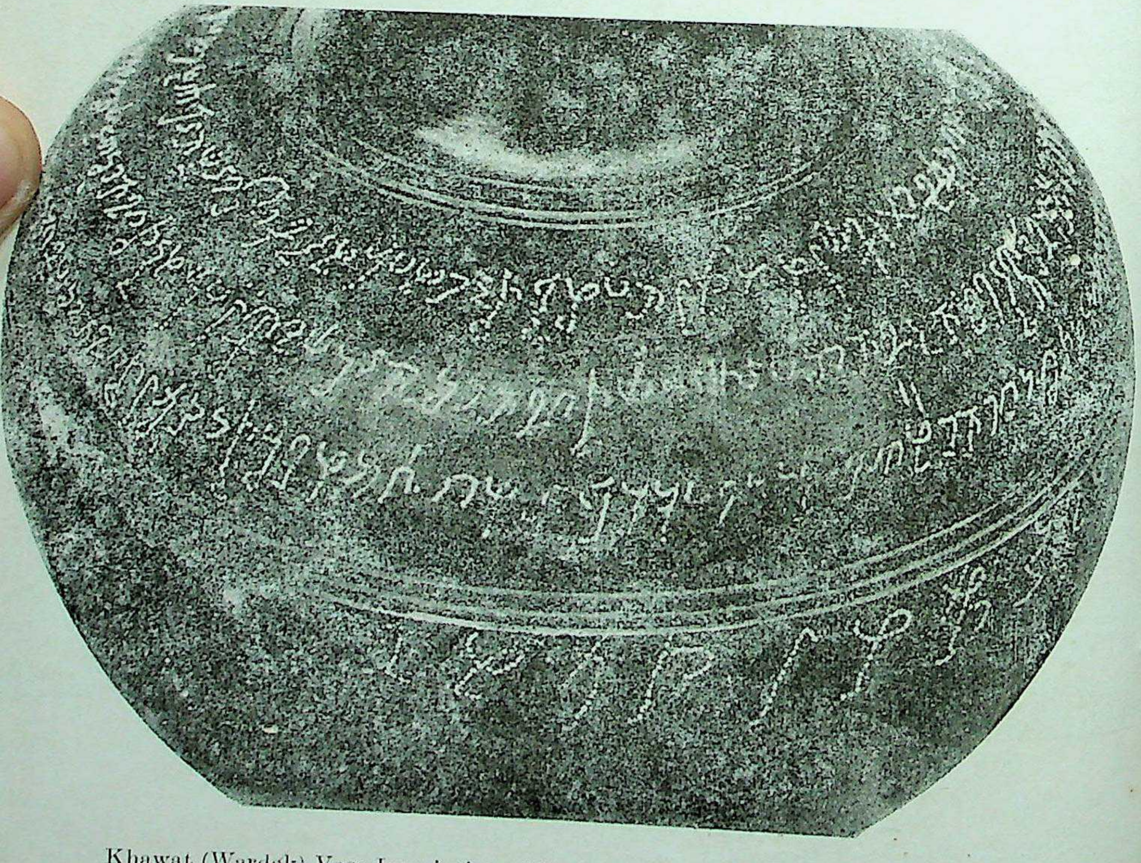
Mathurā Inscription of Huvishka (Bk. II, No. 49).

Courtesy : B.O.R.S. (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII).

Side A

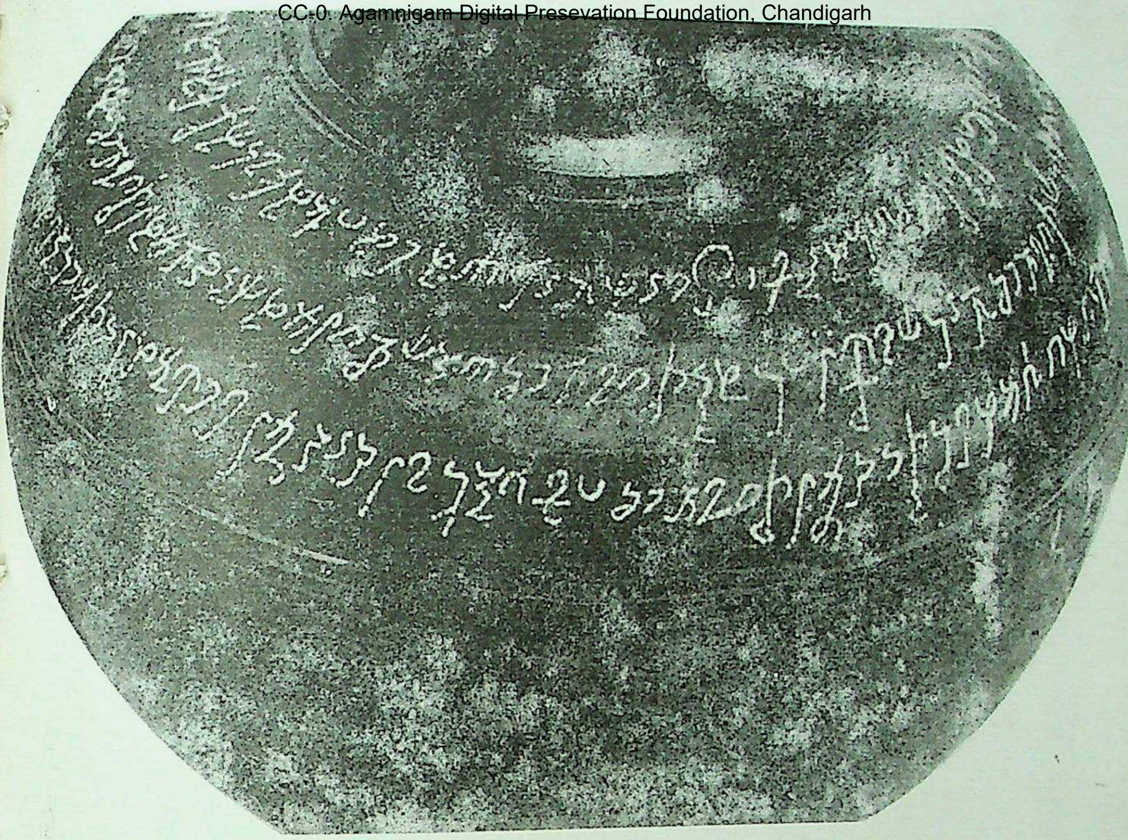


Side B

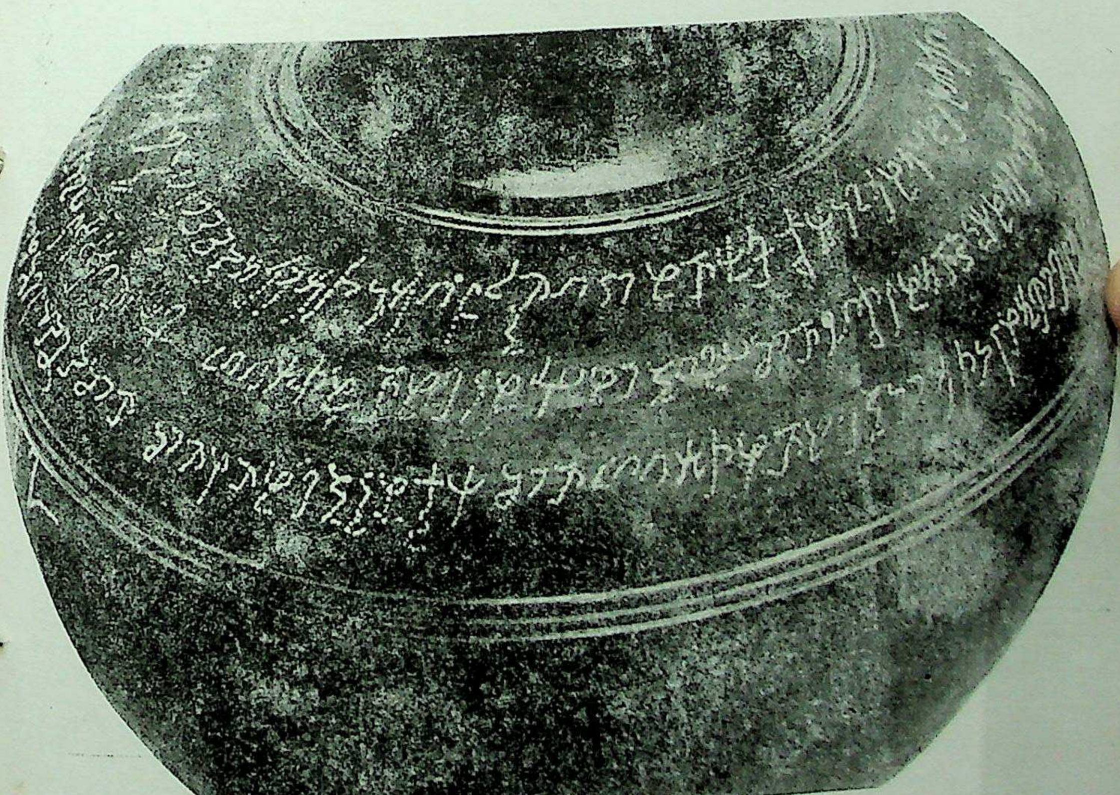


Khawat (Wardak) Vase Inscription of Huvishka (Bk. II, No. 55), Sides A and B.

Side C

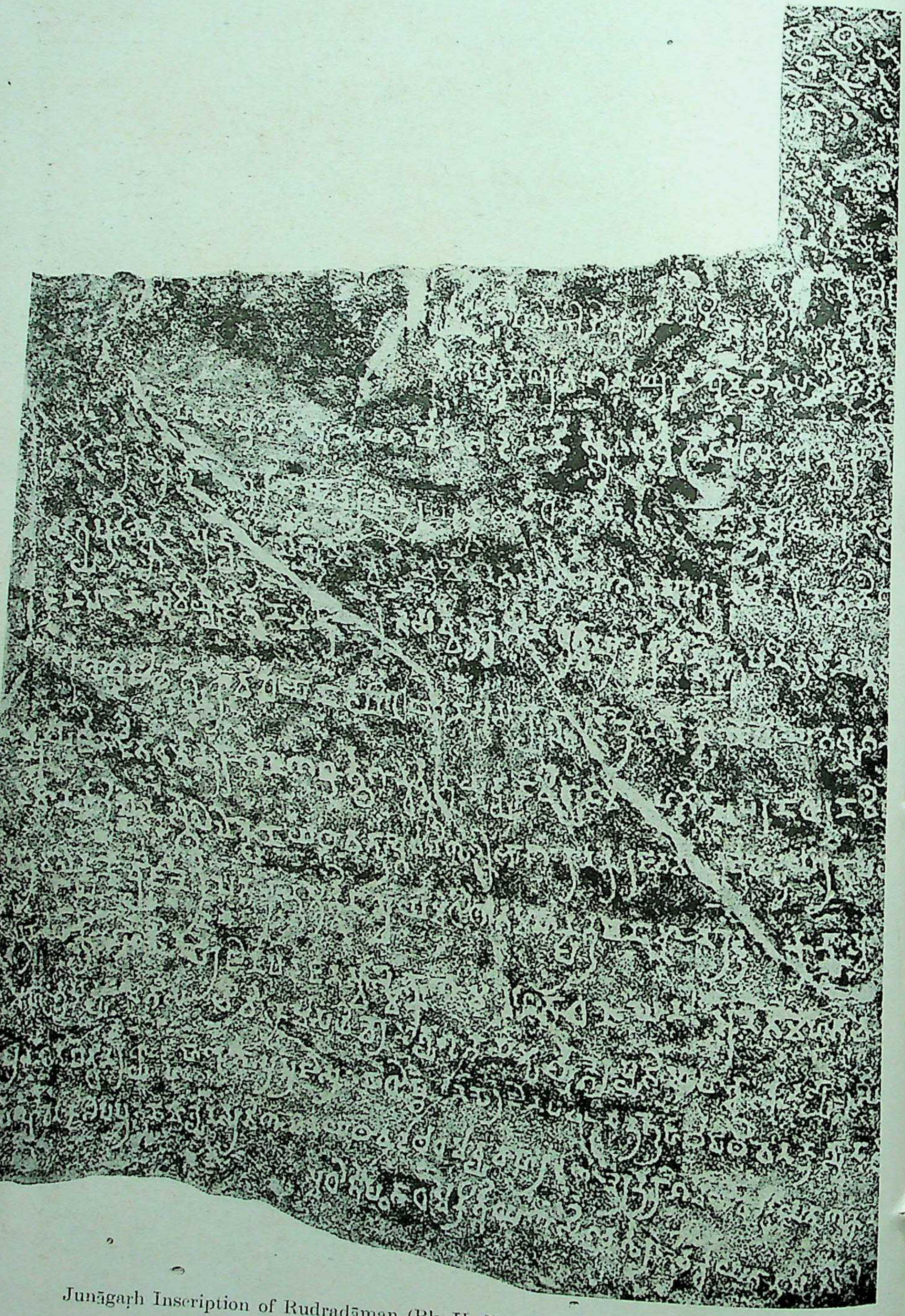


Side D



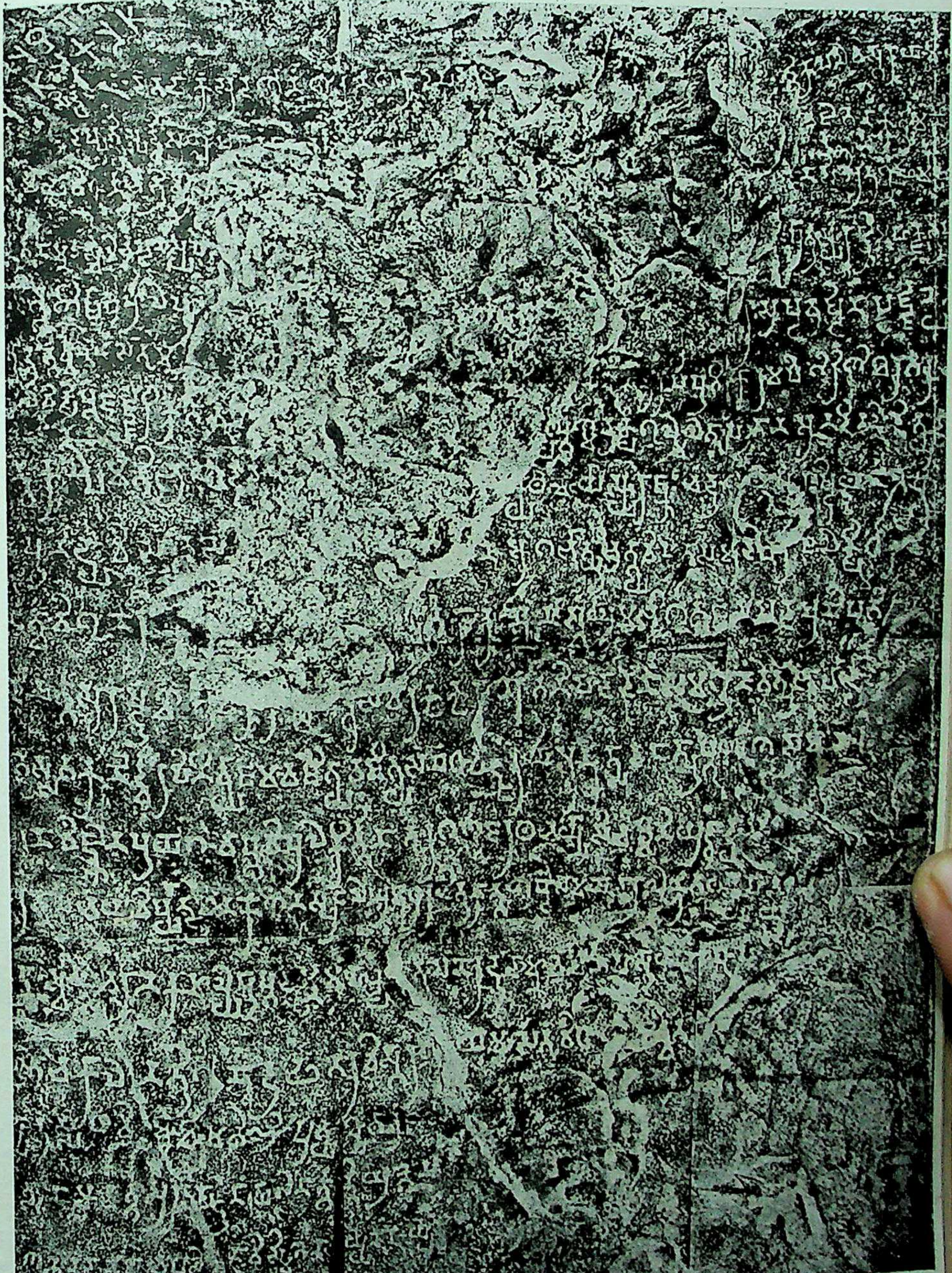
Khawat (Wardak) Vase Inscription of Huvishka (Bk. II, No. 55). Sides C and D.

Ins. Ind., II, i).



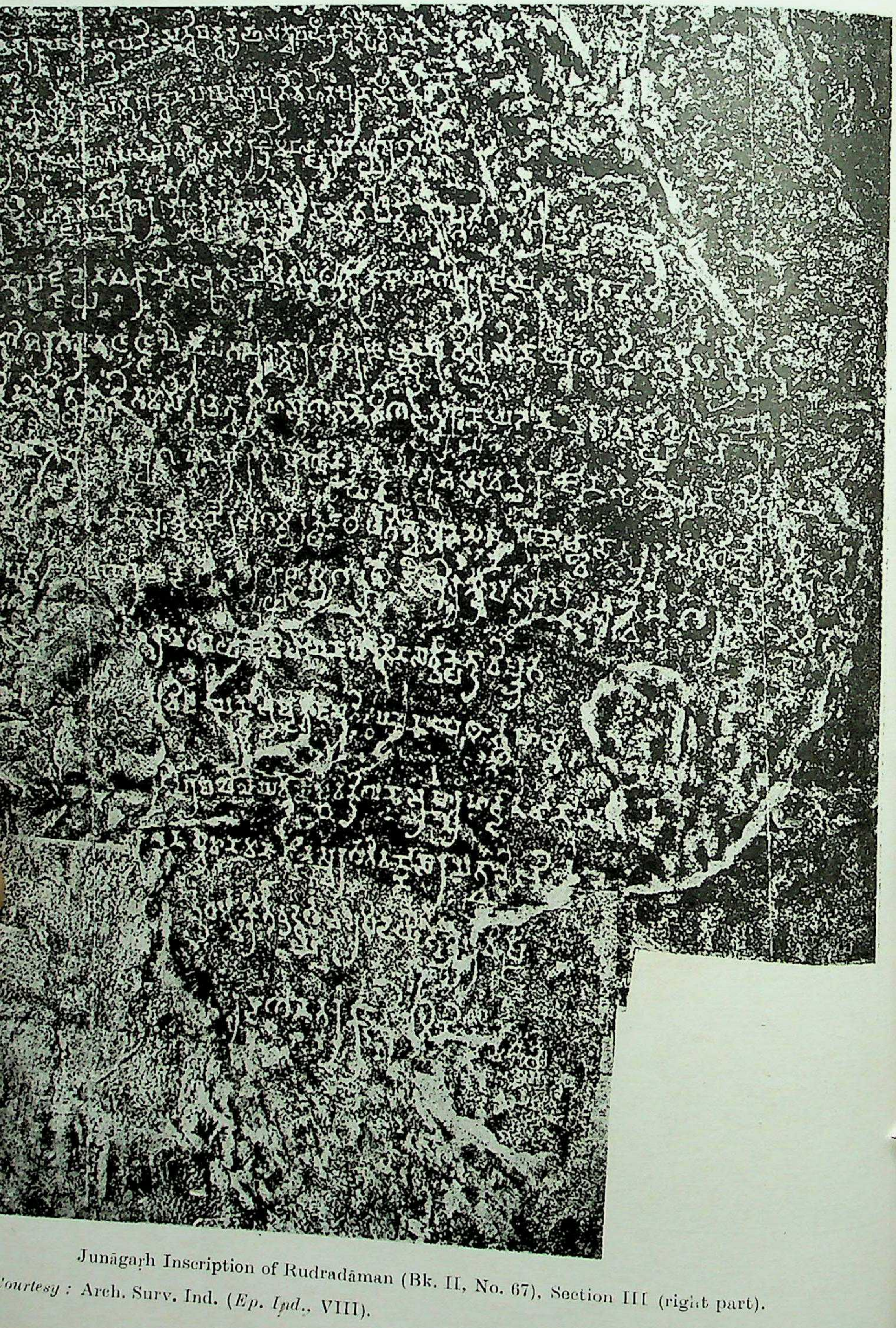
Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section I (left part).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).



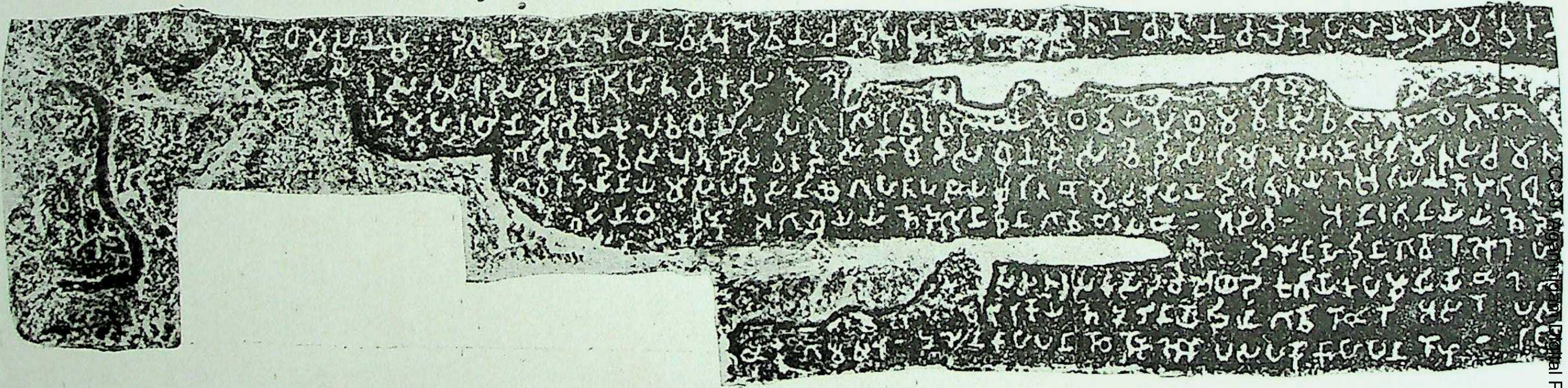
Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67). Section II (central part).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

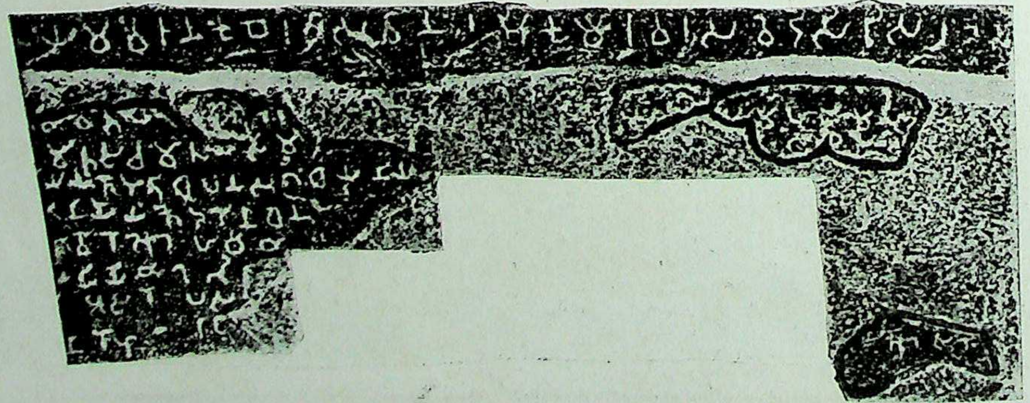


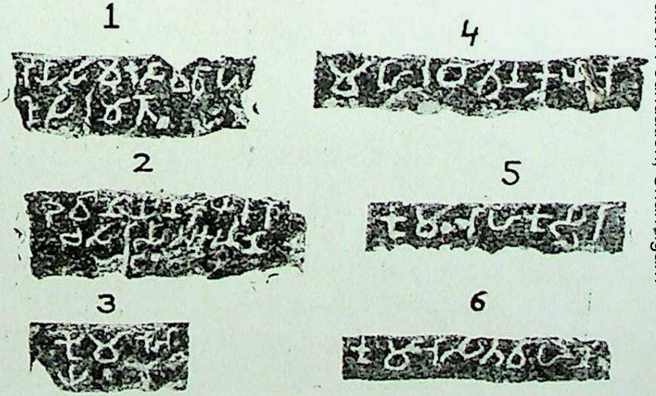
Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section III (right part).
ourtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

I



II

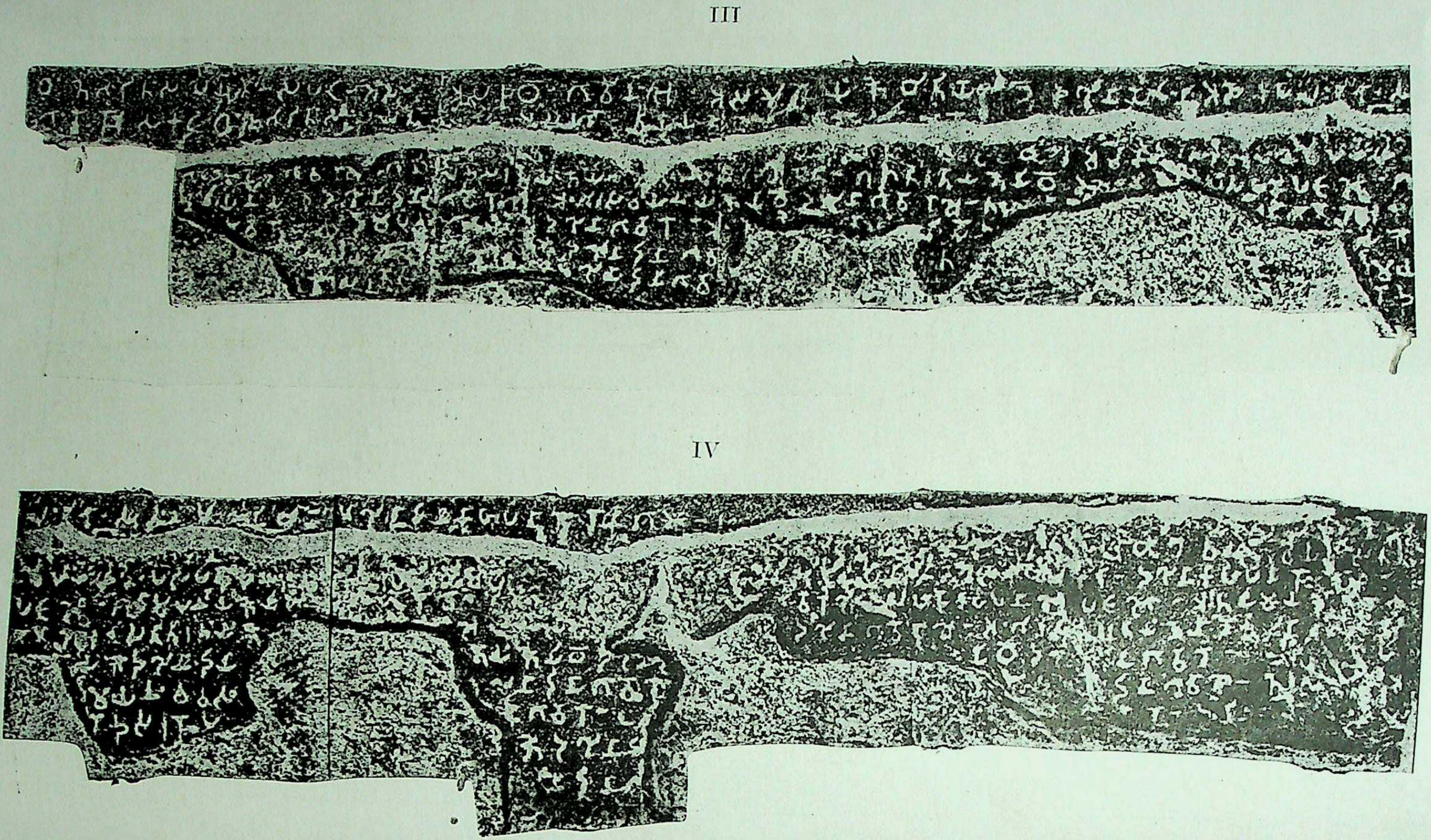




1. Nânāghāṭ Cave Inscription (Part I) of Nāganikā (Bk. II. No. 82), Sections I and II.
2. Nānāghāṭ Cave Figure-label Inscriptions (Bk. II, Nos. 76-81).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind.

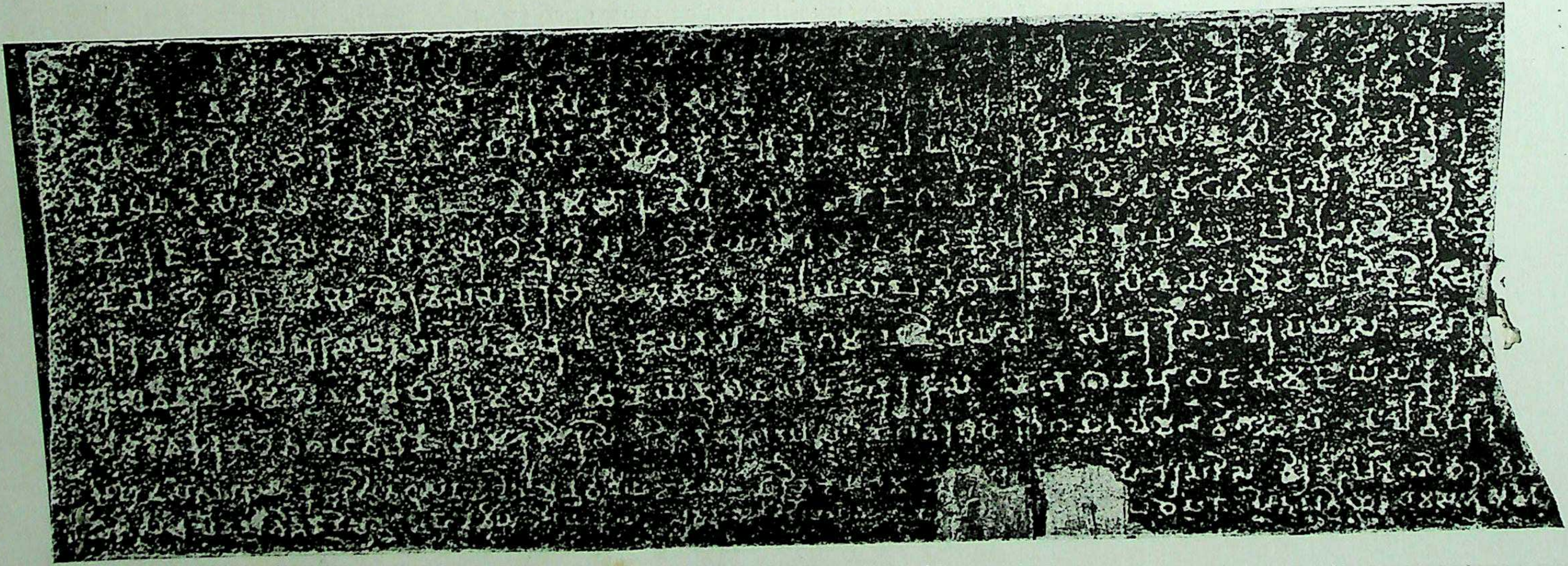
PLATE XXXIV



Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription (Part II) of Nāgannikā (Bk. II, No. 82), Sections III and IV.

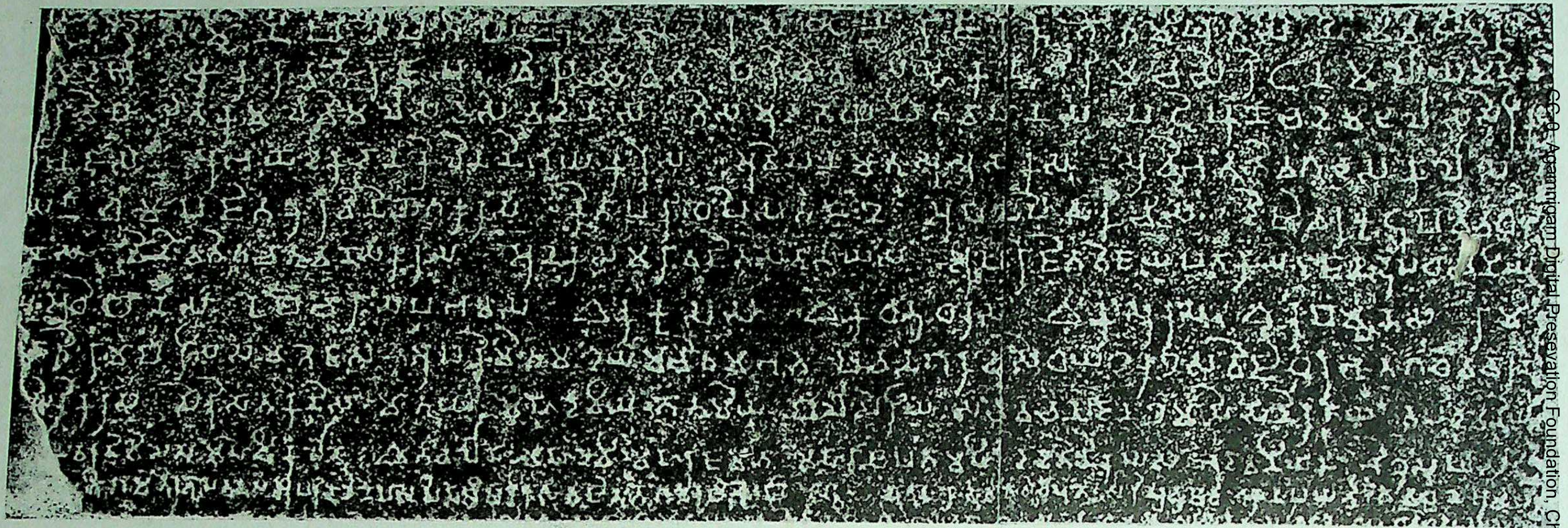
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind.

PLATE XXXV



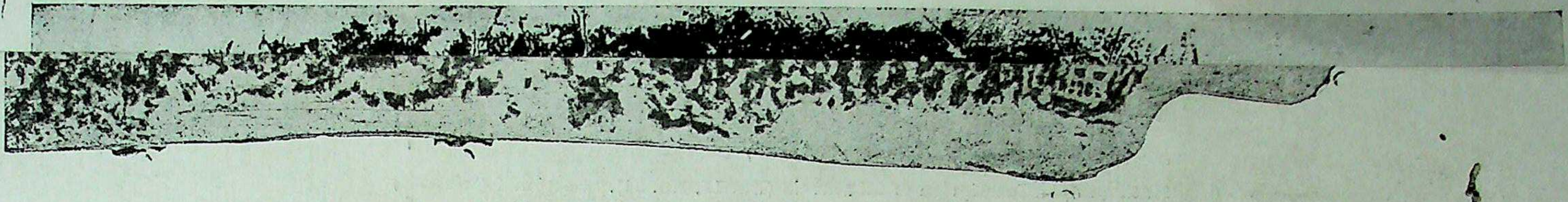
Nāsik Inscription of Puḷumāvi (Bk. II, No. 86), Section I (left half).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).



Nāsik Inscription of Puḷumāvi (Bk. II, No. 86), Section II (right half).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).



Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela (Bk. II, No. 91), Section II (right half).
Courtesy : B. O. R. S. (*J. B. O. R. S.* I., II).

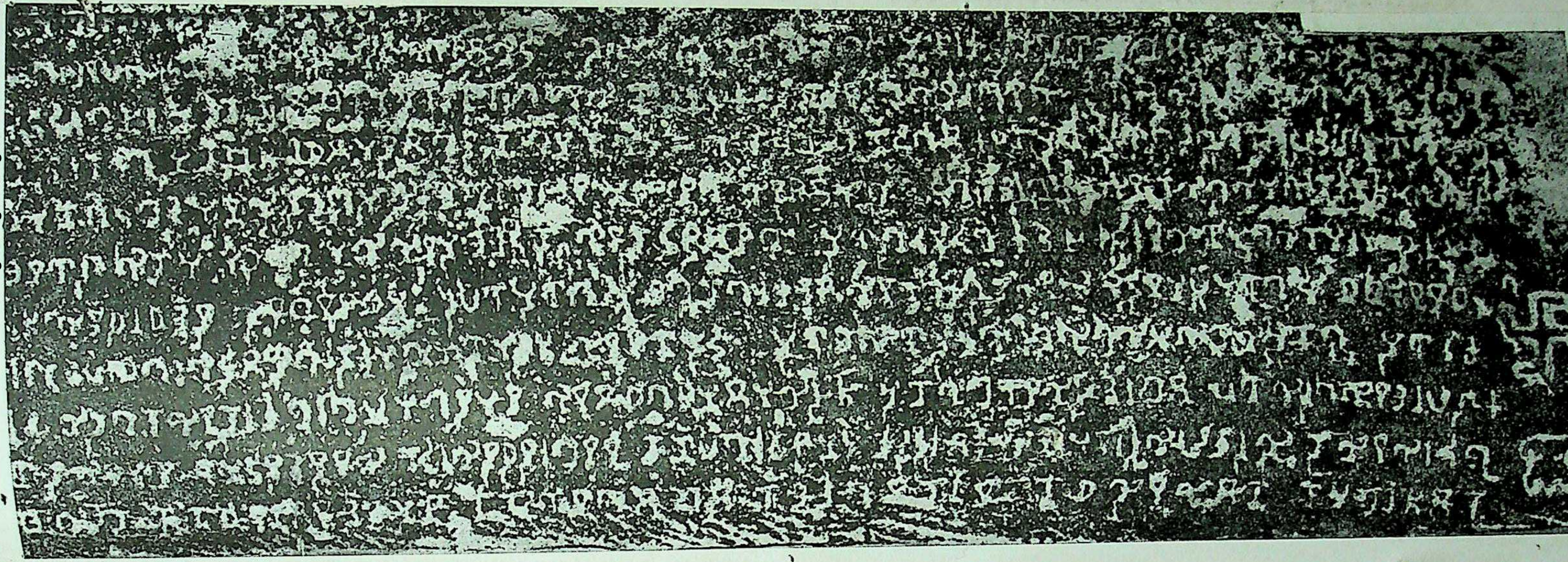
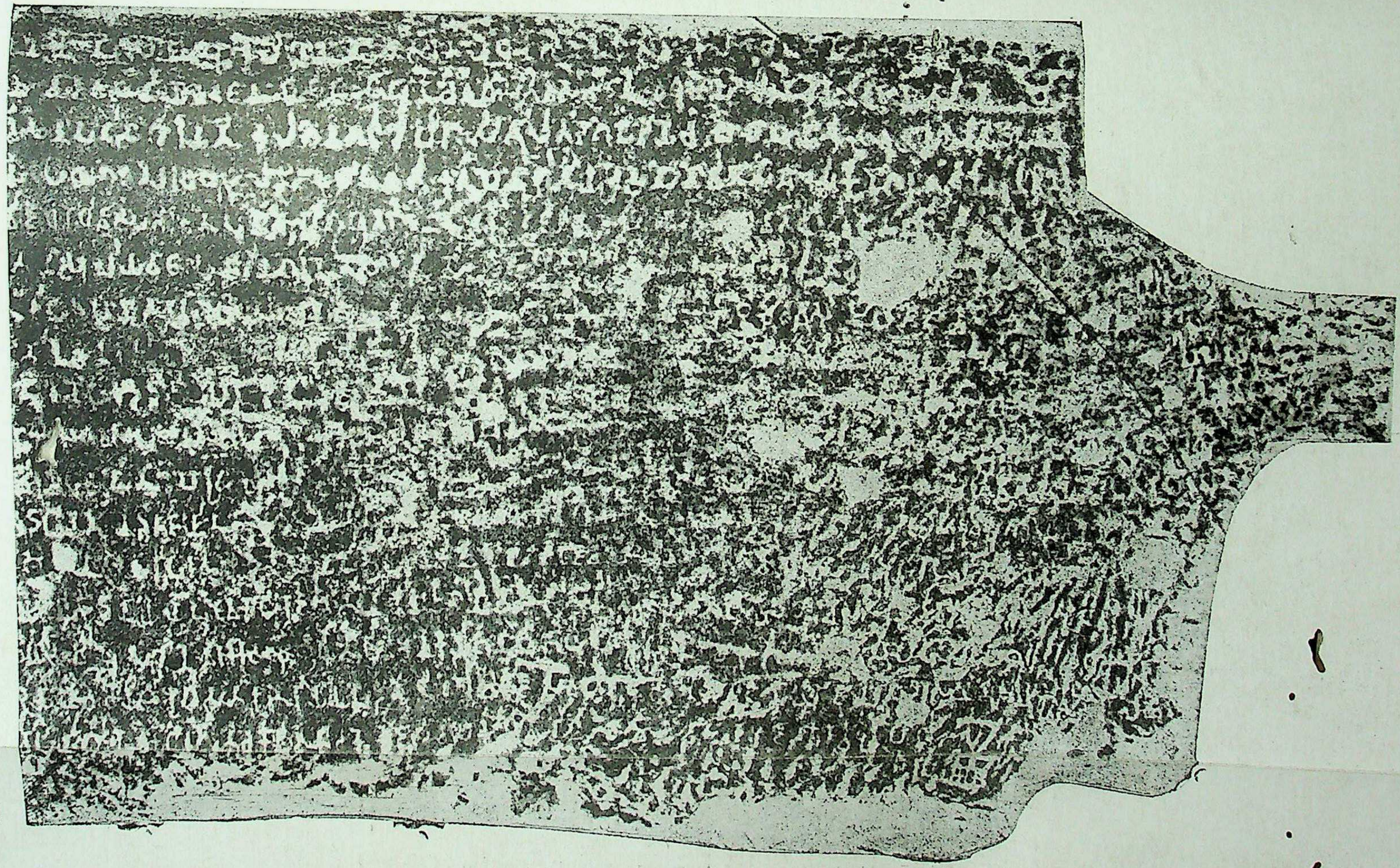


PLATE XXXVIII



Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela (Bk. II, No. 91), Section II (right half).
Courtesy : B. O. R. S. (*J. B. O. R. S.* I., II).

PLATE XXXIX

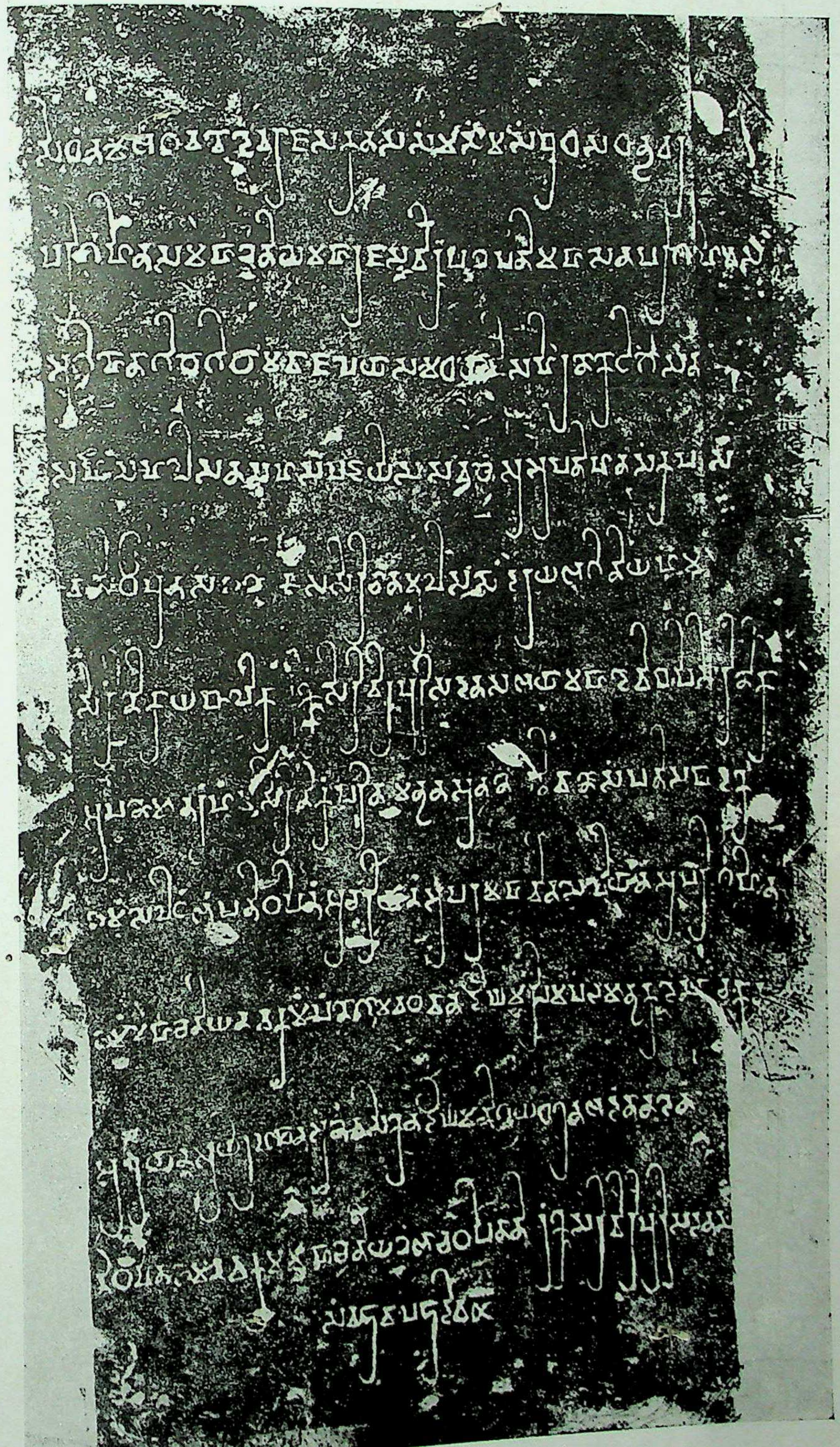
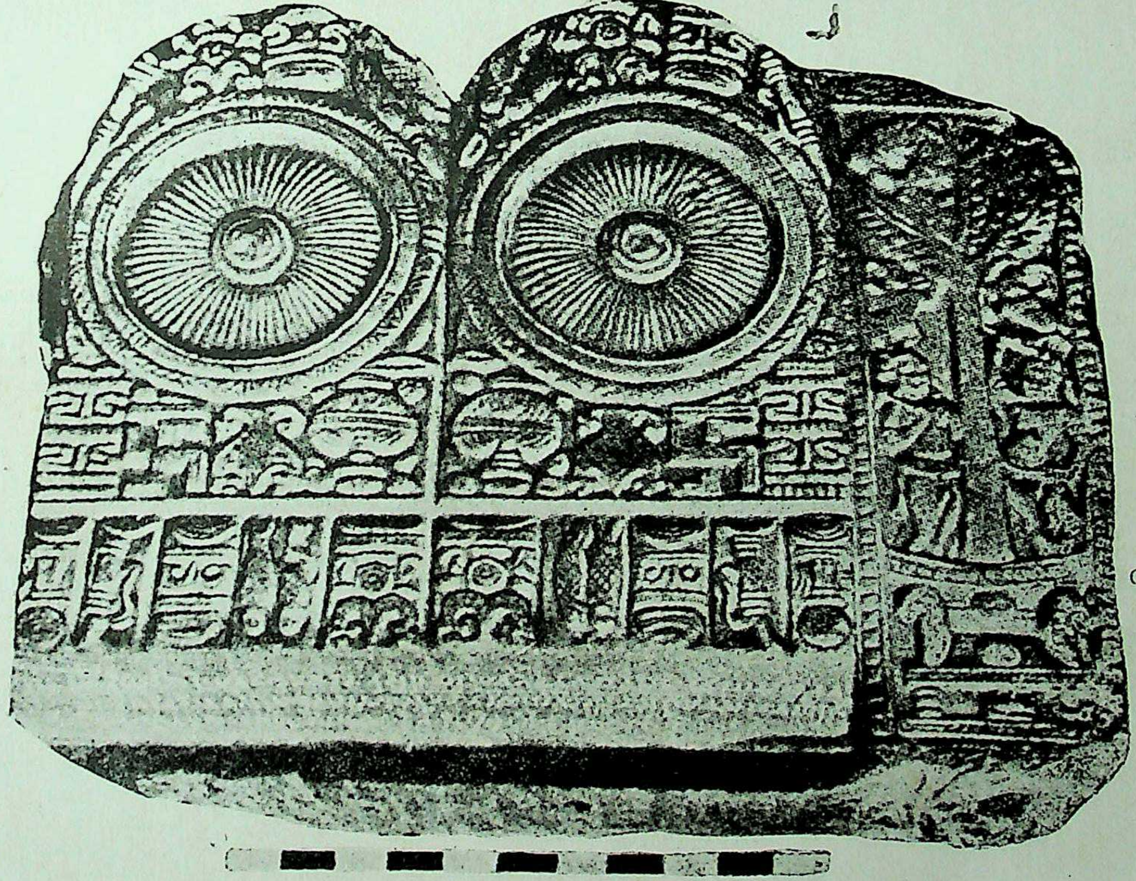


PLATE XL



Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Buddha-pāda Slab Inscription—A (see p. 529).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII).

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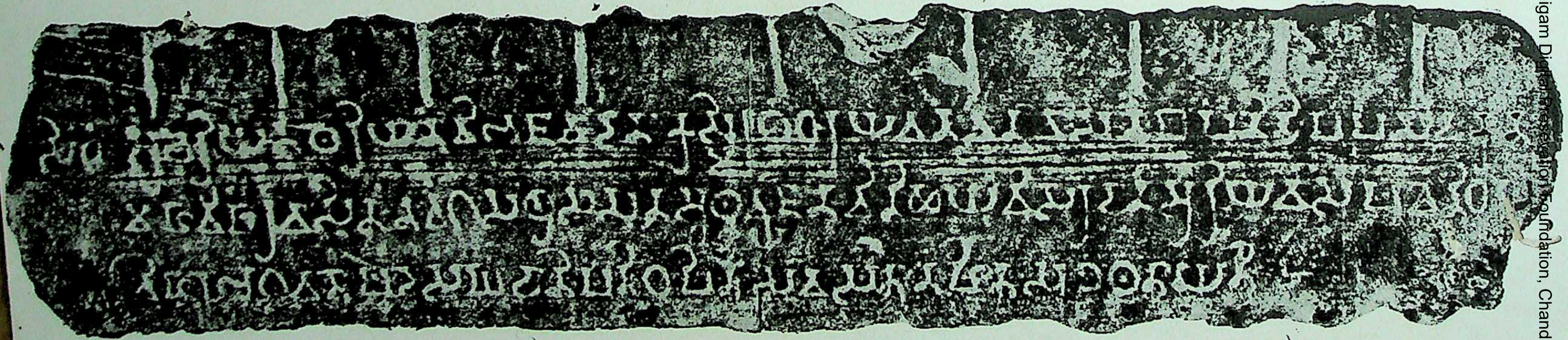
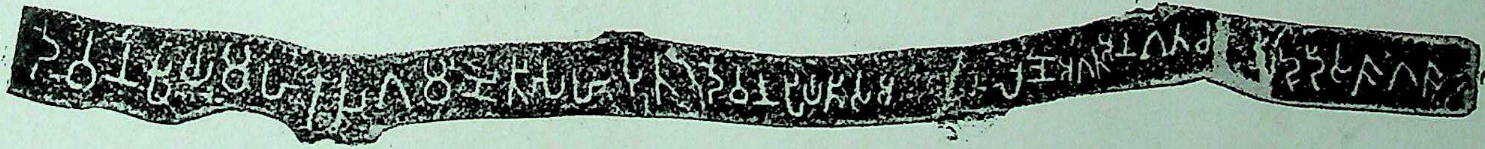


Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Buddha-pāda Slab Inscription—B (see p. 529).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII).

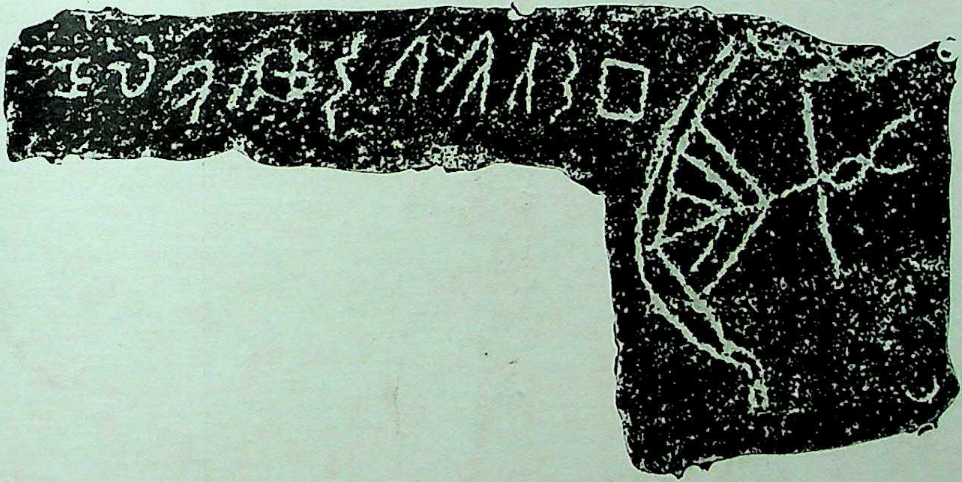
PLATE XLII



Āṇḍiyā-Kanda Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 105).

Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

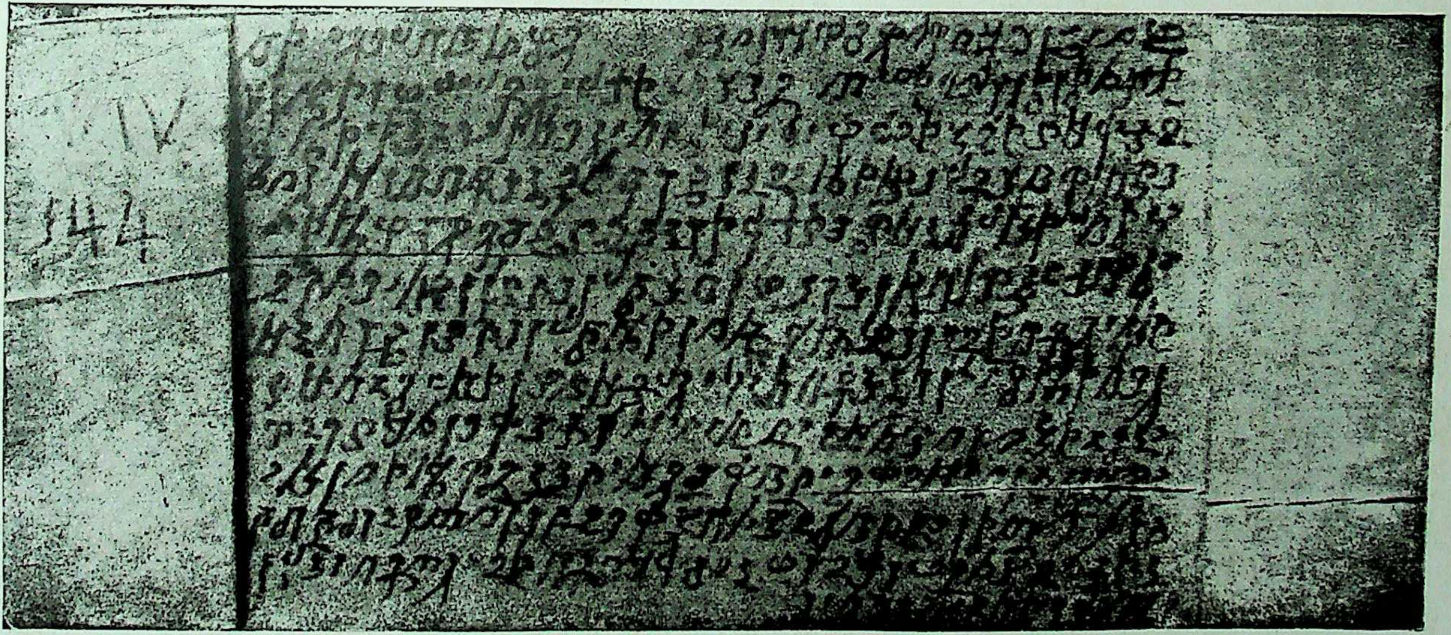
PLATE XLIII



Duwē Gala Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 106).

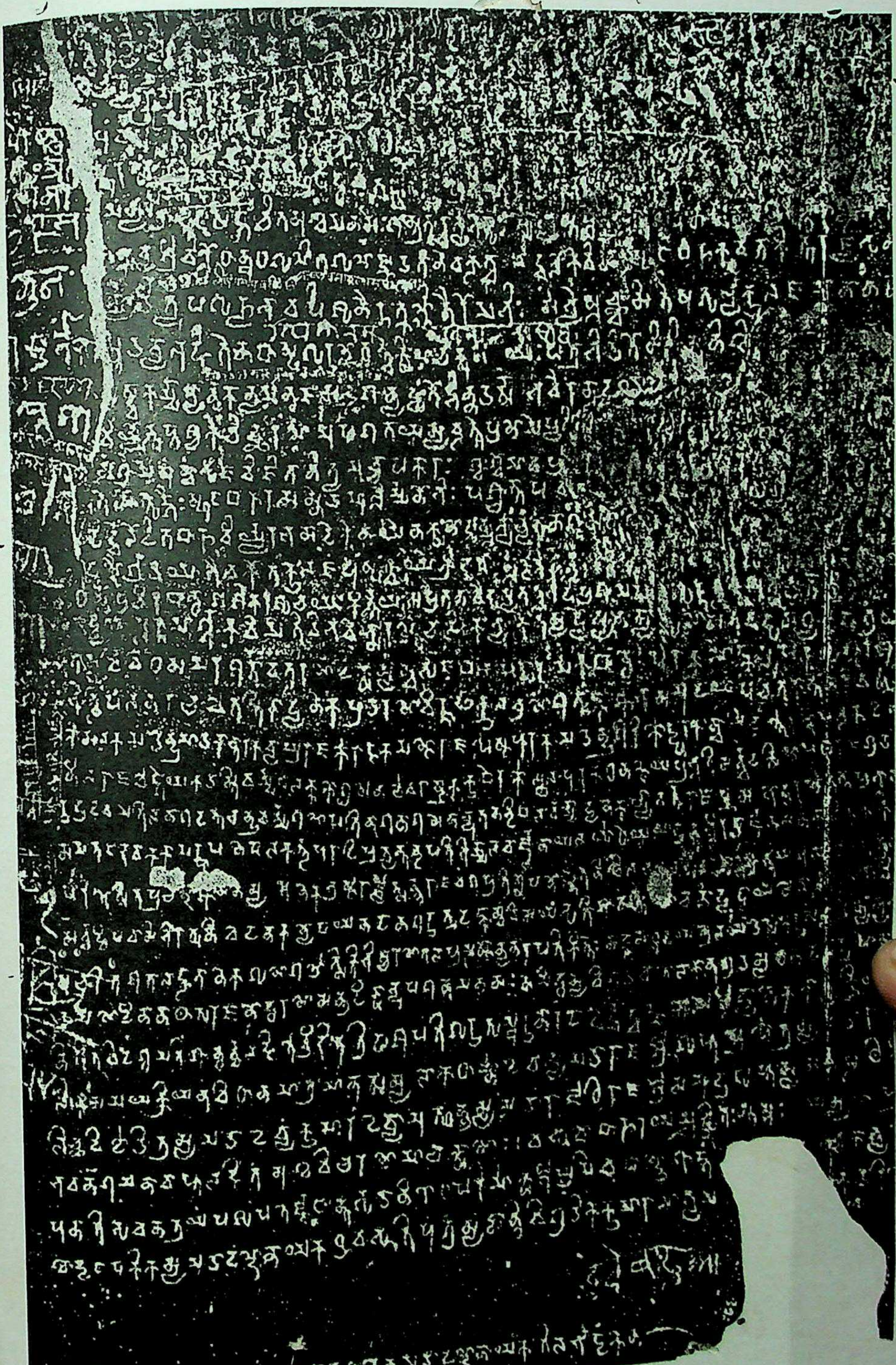
Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon,

PLATE XLIV



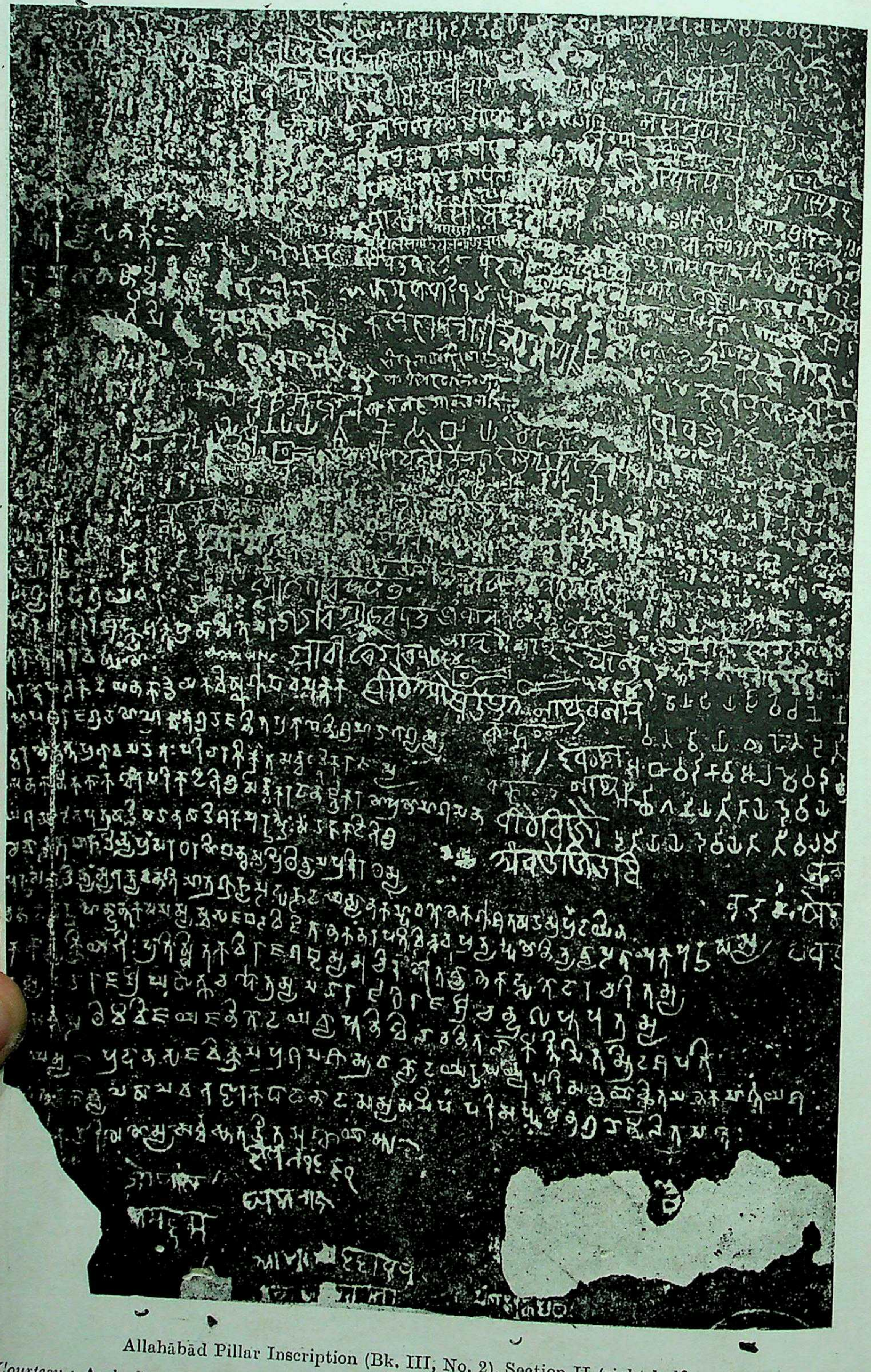
Central Asian Document (Bk. II, No. 110).

Courtesy : Cambridge University Press (*Khar. Ins.*, I).



Allahābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Bk. III, No. 2), Section I (left half).

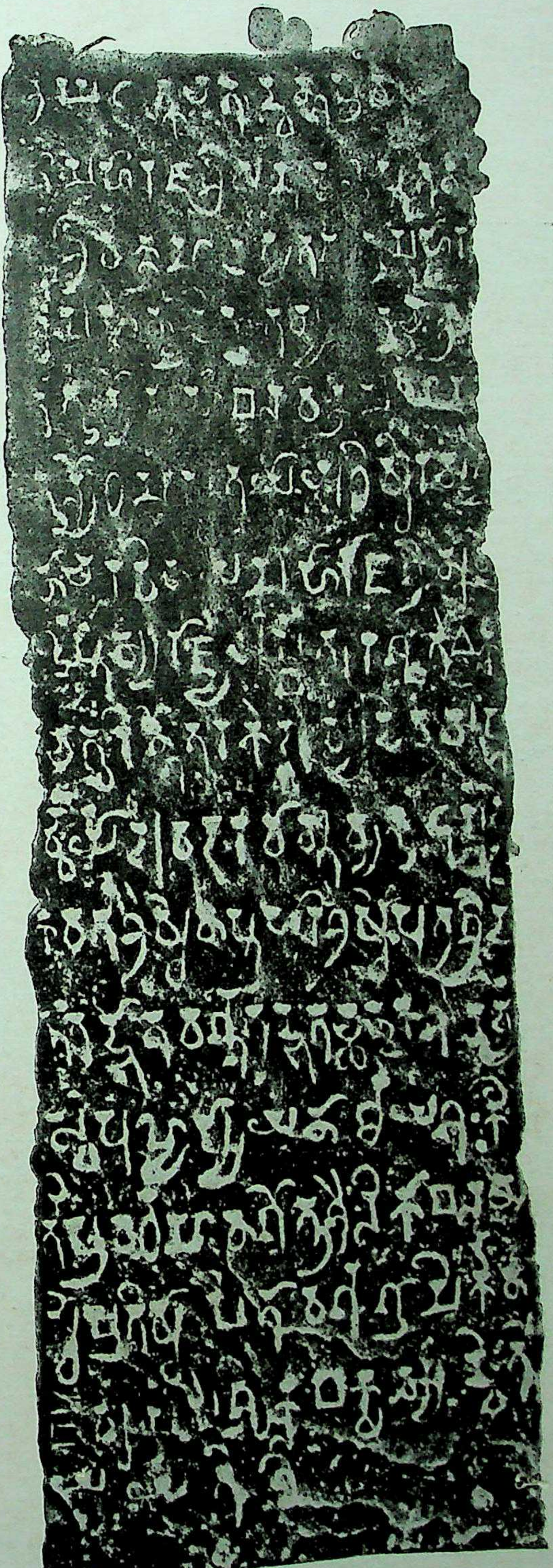
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III).



Allahābād Pillar Inscription (Bk. III, No. 2), Section II (right half.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III).

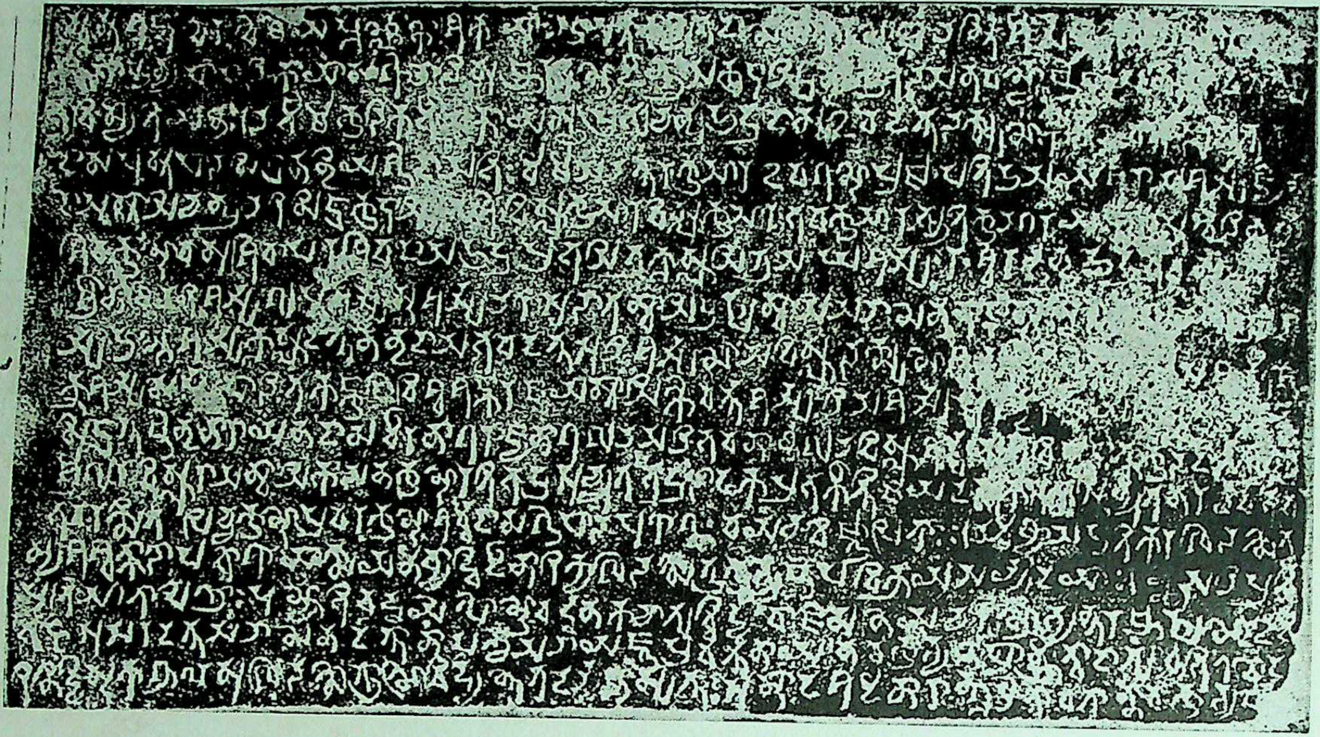
PLATE XLVII



Supia Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Bk. III, No. 26-A).

Ep. Ind., XXXIII).

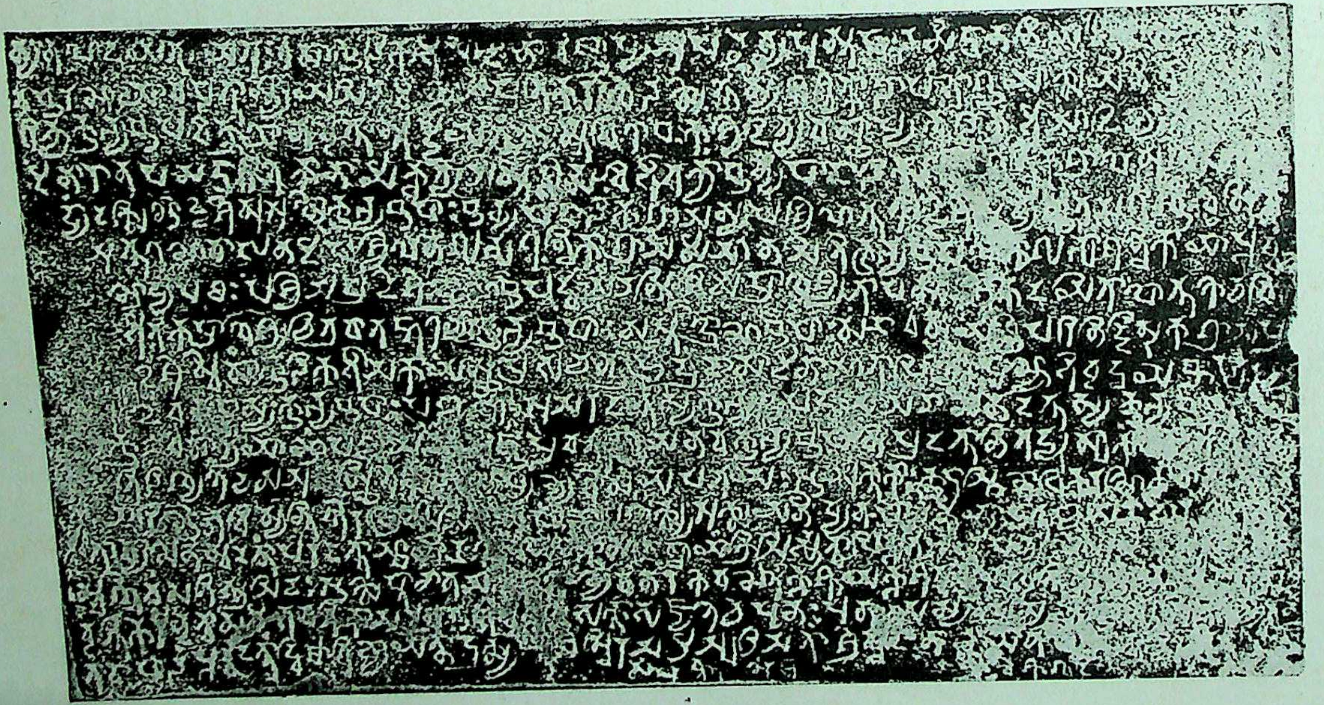
PLATE XLVIII



Kalaikuri-Sultānpur Copperp-late Inscription (Bk. III, No. 40-A), First Side.

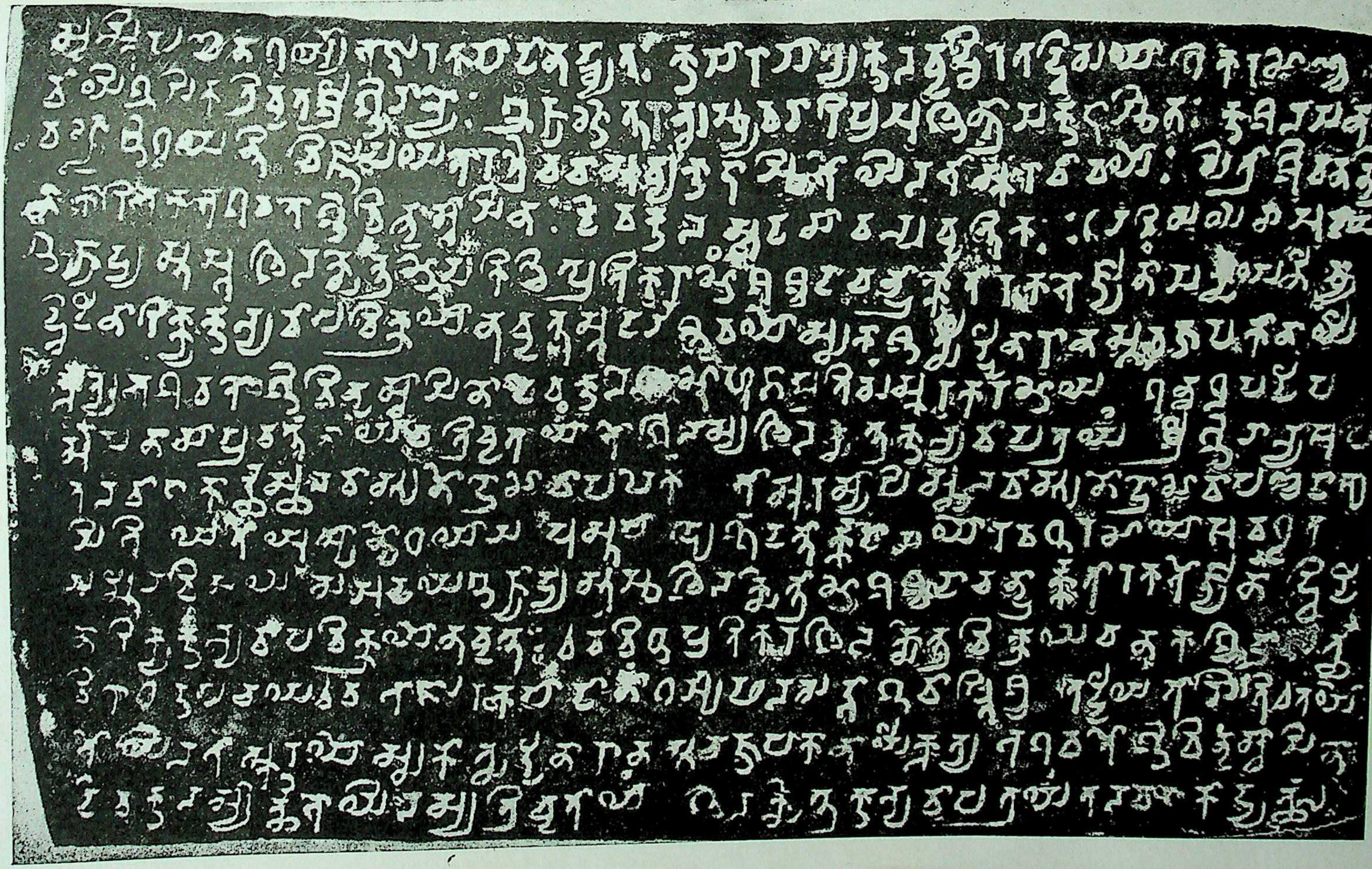
Courtesy : Ind. Hist. Quart., XIX.

PLATE XLIX

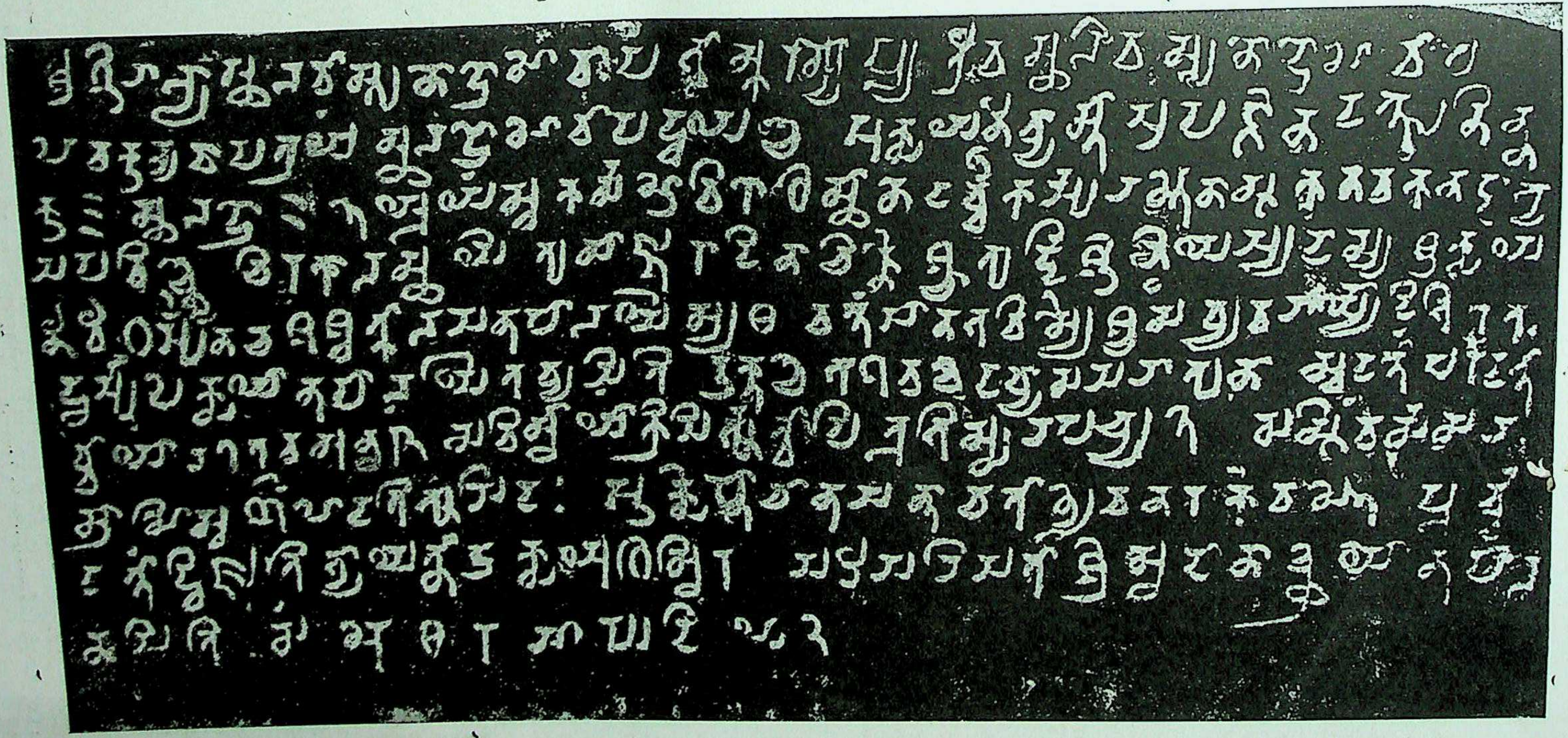


Kalaikuri-Sultānpur Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. III, No. 40-A), Second Side.

Courtesy : Ind. Hist. Quart., XIX.



Bāigrām Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. III, No. 41), First Side.

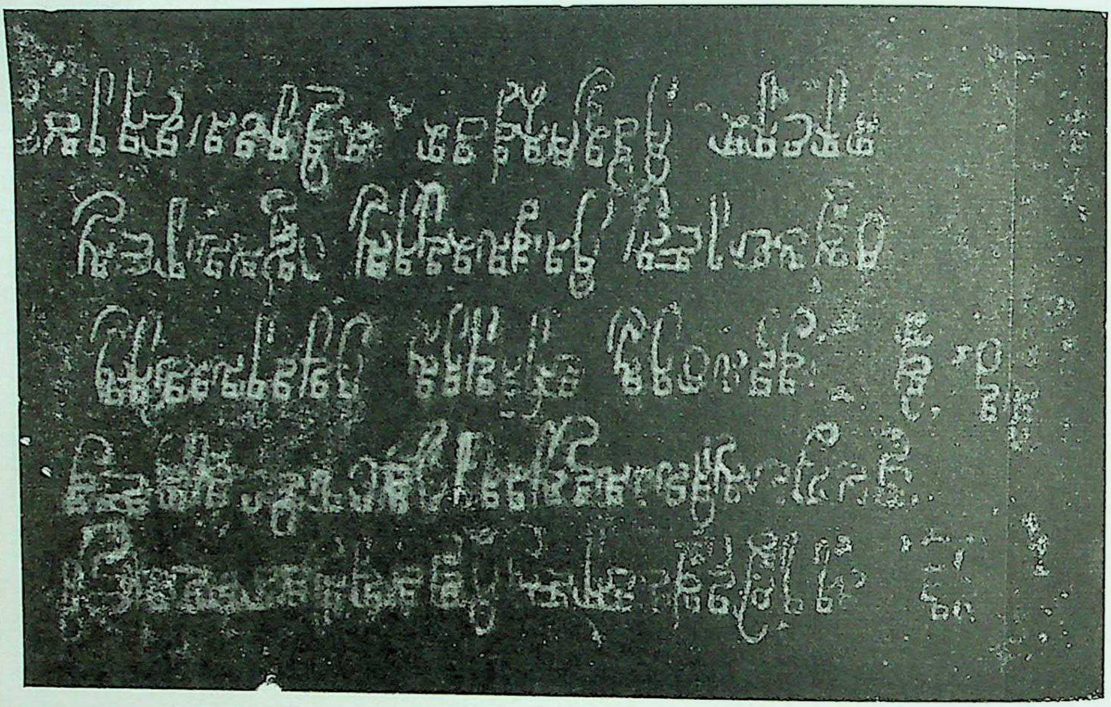


Bāigrām Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. III, No. 41), Second Side.

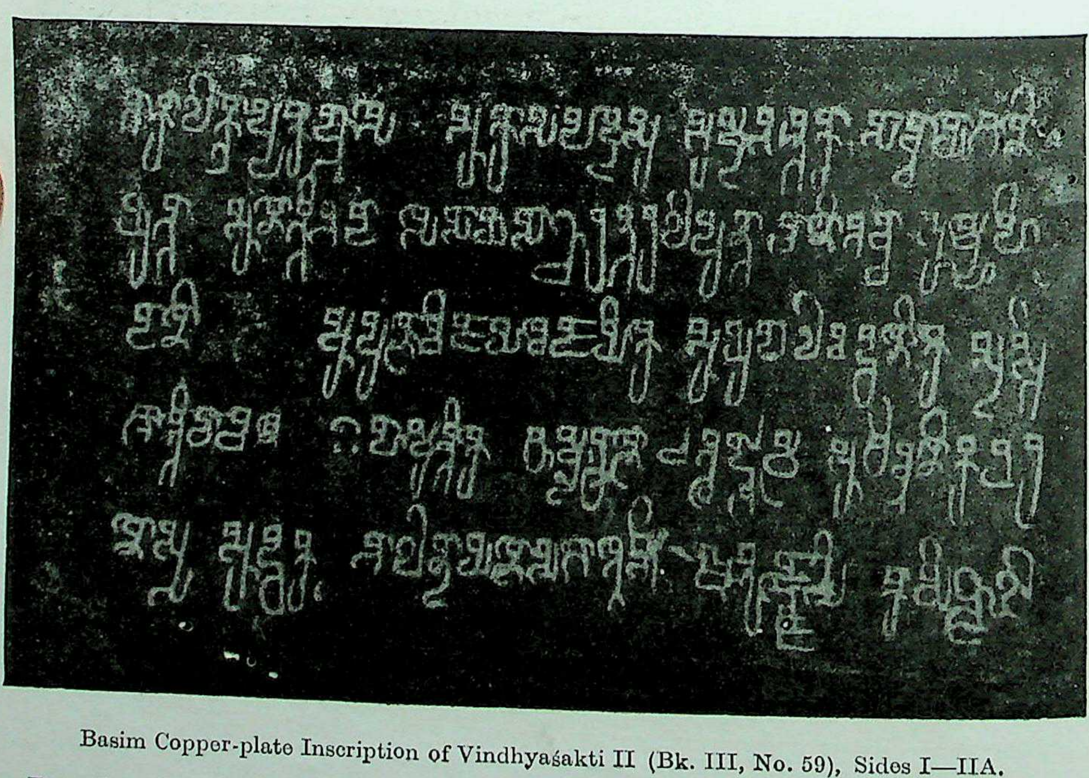
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

PLATE LII

Side I



Side II A

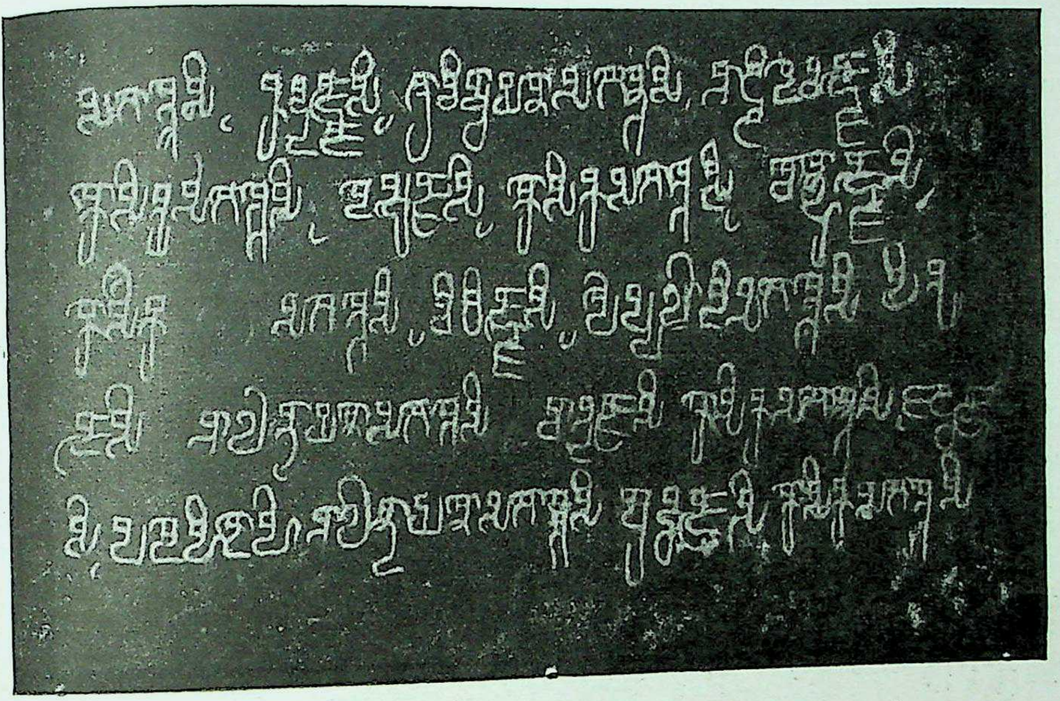


Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II (Bk. III, No. 59), Sides I—IIA.

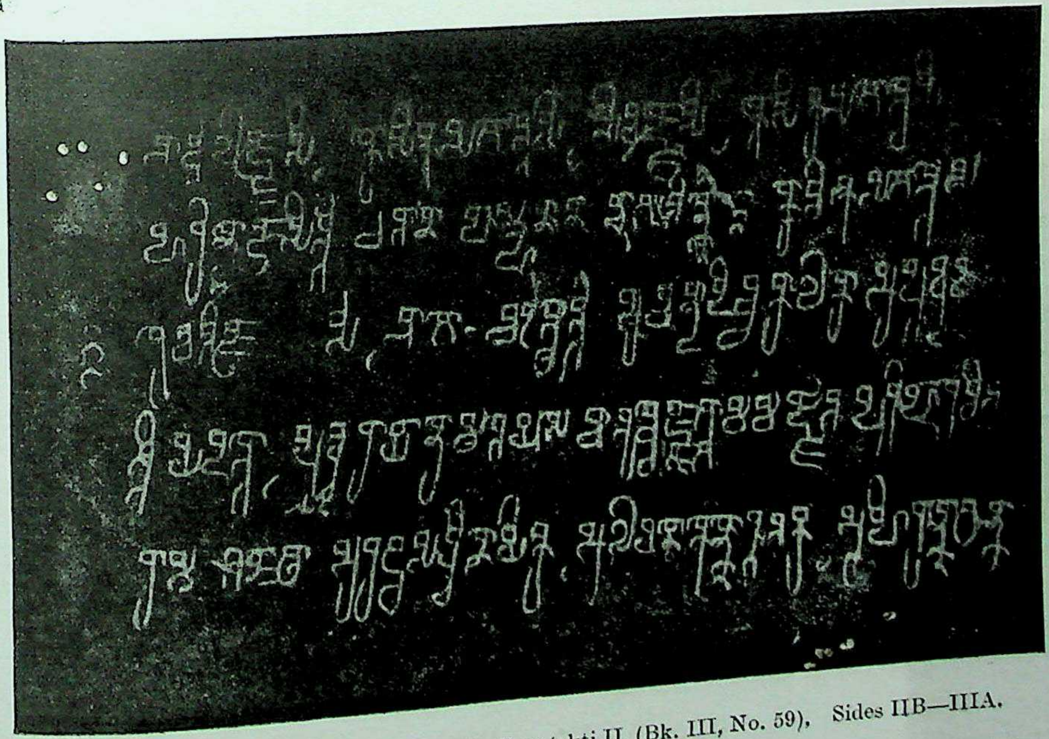
From *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939.

PLATE LIII

Side II B



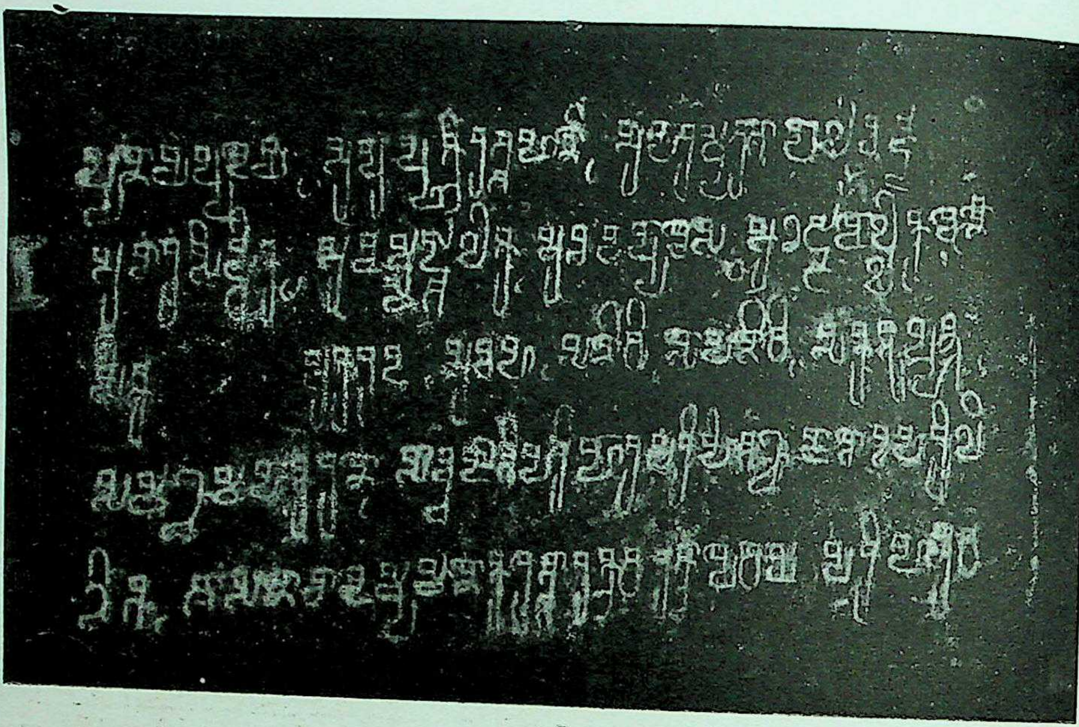
Side III A



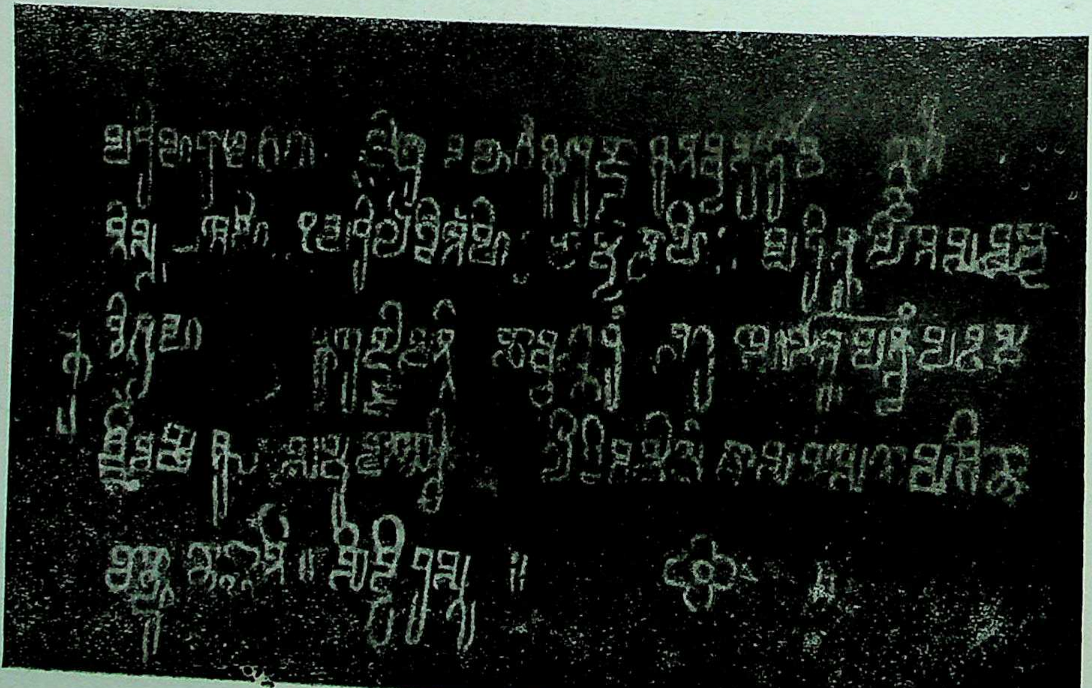
Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II (Bk. III, No. 59), Sides IIB—IIIA.

From *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939.

Side III B



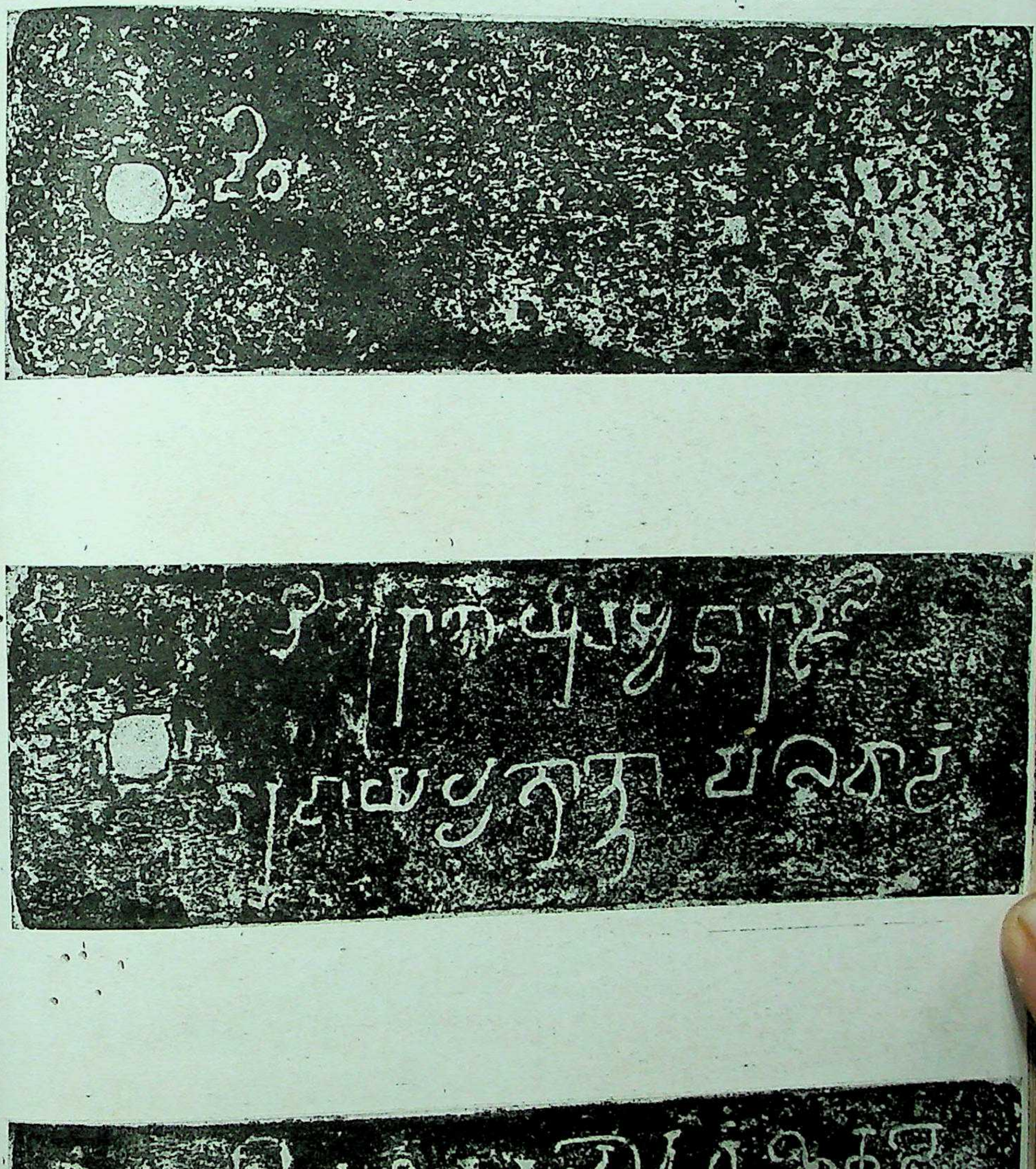
Side IV



Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II (Bk. III, No. 59), Sides IIIB—IV.

From *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939.

PLATE LV

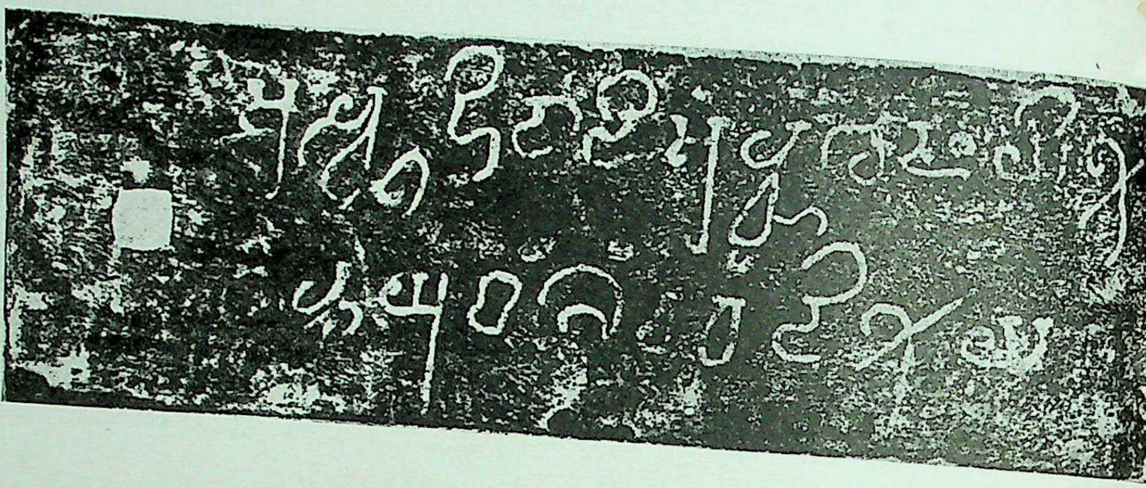


Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64). Sides IA—IIA.

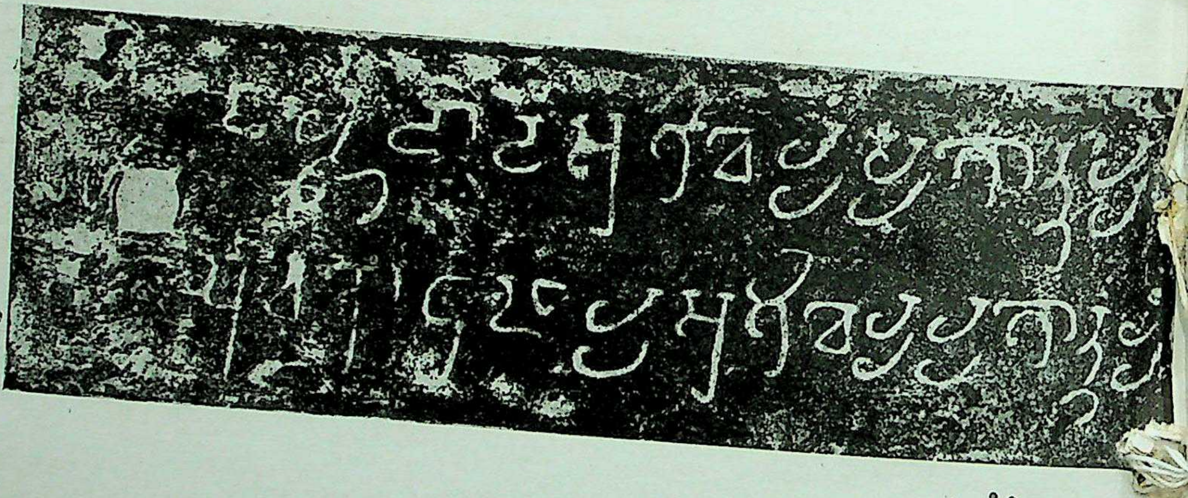
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

PLATE LVI

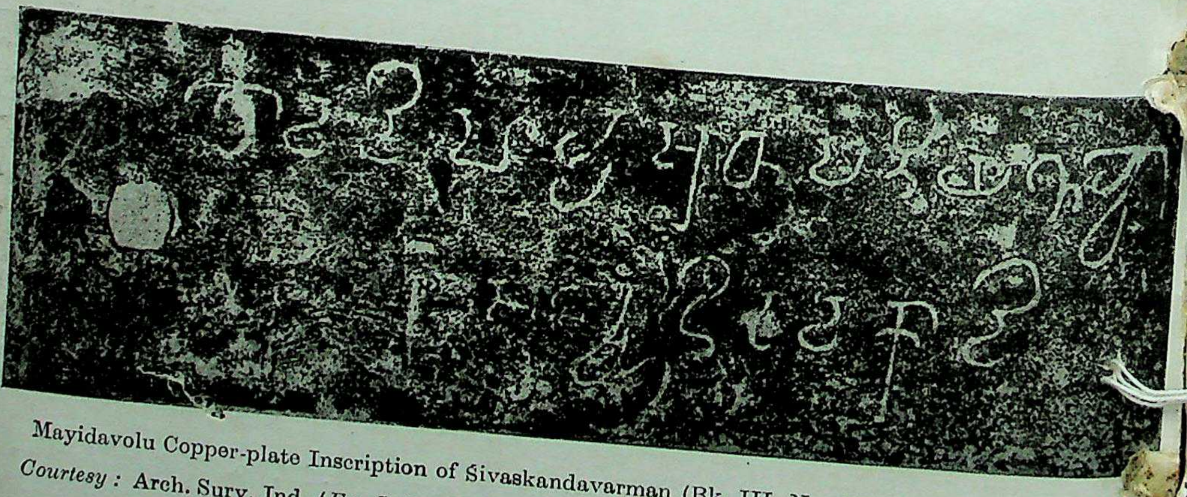
Side II B



Side III A



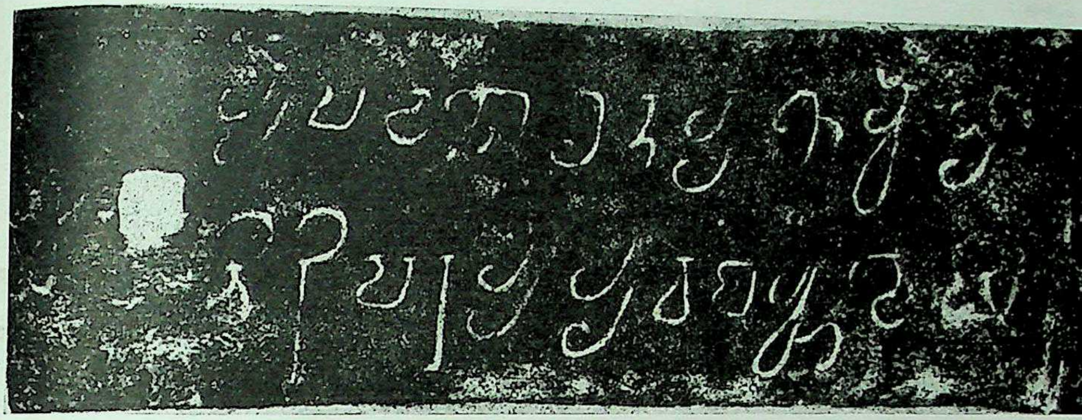
Side III B



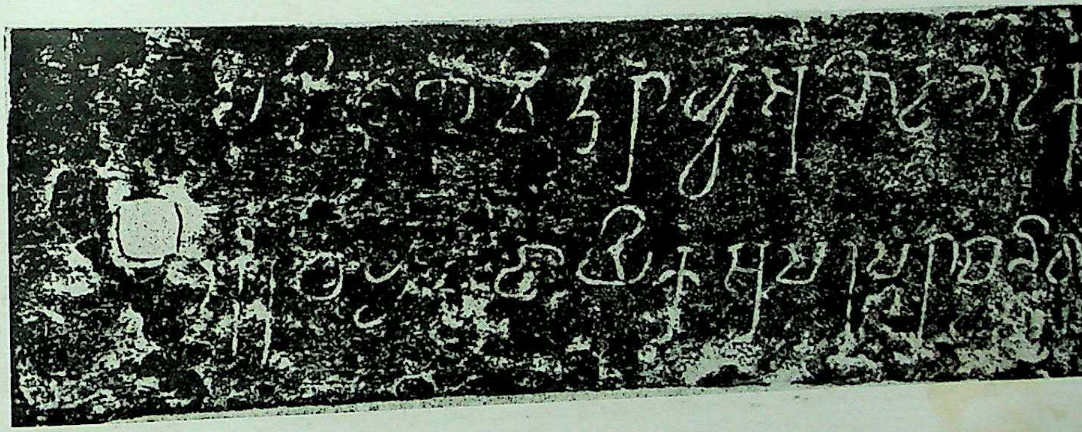
Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides IIB—IIIB.
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

PLATE LVII

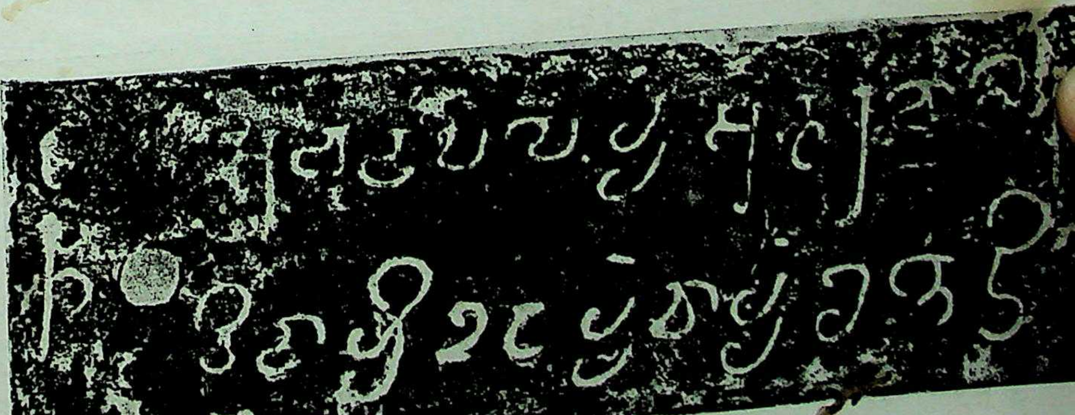
Side IV A



Side IV B



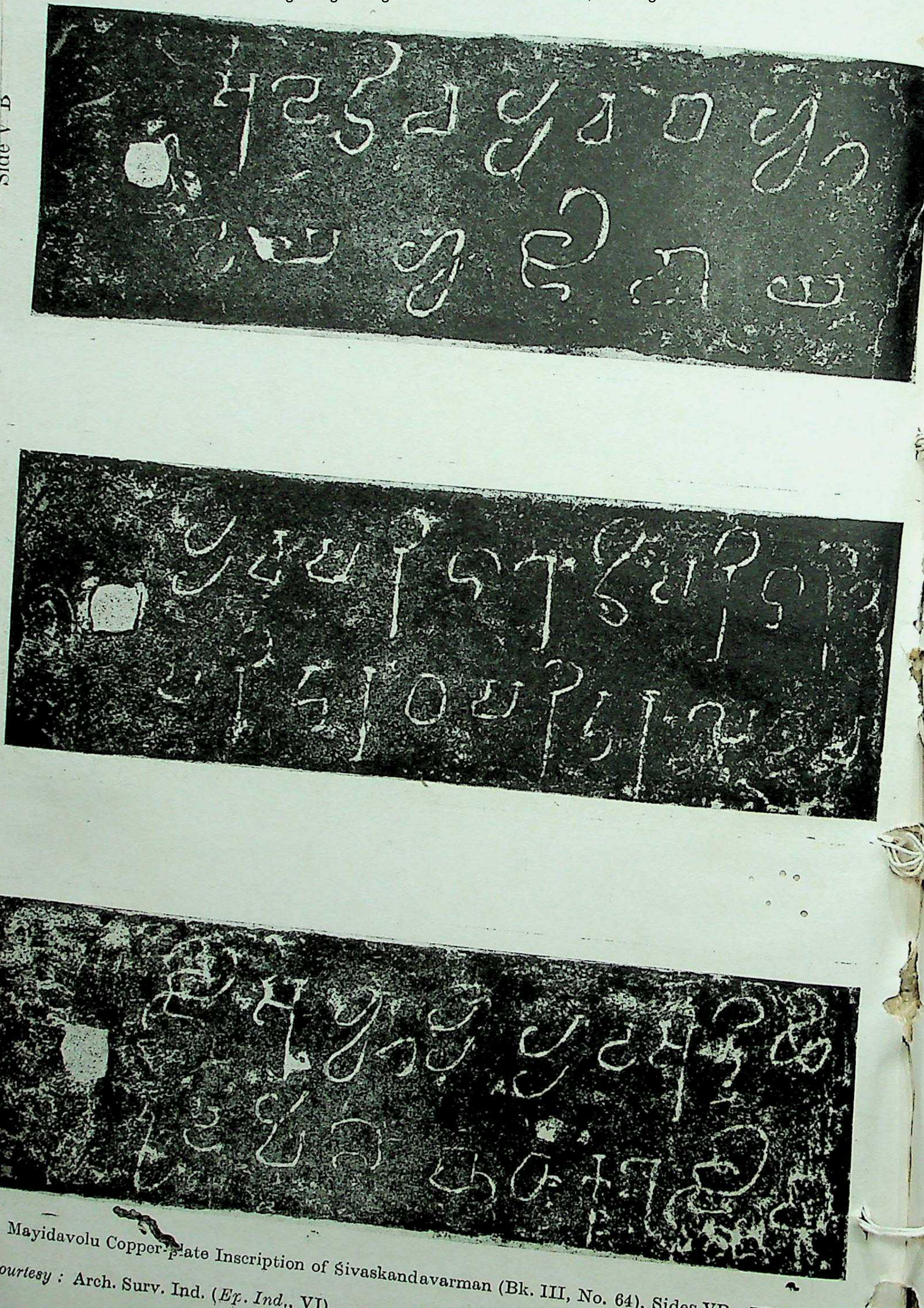
Side V A



Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides IVA—VA.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

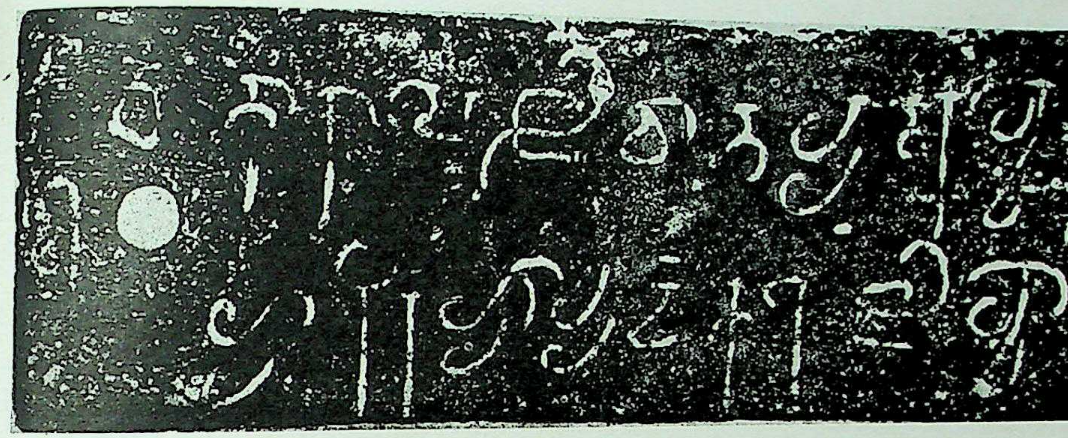
PLATE LVIII



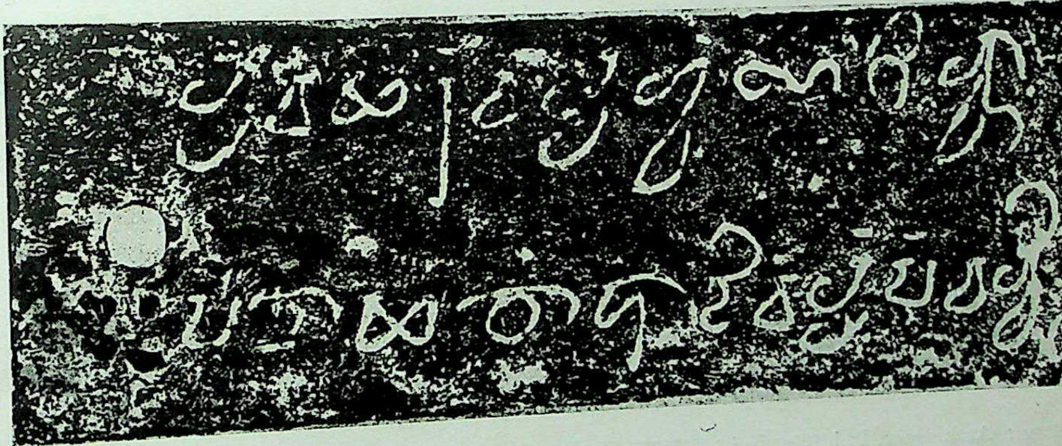
Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides VB—VIB.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

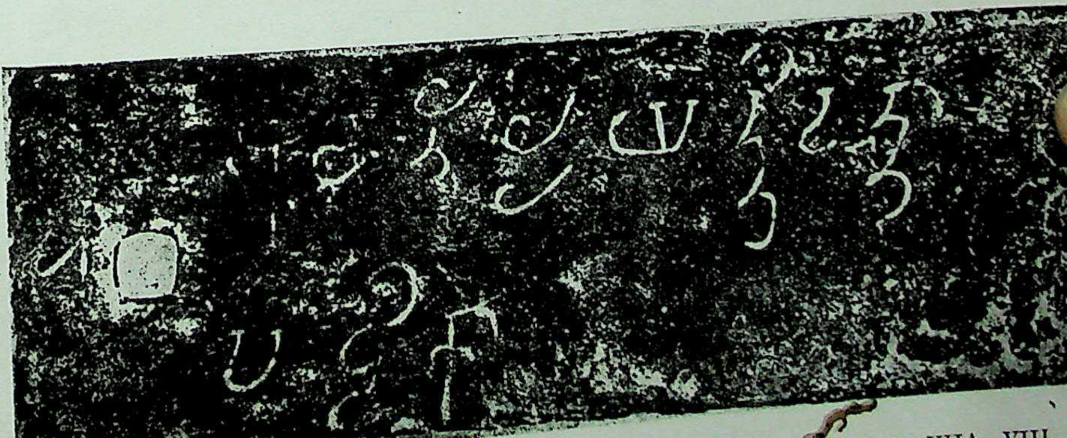
Side VII A



Side VII B

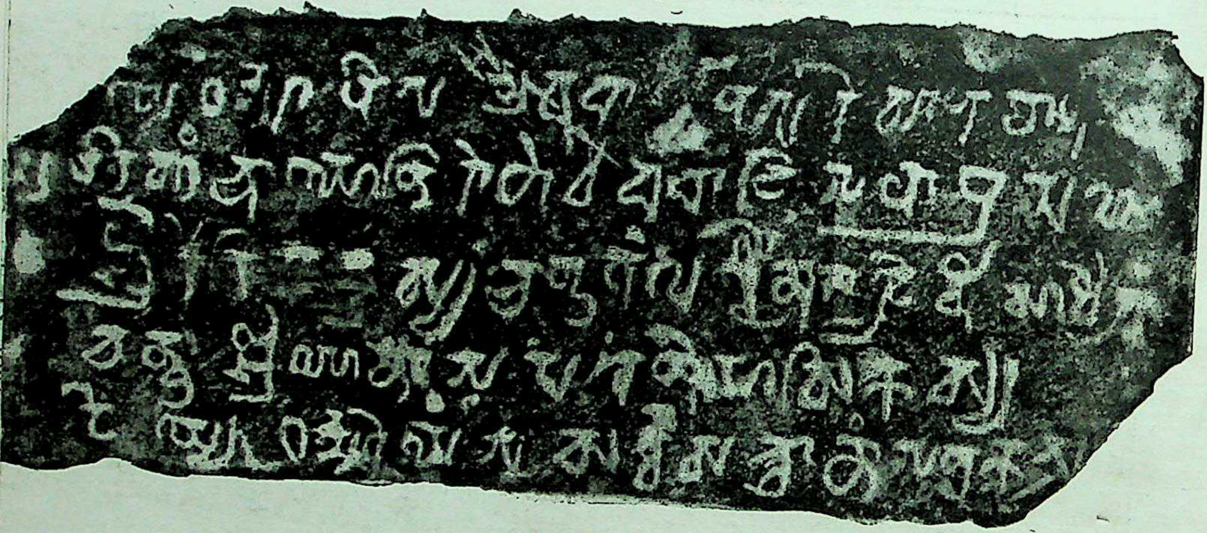


Side VIII



Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides VIIA—VIII.

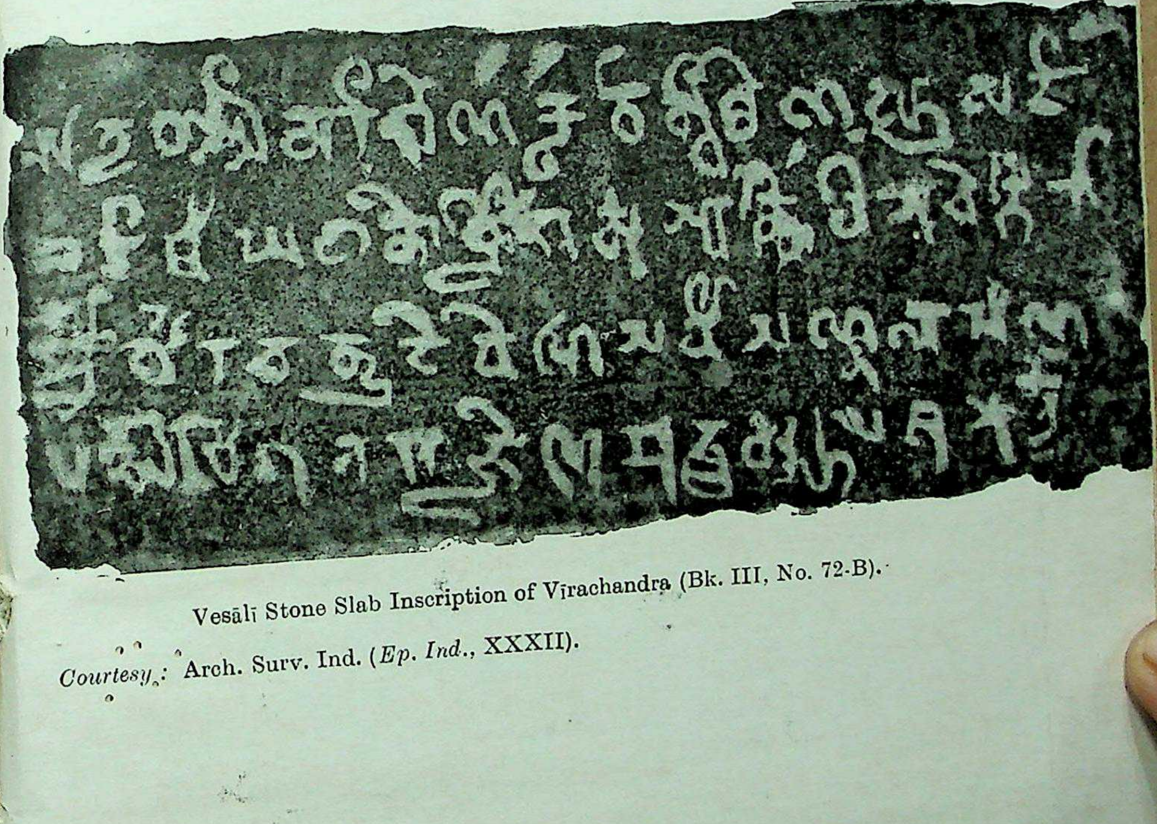
Courtesy ; Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).



Vesālī Stone Inscription of the time of Nītichandra (Bk. III, No. 72-A).

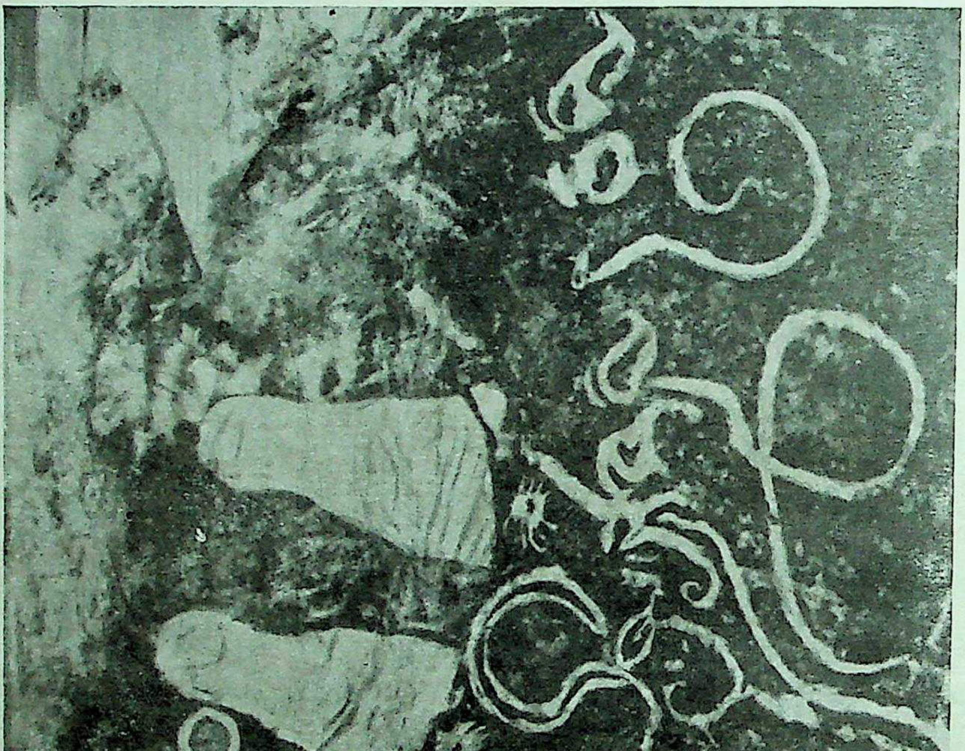
urtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXII).

PLATE LX



Vesālī Stone Slab Inscription of Vīrachandra (Bk. III, No. 72-B).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXII).



Ci-Arutön Inscription (see p. 501, note 4).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII).